





THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

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OF
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OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY
EDWARD GIBBON

CAREFULLY REVISED AND CORRECTED EDITION,

WITH

AND THE NOTES OF THE REV. H. IL. MILMAN, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S,—

MONSIEUR GUIZOT'S NOTES IN VINDICATION OF CHRISTIANITY,—THE VALUABLE

REMARKS OF THE GERMANY COMMENTATOR WENCK;—THE HISTORICAL

NOTES OF THE ARMENIAN SCHOLAR M. ST. MARTIN;—OBSERVATIONS

FROM ORIGINAL LITERATURE, ETC., ETC.

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LII

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WHEN the Arabs first issued from the desert, they must have been surprised at the rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees, they might be equally astonished that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The historian who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending danger. The desert of Scythia and Samaria might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, China was remote and inaccessible, but the greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mohammedan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy.

Forty six years after the flight of Mahomet, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople. They were animated by a saying of the prophet, that, to the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars, their sins were forgiven: the long series of Roman triumphs would be momentarily transferred to the conquerors of New Rome, and the wealth of nations was deposited in this well chosen seat of royalty and commerce. No sooner had the caliph Moawiyah suppressed his rivals and established his throne, than he aspired to expiate the guilt of civil blood by the success and glory of this holy expedition, his preparations by sea and land were adequate to the importance of the object, his standard was intrusted to Sophian, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the presence of Yezid, the son of the commander of the faithful.

The limits of the Arabian conquests.

First siege of Constantinople by the Arabs A.D. 668-678

The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons of fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor. Without opposition, the Saracens passed through the Hellespont. The Arabian fleet cast anchor, and the troops were disembarked seven miles from the city. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength of Constantinople. The walls were guarded by numbers and discipline, the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This resistance diverted their arms to plundering the coast of the Propontis, and, after keeping the sea from April to September, they retreated to the Isle of Cyprus. They repeated in the six following summers the same attack and retreat, till the mischances of shipwreck and disease compelled them to relinquish the enterprise. They might bewail the loss of thirty thousand Moslems, who fell in the siege of Constantinople, and the solemn funeral of Abu Ayub, or Job, excited the curiosity of the Christians themselves. That venerable Arab was numbered among the *amars*, or auxiliaries, of Medina, who sheltered the head of the flying prophet. His memory was revered, but the place of his burial was unknown, till the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second. A seasonable vision revealed the holy spot, and the mosque of Ayub has been chosen for the inauguration of the Turkish sultans.¹

The event of the siege cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambassador was favourably received at Damascus, in a general council of the emirs or Koraish; a truce of thirty years was ratified, and the stipulation of an annual tribute degraded the majesty

¹ Demetrius Cantemir's *Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 104, 106. Rycart's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 10. 11. *Voyages de L'Asie*, part I, p. 189. The Christians, who suppose that the martyr Abu Ayub was vulgarly confounded with the patriarch Job, betray their own ignorance rather than that of the Turks.

of the commander of the faithful. The aged caliph was desirous of ending his days in tranquillity and repose, while the moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Maronites, of Mount Libanus, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks. After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Ommiyah was reduced to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, and the tribute was increased to a slave, a horse, and a thousand pieces of gold, for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year. But as soon as the empire was again united by Abdalmalek, he discontinued the payment of the tribute, and the resentment of the Greeks was disabled from action by the tyranny of the second Justinian. Till the reign of Abdalmalek, the Saracens had been content with the free possession of the Persian and Roman treasures, in the coins of Chosroes and Caesar. By the command of that caliph, a national mint was established, and the inscription of

Dinar proclaimed the unity of God of Mahomet.¹ Under the reign of the caliph Walid, the Greek language and characters were excluded from the accounts of the public revenue. If this change was

¹ Elmachin, who dates the first coinage A. H. 70, A. D. 685, has compared the weight of the gold dinar, to the drachm of Egypt, which may be equal to eight shillings of our sterling money. From the same Elmachin some dinars as high as two dirhems, as low as half a dirhem, may be deduced. The piece of silver was the dirhem, both in value and weight, but an old, though fair coin, struck at Wasat, A. H. 88, and preserved in the Bodleian library, wants four grains of the Cairo standard.²

² Up to this time the Arabs had used the Roman or the Persian coins. Nevertheless it has been admitted of late years, that the Arabians had coined coin to be minted, on which, preserving the Roman or the Persian dies, they added Arabian names or inscriptions. We learn from Makrizi, that in the year 18 of the Hegira under the Caliphate of Umar, the Arabs had coined money of this description. Caliph Abdalmalek caused coins to be struck representing himself, with a sword by his side. These were disapproved of, and the Caliph substituted the Mohammedan coins with which we are acquainted. Consult the works of Adler, Kausch, Castiglione, and Waddell, see also the translation of a German

productive of the invention or familiar use of our present numerals, the Arabic or Indian cyphers, as they are commonly styled, a regulation of office has promoted the most important discoveries of arithmetic, algebra, and the mathematical sciences.¹

Whilst the caliph Walid sat idle on the throne of Damascus, his lieutenants achieved the conquest of Transoxiana and Spain, a third army of Saracens overspread the provinces of Asia Minor, and approached the borders of the Byzantine capital. But the attempt and disgrace of the second siege was reserved for his brother Soliman, whose ambition appears to have been quickened by a more active and martial spirit. In the revolutions of the Greek empire, after the tyrant Justinian had been punished and avenged, a humble secretary, Anastasius or Artemius, was promoted by chance or merit to the vacant purple. He was alarmed by the sound of war; and his ambassador returned from Damascus with the tremendous news, that the Saracens were preparing an armament by sea and land, such as would transcend the experience of the past, or the belief of the present age. The precautions of Anastasius were not unworthy of his station, or of the impending danger. He issued a peremptory mandate, that all persons who were not provided with the means of subsistence for a three years' siege should evacuate the city: the public granaries and arsenals were abundantly replenished, the walls were restored and strengthened; and the engines for

casting stones, or darts, or fire, were stationed along the ramparts, or in the brigantines of war, of which an additional number was hastily constructed. To prevent is safer, as well as more honourable, than to repel, an attack; and a design was meditated, above the usual spirit of the Greeks, of burning the naval stores of the enemy, the cypress timber that had been hewn in Mount Libanus, and was piled along the sea-shore of Phœnicia, for the service of the Egyptian fleet. This generous enterprise was defeated by the cowardice or treachery of the troops, who, in the new language of the empire, were styled of the *Obsequian Theme*.² They murdered their chief, deserted their standard in the isle of Rhodes, dispersed themselves over the adjacent continent, and deserved pardon or reward by investing with the purple a simple officer of the revenue. The name of Theodosius might recommend him to the senate and people; but, after some months, he sunk into a cloister, and resigned, to the firmer hand of Leo the Isaurian, the urgent defence of the capital and empire. The most formidable of the Saracens, Moslemah the brother of the caliph, was advancing at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians, the greater part mounted on horses or camels; and the successful sieges of Tyana, Amorium, and Pergamus, were of sufficient duration to exercise their skill and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont, the Mohammedan arms were transported, for the first time, from Asia to Europe. From thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moslemah invested Con-

¹ According to a new, though probable, notion, maintained by M. de Villiers (Anecdota Græca, tom. ii. p. 152, 157) our cyphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were used by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long before the age of Boethius. After the extinction of science in the West, they were adopted by the Arabic versions from the original MSS. and restored to the Latins about the eleventh century.

² Paper on the Arabic medals of the Chosroes by M. Fraehn, in the same Journal Asiatique, tom. iv. p. 331, 347, St. Martin, vol. xii. p. 19—M.

* Compare, on the introduction of the Arabic numerals, Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe, p. 150, note, and the authors quoted therein.—M.

¹ In the division of the *Themes*, or provinces described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Thematribus, l. i. p. 9, 10), the *Obsequian*, a Latin appellation of the army and palace, was the fourth in the public order. Nice was the metropolis, and its jurisdiction extended from the Hellespont over the adjacent parts of Bithynia and Phrygia (see the two maps prefixed by Delle to the Imperium Orientale of Banduri).

* Compare page 531. It is singular that Gibbon should thus contradict himself in a few pages. By his own account this was the second time.—M.

stantinople on the land side, surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of assault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient resolution of expecting the return of seed-time and harvest, should the obstinacy of the besieged prove equal to his own.* The Greeks would gladly have ransomed their religion and empire, by a fine or assessment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the city, but the liberal offer was rejected with disdain, and the presumption of Moslemah was exalted by the speedy approach and invincible force of the navies of Egypt and Syria. They are said to have amounted to eighteen hundred ships; the number betrays their inconsiderable size; and of the twenty stout and capacious vessels, whose magnitude impeded their progress, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy armed soldiers. This huge armada proceeded on a smooth sea, and with a gentle gale, towards the mouth of the Bosphorus, the surface of the strait was overshadowed, in the language of the Greeks, with a moving forest, and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy, the emperor had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour, but while they hesitated whether they should seize the opportunity, or apprehend the snare, the ministers of destruction were at hand. The fire-ships of the Greeks were launched against them, the Arabs, their arms, and vessels, were involved in the same flames; the disorderly fugitives were dashed against each other or overwhelmed in the waves; and I no longer find a vestige of the fleet, that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Soliman, who died of an indigestion,† in his camp.

* The caliph had emptied two baskets of eggs

† The account of this siege in the Tarikh Feby is a very unfavourable specimen of Asiatic history, full of absurd fables, and written with total ignorance of the circumstances of time and place. Price, vol. i. p. 498.—M.

near Kinnasrin or Chafcis in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy; and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot † While he started and satisfied the scruples of a blind conscience, the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect, rather than by the resolution, of the caliph Omar.‡ The winter proved uncommonly rigorous; above a hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring, a second effort had been made in their favour, and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of four hundred transports and galleys, the second of three hundred and sixty vessels from the ports of Africa. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had and of figs, which he swallowed alternately, and the repast was concluded with marrow and sugar. In one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Soliman ate, at a single meal, seventy pomegranates, a kid, six fowls, and a huge quantity of the grapes of Tayef. If the bill of fare be correct, we must admire the appetite, rather than the luxury, of the sovereign of Asia (Abulfeda, *Annal. Moslem.* p. 128).*

† See the article of Omar Ben Abdalasis in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* (p. 688, 690), *præferens, says Elmacin* (p. 91), *religionem suam rebus suis mundanis*. He was so desirous of being with God, that he would not have appointed his ear (his own saying) to obtain a perfect cure of his last malady. The caliph had only one shirt, and in an age of luxury, his annual expense was no more than two drachmas (*Abulpharagius*, p. 131). *Haec diu prius ac princeps fuit orbis Moslemus* (Abulfeda, p. 127).

* The Tarikh Feby ascribes the death of Soliman to a pleurisy. The same gross glutony in which Soliman indulged, though not fatal to the life, interfered with the military duties, of his brother Moslemah. Price, vol. i. p. 511.—M.

† Major Price's estimate of Omar's character is much more favourable. Among a race of sanguinary tyrants, Omar was just and humane. His virtues as well as his bigotry were active.—M.

taught the Moslems to remain at a safe distance, or, to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored, and the produce of the fisheries supplied the wants, and even the luxury, of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably assuaged, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unclean or unnatural food. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo, and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire, by the defeat and slaughter of twenty two thousand Asiatics. A report was dextrously scattered, that the Franks, the unknown nations of the Latin world, were arming by sea and land in the defence of the Christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in the camp and city. At length, after a siege of thirteen months, the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat.* The

Failure and
retreat of the
Saracens

march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont and through the provinces of Asia, was executed without delay or molestation, but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains

¹ Both Nicephorus and Theophanes agree that the siege of Constantinople was raised the 16th of August (A.D. 718), but as the former, our best witness, asserts that it continued thirteen months, the latter must be mistaken in supposing that it began on the same day of the preceding year. I do not find that Pagi has remarked this inconsistency.

* The Tarikh Tebry embellishes the retreat of Moslemah with some extraordinary and incredible circumstances. Price, p. 514.—M

of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire, that only five galleys entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.

In the two sieges, the deliverance of Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the ^{Invention and use of the Greek fire.} novelty, the terrors, and

the real efficacy of the *Greek fire*.² The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor. The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies, and this discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the distressful period, when the degenerate Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. The historian who presumes to analyse this extraordinary composition should suspect his own ignorance and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvellous so careless, and, in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious hints it should seem that the principal ingredients of the Greek fire was the *naphtha*,³ or liquid bitumen, a light,

¹ In the second siege of Constantinople, I have followed Nicephorus (Brav. p. 33-40), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 324-334), Cedrenus (comp. p. 449-452), Zonaras (tom II p. 98-102), Jimacui (Hist. Saraceni p. 88), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 126), and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 130), the most satisfactory of the Arabs.

² Our sure and indefatigable guide in the middle ages and Byzantine history, Charles du Fresne du Cange, has treated in several places of the Greek fire, and his collections leave few gleanings behind. See particularly Glossar. Med. et Infim. Græcitat. p. 127, sub voce Πῦρ Σαλαστίν, ὀππρ. Glossar. Med. et Infim. Latinitat. Ignis Græcus. Observations sur Vill. hardouin, p. 300, 303. Observations sur Joinville, p. 71-72.

³ Theophanes styles him ἀρχιτεκνών (p. 295). Cedrenus (p. 437) brings this artist from the ruins of Heliopolis in Egypt, and chemistry was indeed the peculiar science of the Egyptians.

⁴ The naphtha, the oleum incendiarium of the history of Jerusalem (Gest. Dei per Francos, p. 1167) the Oriental fountain of J mes de

venacious, and inflammable oil,* which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naphtha was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from evergreen firs.¹ From this mixture, which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress, instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened, by the element of water, and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks, the *liquid*, or the *mar-*

Vitry (l. iii. c. 84), is introduced on slight evidence and strong probability. Cinnamus (l. vi. p. 165) calls the Greek fire *ἑὸν Μάδιον*, and the naphtha is known to abound between the Taurus and the Caspian Sea. According to Pliny (Hist. Natur. ii. 109), it was subservient to the revenge of Medea, and in either etymology the *ἑλαιοσ Μάδιον*, or *Μάδιον* (Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. iv. c. 11), may fairly signify this liquid bitumen.²

On the different sorts of oils and bitumens, see Dr. Watson's (the present Bishop of Llandaff's) Chemical Essays, vol. iii. essay i., a classic book, the best adapted to infuse the taste and knowledge of chemistry. The less perfect ideas of the ancients may be found in Strabo (Geograph. l. xvi. p. 1078) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. ii. 103, 109). *Huic (Naphthæ) magna cognatio est Ignium, transmutantque profusum in eam undecunque visam*. Of our travellers I am best pleased with Otter (tom. i. p. 154, 158).

² Anna Comnena has partly drawn aside the curtain. *Ἀπὸ τῆς πυρρῆς, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τοισύτων διδρῶν ἀειδαλὼν συνάγεται ἄκαυστος*. *Τούτῳ μὲν θίσιον τριβομένην ἰμβάλλεται εἰς ἀόριστους καλαμῶν, καὶ ἰμβρῶσται παρὰ τοῦ πάλαιοντος λαβρῶν καὶ συνεχῶς πυρρῶσι* (Alexiad. l. xiii. p. 543). Elsewhere (l. xi. p. 334) she mentions the property of burning *σαρὰ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἑρπῆς καὶ ἰσ ἐνάντια*. Leo, in the nineteenth chapter of his Tactics (Opera. Meursii, tom. vi. p. 843, edit. Lami, Florant. 1745), speaks of the new invention of *ἑὸν μὲν βράσιον καὶ ἄκαυστον*. These are genuine and Imperial testimonies.

* It is remarkable that the Syrian historian Michel gives the name of naphtha to the newly invented Greek fire, which seems to indicate that this substance formed the base of the destructive compound. St. Martin tom. xi. p. 620.—M.

time, fire. For the annoyances of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect, by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the ramparts in large boilers, or launched in red hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil, sometimes it was deposited in fire ships, the victims and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople, as the palladium of the state, the galleys and artillery might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome, but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. In the treatise of the administration of the empire, the royal author suggests the answers and excuses that might best elude the indiscreet curiosity and importunate demands of the barbarians. They should be told that the mystery of the Greek fire had been revealed by an angel to the first and greatest of the Constantines, with a sacred injunction, that this gift of heaven, thus peculiar blessing of the Romans, should never be communicated to any foreign nation, that the prince and subject were alike bound to religious silence under the temporal and spiritual penalties of treason and sacrilege, and that the impious attempt would provoke the sudden and supernatural vengeance of the God of the Christians. By these precautions, the secret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the East; and at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without understanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length

¹ Constant. Porphyrogenet. de Administrat. Imperii. c. xiii. p. 64, 65.

either discovered or stolen by the Mohammedans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they resorted to an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the Christians. A knight, who despised the swords and lances of the Saracens, relates, with heartfelt sincerity, his own fears, and those of his companions, at the sight and sound of the mischievous engine that discharged a torrent of the Greek fire, the *feu Gregeois*, as it is styled by the more early of the French writers. It came flying through the air, says Joinville,¹ like a winged long-tailed dragon, about the thickness of a hog's head, with the report of thunder and the velocity of lightning; and the darkness of the night was dispelled by this deadly illumination. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century,² when the scientific or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war and the history of mankind.³

Constantinople and the Greek fire

¹ *Histoire de St Louis*, p. 39, Paris, 1688, p. 44, Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1761. The former of these editions is precious for the observations of Ducange, the latter for the pure and original text of Joinville. We must have recourse to that text to discover that the *feu Gregeois* was shot with a pile or javelin, from an engine that acted like a siphon.

² The vanity, or envy, of shaking the established property of Fame, has tempted some moderns to carry gunpowder above the fourteenth (see Sir William Temple, Dutens, &c.), and the Greek fire above the seventh century (see the *Saluts du President des Brosses*, tom. ii. p. 331). But their evidence, which precedes the vulgar era of the invention, is seldom clear or satisfactory, and subsequent writers may be suspected of fraud or credulity. In the earliest ages, some combustibles of oil and sulphur have been used; and the Greek fire has some affinity with gunpowder both in its nature and effects. For the antiquity of the first, a passage of Procopius (*de Bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 11*), for that of the second, some facts in the Arabic history of Spain (A.D. 1248, 1312, 1331. *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp.* tom. ii. p. 6, 7, 8) are the most difficult to elude.

³ That extraordinary man, Friar Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, saltpetre and sulphur, and conceals the third in a sentence of mysterious gibberish, as if he dreaded the consequences of his own discovery (*Mog. Brit.* vol. i. p. 430, new edition).

might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain.¹ The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these insatiate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit, and their misfortune or demerit has affixed the epithet of *lazy* to the last kings of the Merovingian race.² They ascended the throne without power, and sunk into the grave without a name. A country palace, in the neighbourhood of Compiègne³ was allotted for their residence or prison. but each year in the month of March or May, they were conducted in a waggon drawn by oxen to the assembly of the Franks, to give audience to foreign ambassadors, and to ratify the acts of the mayor of the palace. That domestic officer was become the minister of the nation and the master of the prince. A public employ-

Invasion of
France by
the Arabs.
A.D. 732 &c.

¹ For the invasion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, see the *Historia Arabum* (c. 11, 12, 13, 14) of Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who had before him the Christian chronicle of Isidore Peneusi, and the Mohammedan history of Novalri. The Moslems are silent or concise in the account of their losses, but M. Cardonne (tom. i. p. 129, 130, 131) has given a pure and simple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Halkan, Hildas, and an anonymous writer. The texts of the chronicles of France, and lives of saints, are inserted in the *Collection of Bouquet* (tom. iii.) and the *Annals of Pagi*, who (tom. iii. under the proper years) has restored the chronology, which is anticipated six years in the *Annals of Baronius*. The *Dictionary of Bayle* (*Abdereme* and *Murmus*) has more merit for lively reflection than original research.

² Eginhart, *de Vita Caroli Magni*, c. ii. p. 13-18 edit. Schlink, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics accuse the minister of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weakness of the Merovingians but the general outline is just, and the French reader will forever repeat the beautiful lines of Boileau's *Lutrin*.

³ *Mamaccor*, on the Oyse, between Compiègne and Noyon, which Eginhart calls *peripartedita villam* (see the notes, and the map of ancient France for Dom Bouquet's Collection). Compendium, or Compiègne, was a palace of more dignity (Hadrian Valesii *Notitia Galliarum*, p. 162), and that laughing philosopher, the Abbe Galliani (*Dialogues sur le Commerce des Biens*) may truly affirm that it was the residence of the rois très Chrétiens et très chevalés.

ment was converted into the patrimony of a private family. the elder Pepin left a king of mature years under the guardianship of his own widow and her child, and these feeble regents were forcibly dispossessed by the most active of his bastards. A government, half savage and half corrupt, was almost dissolved; and the tributary dukes, the provincial counts, and the territorial lords, were tempted to despise the weakness of the monarch, and to imitate the ambition of the mayor. Among these independent chiefs, one of the boldest and most successful was Kudes, duke of Aquitain, who, in the southern provinces of Gaul, usurped the authority and even the title of king. The Goths, the Gascons, and the Franks, assembled under the standard of this Christian hero he repelled the first invasion of the Saracens, and Zama, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Toulouse. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge; they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne as the first Roman colony, was again chosen by the Moslems. they claimed the province of Septimania or Languedoc as a just dependence of the Spanish monarchy. the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bourdeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhône, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman, or Abderame, who had been restored by the caliph Hashem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander, adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of

¹ Even before that colony, A.D. 630 (Velleius Paterculus, l. 16), in the time of Polybius (Hist. l. III. p. 205, edit. Groseov), Narbonne was a Celtic town of the first eminence, and one of the most northern places of the known world (D'Ancille, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 473).

France or of Europe, and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. His first care was to suppress a domestic rebel, who commanded the most important passes of the Pyrenees; Munuza, a Moorish chief, had accepted the alliance of the Duke of Aquitain, and Kudes, from a motive of private or public interest, devoted his beautiful daughter to the embraces of the African unbeliever. But the strongest fortresses of Cerdagne were invested by a superior force, the rebel was overtaken and slain in the mountains, and his widow was sent a captive to Damascus, to gratify the desires, or more probably the vanity, of the commander of the faithful. From the Pyrenees, Abderame proceeded without delay to the passage of the Rhône and the siege of Arles. An army of Christians attempted the relief of the city. the tombs of their leaders were yet visible in the thirteenth century; and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean sea. The arms of Abderame were not less successful on the side of the ocean. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bourdeaux, but he found, beyond those rivers, the camp of the intrepid Kudes, who had formed a second army and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their ad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gallic names are disguised rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou. his standards were planted on the walls, on at least before the gates, of Pours and of Sens, and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Beaunçon. The memory of these devastations, for Abderame did not spare the country or the people, was long preserved by tradition; and the invasion of France by the Moors or Mohammedans, affords

Expedition and
victories of
Abderame.
A.D. 731

the ground-work of those fables; which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art, the deserted cities could supply a slender booty to the Saracens, their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames; and the tutelar saints, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchres.¹ A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire, the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland. The Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.²

From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder

Defeat of the Saracens by Charles Martel. A.D. 732.

Pepin, was content with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks; but he deserved to become the father of a line

of kings. In a laborious administration of twenty-four years, he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhone, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitaine, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an indignity! We have long heard of the name and conquests of the Arabs: we were apprehensive of their attack from the East, they have now conquered Spain, and invade our country on the side of the West. Yet their numbers, and (since they have no buckler) their arms, are inferior to our own." "If you follow my advice," replied the prudent mayor of the palace, "you will not interrupt their march, nor precipitate your attack. They are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its career. The thirst of riches, and the consciousness of success, redouble their valour, and valour is of more avail than arms or numbers. Be patient till they have loaded themselves with the incumbrance of wealth. The possession of wealth will divide their counsels and assure your victory." This subtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers, and the situation of Charles will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination; the secret desire of humbling the pride and wasting the provinces of the rebel duke of Aquitaine. It is yet more probable, that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A standing army was unknown under the first and second race more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Saracens according to their respective situation, the Franks of Neustria and Austrasia were too conscious or too careless of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepids and Germans were separated by a long interval from the standard of the Christian general. No sooner had

¹ With regard to the sanctuary of St. Martin of Tours, Roderic Ximenes accuses the Saracens of the deed. *Turonis civitatem, ecclesiam et palatium vastatione et incendia simul diruit et consumpsit. The continuator of Fredegarus imputes to them no more than the intention. Ad domum beatissimi Martini everendam destinavit. At Carolus, &c.* The French annalist was more jealous of the honour of the saint.

² Let it sincerely doubt whether the Oxford mosque would have produced a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the sermons lately preached by Mr. White, the Arabic professor, at Mr. Hampton's lecture. His observations on the character and religion of Mahomet, are always adapted to his argument, and generally founded in truth and reason. He sustains the part of a lively and eloquent advocate; and sometimes rises to the merit of an historian and philosopher.

he collected his forces, than he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderame appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the first six days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage; but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and iron hands,¹ asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the hammer, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes: the valour of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation, and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true Peers and Paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each *emir* consulted his safety by a hasty and separate retreat. At the dawn of day, the stillness of a hostile camp was suspected by the victorious Christians: on the report of their spies, they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents, but, if we except some celebrated relics, a small portion of the spoil was restored to the innocent and lawful owners. The joyful tidings were soon diffused over the Catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five, thousand of the Mohammedans had been crushed by the hammer of

Charles,² while no more than fifteen hundred Christians were slain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is sufficiently disproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended the snares and accidents of a pursuit and dismissed his German allies to their native forests. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final, Aquitaine was recovered by the arms of Eudes, the Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.³ It might have been expected that the saviour of Christendom would have been canonised, or at least applauded, by the gratitude of the clergy, who are indebted to his sword for their present existence. But in the public distress, the mayor of the palace had been compelled to apply the riches, or at least the revenues, of the bishops and abbots, to the relief of the state and the reward of the soldiers. His merits were forgotten, his sacrilege alone was remembered, and, in an epistle to a Carlovigian prince, a Gallic synod presumes to declare that his ancestor was damned; that on the opening of his tomb, the spectators were affrighted by a smell of fire and the aspect of a horrid dragon, and that a saint of the times was indulged

¹ These numbers are stated by Paul Warfried, the deacon of Aquileia (*de Gestis Langobard.* i. vi. p. 921 edit. Grot.), and Anshelmus, the librarian of the Roman church (in *Vit. Gregorii II.*), who tells a miraculous story of three consecrated sponges, which rendered invulnerable the French soldiers among whom they had been shared. It should seem, that in his letters to the Pope, Eudes usurped the honour of the victory, for which he is chastised by the French annalists, who, with equal falsehood, accuse him of invading the Saracens.

² Narbonne, and the rest of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, A.D. 766 (*Pagi, Critica*, tom. iii. p. 300). Thirty-seven years afterwards it was pillaged by a sudden inroad of the Arabs, who employed the captives in the construction of the mosque of Cordova (*De Guignes, Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 364).

³ *Gens Austriæ membrorum præ eminentiâ valida, et gens Germaniæ corde et corpore præstantissima, quasi in lecto oculi, manu ferrea, et pectore ardeo, Arabes extinxerunt* (Roderic Toletan. c. xiv).

with a pleasant vision of the soul and body of Charles Martel, burning, to all eternity, in the abyss of hell.

The loss of an army, or a province, in the Western world, was less painful to the court of Damascus than the rise and progress of a domestic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the house of Ommiyah had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion; their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and noble blood of Arabia. The best of their race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his own title: their personal virtues were insufficient to justify a departure from the order of succession; and the eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem and the kindred of the apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous, but the descendants of Abbas cherished, with courage and discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria, they secretly despatched their agents and missionaries, who preached in the Eastern provinces their hereditary indefensible right, and Mohammed, the son of Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, gave audience to the deputies of Chorasan, and accepted their free gift of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. After the death of Mohammed, the oath of allegiance was administered in the name of his son Ibrahim to a numerous band of votaries, who expected only a signal and a leader, and the governor of Chorasan continued to deplore his fruitless admonitions and the deadly slumber of the caliphs of Damascus, till he himself, with all his adherents,

was driven from the city and palace of Meru, by the rebellious arms of Abu Moslem.¹ That maker of kings, the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the Abbassides, was at length rewarded for his presumption of merit with the usual gratitude of courts. A mean, perhaps a foreign, extraction could not repress the aspiring energy of Abu Moslem. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his wealth, prodigal of his own blood and of that of others, he could boast with pleasure, and possibly with truth, that he had destroyed six hundred thousand of his enemies, and such was the intrepid gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never seen to smile except on a day of battle. In the visible separation of parties, the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites, the Ommiades were distinguished by the *white*, and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abbassides. Their turbans and garments were stained with that gloomy colour: two black standards, on pike staves nine cubits long, were borne aloft in the van of Abu Moslem, and then allegorical names of the *night* and the *shadow* obscurely represented the indissoluble union and perpetual succession of the line of Hashem. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions: the Abbassides were most frequently victorious, but their public success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their chief. The court of Damascus, awaking from a long slumber, resolved to prevent the pilgrimage of Mecca, which Ibrahim had undertaken with a splendid retinue, to recommend himself at once to the favour of the prophet and of the people. A detachment of cavalry intercepted his march and arrested his person, and the unhappy Ibrahim, snatched away from the promise of untasted royalty, expired

¹ This pastoral letter, addressed to Lewis the Germanic, the grandson of Charlemagne, and most probably composed by the pen of the artful Hincmar, is dated in the year 868, and signed by the bishops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen (Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* A.D. 741 Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. x. p. 614-616). Yet Baronius himself, and the French critics, reject with contempt this episcopal fiction.

² The steed and the saddle which had carried any of his wives were instantly killed or burnt, lest they should be afterwards mounted by a male. Twelve hundred mules or camels were required for his kitchen furniture, and the daily consumption amounted to three thousand cakes, a hundred sheep, besides oxen, poultry, &c. (Abulpharagius, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 143).

in iron fetters in the tangle of Haran. His two younger brothers, Saffah* and Almansor, eluded the search of the tyrant, and lay concealed at Cufa, till the zeal of the people and the approach of his Eastern friends allowed them to expose their persons to the impatient public. On Friday, in the dress of a caliph, in the colours of the sect, Saffah proceeded with religious and military pomp to the mosque ascending the pulpit, he prayed and preached as the lawful successor of Mahomet, and after his departure, his kinsmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. But it was on the banks of the Zab, and not in the mosque of Cufa, that this important controversy was determined. Every advantage appeared to be on the side of the white faction: the authority of established government; an army of a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, against a sixth part of that number, and the presence and merit of the caliph Mervan, the fourteenth and last of the house of Omnyah. Before his accession to the throne, he had deserved, by his Georgian warfare, the honourable epithet of the ass of Mesopotamia,† and he might have been ranked among the greatest princes, had not, says Abulfeda, the eternal order decreed that moment for the ruin of his family, a decree against which all human prudence and fortitude must struggle in vain. The orders of Mervan were mistaken, or disobeyed: the return of his horse, from which he had dismounted on a necessary occasion, impressed the belief of his death, and the enthusiasm of the black squadrons was ably conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrievable defeat, the caliph escaped

* *Al Hmar*. He had been governor of Mesopotamia and the Arabic proverb praises the courage of that warlike breed of asses who never fly from an enemy. The surname of Mervan may justify the comparison of Homer (*Iliad* A. 57, &c.), and both will silence the moderns, who consider the ass as a stupid and ignoble emblem (*D. Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient.* p. 568).

* He is called Abdallah or Abul Abbas in the *Tarikh Tebr* Frips, vol. i. p. 600, Saffah or Saffah (the sanguinary) was a name which he acquired after his bloody reign, vol. ii. p. 1. —M

to Mosul, but the colours of the Abbassides were displayed from the rampart; he suddenly repassed the Tigris, cast a melancholy look on his palace of Haran, crossed the Euphrates, abandoned the fortifications of Damascus, and without halting in Palestine, pitched his last and fatal camp at Busir, on the banks of the Nile. His speed was urged by the incessant diligence of Abdallah, who in every step of the pursuit acquired strength and reputation. The remains of the white faction were finally vanquished in Egypt, and the lance, which terminated the life and anxiety of Mervan, was not less welcome perhaps to the unfortunate than to the victorious chief. The merciless inquisition of the conqueror radiated the most distant branches of the hostile race: their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hossem was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. Four score of the Omniades, who had yielded to the faith or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus. The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre: the board was spread over their fallen bodies, and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbassides was firmly established, but the Christians only could triumph in the

Fall of the
Omniades.
A.D. 750

† Four several places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Busir, or Busiris so famous in Greek fable. The first, where Mervan was slain, was to the west of the Nile, in the province of Ichnu, or Arsinoe; the second in the Delta, in the *delbennyti nome*, the third, near the pyramids, the fourth, which was destroyed by Theodorus (*see above*, vol. ii. p. 120), in the *thebaïk*. I shall here transcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis. *Videntur in pluribus Egypti superbia urbes Busiri Coptoquoque armis sumptuose Christiani, libertati, que de religione sentiendi defendisse, sed succubisse quo in bello (optus et Busiris) diruta, et circa eamam magna strages edita. Bellum narrans sed causam belli ignorant a riptores Byzantini, alioqui Coptum et Busirim non rebellasse dicturi, sed causam Christianorum suscepturi* (*Not.* 211, p. 100). For the geography of the four Busirs, see Abulfeda (*Descript. Egypt.* p. 9, vers. Michaelis Gottinge, 1778, in 4to), Michaelis *Not.* 122 127, p. 58-63, and D. Anville (*Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, p. 85, 147, 206).

mutual hatred and common loss of the disciples of Mahomet.¹

Yet the thousands who were swept away by the sword of war might have been speedily retrieved in the successful

Revolt of Spain, A.D. 755. ing generation, if the consequences of the revolution had not tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens.

In the proscription of the Omriades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of Mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cause of the Abbassides had been first indicated by the Persians the West had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandson of the caliph Hashem to ascend the throne of his ancestors, and in his desperate condition, the extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the same. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia, and after a successful struggle, Abdalrahman established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Omriades of Spain, who reigned above two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees. He slew in battle a lieutenant of the Abbassides, who had invaded his dominions with a fleet and army; the head of Ali, in salt and camphor, was suspended by a daring

¹ See Abulfeda (Annal Moslem p. 176 115) Futyhius (Annal tom ii p. 392 vers. Pocock), Elmucin (Hist. Saracen p. 109 171), Abulpharagius (Hist. Dynast. p. 141 110), Rodric de Toledo (Hist. Arabum, c. xviii p. 13), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 346, 347, who speaks of the Abbassides under the names of *Naparsurra* and *Maupepaga*), and the Bibliotheca of Hierbelot, in the articles *Omriades*, *Abbassides*, *Meraan*, *Ibrahim*, *Safah*, *Abou Moslem*.

² For the revolution of Spain, consult Rodric de Toledo (c. xviii p. 34, &c.), the Bibliotheca Arabico Hispana (tom ii p. 10, 198), and Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i p. 180 187, 201, 272, 328, &c.)

messenger before the palace of Mecca; and the caliph Almansor rejoiced in his safety, that he was removed by seas and lands from such a formidable adversary. Their mutual designs or declarations of offensive war evaporated without effect; but instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was dis severed from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the Christian sovereigns of Constantinople and France. The example of the Omriades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edissites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa of the caliphate and Egypt. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Caroon, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.¹

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abbassides were never tempted to reside either in the birth place or the city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood of the Omriades, and after some hesitation, Almansor, the brother and successor of Hahshar, laid the foundations of Bagdad,² the Imperial seat of his pos-

Magnificence of the caliphs A.D. 750 960

¹ I shall not stop to refute the strange errors and fancies of Sir William Temple (his Works vol. iii p. 471 474, octavo edition) and Voltair (Histoire Generale, c. xxviii tom ii p. 124, 125, edition de Lausanne), concerning the division of the Saracen empire. The mistakes of Voltair proceeded from the want of knowledge or reflection, but Sir William was deceived by a Spanish impostor, who has framed an apocryphal history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

² The geographer D. Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 121 123), and the Orientalist D. Hierbelot (Bibliothèque, p. 167, 168) may suffice for the knowledge of Bagdad. Our travellers, Pietro della Valle (tom i p. 688-698), Tavernier (tom i p. 230-238), Thevenot (part ii p. 209 212), Otter (tom i p. 162 168), and Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, tom ii p. 220-271), have seen only its decay, and the Arabian geographer (p. 204), and the travelling Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (Itinerarium, p. 112 123, & Const. l'Empereur, and Hist. vtr. l'Arab.), are the only writers of my

terity during a reign of five hundred years.¹ The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles above the ruins of Modain: the double wall was of a circular form, and such was the rapid increase of a capital, now dwindled to a provincial town, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. In this *city of peace*,² amidst the riches of the East, the Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings. After his wars and buildings, Almanson left behind him in gold and silver about thirty millions sterling, and this treasure was exhausted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahadi, a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and canals, which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles, but his train of camels, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet.³ The courtiers would surely praise the liberality of his grandson

acquaintance, who have known Bagdad under the reign of the Abbassides.

¹ The foundations of Bagdad were laid A. H. 145, A. D. 762, Mostasem, the last of the Abbassides, was taken and put to death by the Tartars, A. H. 650, A. D. 1258, the 20th of February.

² *Medinat al Salem*, *Dar al Salem*, *Urbe pacis*, or, as is more neatly compounded by the Byzantine writers, *Eupennopolis* (Irenopolis). There is some dispute concerning the etymology of Bagdad, but the first syllable is allowed to signify a garden in the Persian tongue, the garden of Ibad, a Christian hermit, whose cell had been the only habitation on the spot.

³ *Kelliquit in arario sexcentis milibus mille stateres, et quater et vices milibus milibus aureis aureos Elmadin*, *Hist. Arabum* p. 126. I have reckoned the gold pieces at eight shillings, and the proportion to the silver as twelve to one. But I will never answer for the numbers of *kerpenius*, and the Latins are scarcely above the savages in the language of arithmetic.

⁴ D'Herbelot, p. 590. Abulfeda, p. 164. *Nivem Meccam apportavit, rem ibi aut nunquam aut rarissime visam*.

Almamon, who gave away four fifths of the income of a province, a sum of two millions four hundred thousand gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride,¹ and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened, rather than impaired, by the decline of the empire, and a Greek ambassador might admire, or pity, the magnificence of the feeble Moctader. "The caliph's whole army," says the historian Abulfeda, "both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of one hundred and sixty thousand men. His state officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them white, the remainder black. The porters or door keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. A hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion.² Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and silver spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery affected spontaneous motions, the several

¹ Abulfeda, p. 184, 189, describes the splendour and liberality of Almamon. Alibon has alluded to this Oriental custom.

— Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand, Showers on her kings a Barbicue pearl and gold. I have used the modern word *lottery*, to express the *Musalla* of the Roman emperors, which is entitled to some prize the person who caught them, as they were thrown among the crowd.

² When Bell of Antimony (*Travels* vol. 1 p. 87) accompanied the Lussan ambassador to the presence of the unfortunate Shah Hussein of Persia, two lions were introduced, to denote the power of the king over the fiercest animals.

rules of instruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the people to that of the mechanic—a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars, and the moral or industry of the professors was rewarded with adequate stipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the students and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the sultan of Morocco, because the earnings of his books would have required ten hundred canals. The royal library of the Fatimites consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Ommayyads of Spain had formed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great irruption of the Moguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals, but since the sun of science has risen in the West, it should seem that the Oriental studies have languished and declined.

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit. The shelves were crowded

with literary anecdotes borrowed from the Bibliotheca Arabico Hispanica (tom. ii. p. 31, 32, 33), Leo Africanus (de Arab. Africa et Philosophia in Fabrici Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 29, 30, particularly p. 271), and Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 274, 275, 276), besides the chronological remarks of Abulpharagius.

The Arabic catalogue of the Pseculial will give a just idea of the proportion of the classes in the library of Cairo, the MSS. of astronomy and medicine amounted to 6500, with two fair

with orators and poets, whose style was adapted to the taste and manners of their countrymen, with general and partial historians, which each revolving generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events, with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet, with the interpreters of the Koran, and orthodox tradition, and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimates of sceptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physics. The ages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the East, which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen. Among the ideal systems which have varied with the fashion of the times, the Arabians adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall

of Greece, the one of brass, the other of silver (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 117).

As for instance, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books (the eighth is still wanting) of the Code Sections of Apollonius Pergæus, which were printed from the Florence MS. 1061 (Fabrici Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 599). Yet the fifth book had been previously restored by the mathematical divination of Viviani (see his Flogia in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 69, &c.).

The merit of these Arabic versions is freely discussed by Renaudot (Fabrici Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 812, 816), and positively defended by Levet (Bibliot. Arab. Hispanica, tom. i. p. 2, 3, 400). Most of the versions of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, &c. &c., are ascribed to Roman physicians of the Nestorian sect, who flourished at Persia, and in the court of the caliphs, and died A.D. 576. He was at the head of a school of manufacture of translations, and the works of his sons and disciples were published under his name. See Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 88, 11, 171, 174, and apud Asseman, Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 435), D. Harbelot (Bibliot. Oriental. p. 436) Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 164), and Casiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hispanica, tom. i. p. 238, &c., 261, 286-290, 302, 304, &c.).

of that religion, the Peripatetics, emerging from their obscurity, prevailed in the controversies of the Oriental sects, and their founder was long afterwards restored by the Mohammedans of Spain to the Latin schools.¹ The physics, both of the Academy and the Lyceum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have retarded the progress of real knowledge. The metaphysics of infinite, or finite, spirit, have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics, the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodise our ideas,² and his syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters and disciples should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century, and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves.³ They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments of observation were supplied by the caliph

Almamun, and the land of the Chaldeans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty four thousand miles the entire circumference of our globe.⁴ From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grandchildren of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed, and the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand,⁵ correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the Eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not deluded his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology.⁶ But in the science of medicine, the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Rasis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters, in the city of Bagdad, eight hundred and sixty physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession.⁷ In Spain, the life of the Catholic princes was intrusted to the

¹ See Moshim, Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 181, 214, 246, 257, 315, 338, 390, 438, &c.

² The most elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle may be found in the Philosophical Arrangements of Mr. James Harris (London, 1775, in octavo), who laboured to revive the studies of Grecian literature and philosophy.

³ Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 81, 222, Bibliot. Arab. III. i. tom. i. p. 370, 371. In quem (says the prime of the Jacobites) si immiserit se lector oceanum hoc in gressu (algebra) inveniet. The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown, but his six books are still extant, and have been illustrated by the Greek Planudes and the Frenchman Mesirice (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. iv. p. 12-15).

⁴ Abulfeda (Annal. Moslim. p. 210, 211, vers. Relake) describes this operation according to Ibn Chalkican, and the best historians. This degree most accurately contains 90,000 rods, or Maslamin cubits, which Arabians derived from the sacred and legal practice both of Palestine and Egypt. This ancient cult is repeated 400 times in each hour of the great pyramid, and seen to indicate the primitive and universal measures of the East. Metrol. p. 101.

⁵ See the Astronomical Tables of Ulugh Begh, with the preface of Dr. Hyde, in the first volume of his Syntaxis Dissertationum, Oxon. 1767.

⁶ The truth of astrology was allowed by Alhambassar, and the best of the Arabian astrologers, who drew their most certain predictions, not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the sun (Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 161, 164). For the state and science of the Persian astronomers, see Chardin (Voyage en Perse, tom. II. p. 302, 303).

⁷ Bibliot. Arabico Hispana, tom. I. p. 478. The original relates a pleasant tale of an ignorant but harmless practitioner.

skill of the Saracens,¹ and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, received in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art.² The success of each professor must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes; but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general knowledge of anatomy,³ botany,⁴ and chemistry,⁵ the threefold basis of their theory and practice. A superstitious reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabians to the dissection of apes and quadrupeds, the more solid and visible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for the microscope and the injections of modern artists. Botany is an active science, and the discoveries of the torrid zone might enrich the herbal of Dioscorides with two thousand plants. Some traditional knowledge might be secreted in the temples and monasteries of

Egypt; much useful experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures, but the science of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchemy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits

of a familiar intercourse, erudition, taste, with Greece and Rome, and freedom.

of the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians disdained the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their Christian subjects, they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version, and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens. The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics: they possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome; the heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the history of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the

¹ In the year 950, Sancho the Fat, king of Leon, was cured by the physicians of Cordova (Mariana, l. viii. c. 7, tom. i. p. 318).

² The school of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian sciences into Italy, are discussed with learning and judgment by Muratori (Antiquitat. Ital. Med. & VI, tom. III. p. 332, 340) and Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. II. p. 110, 127).

³ See a good view of the progress of anatomy in Wotton (Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning p. 208, 246). His reputation has been unworthily depreciated by the wits in the controversy of Boyle and Bentley.

⁴ Hippot Arab Hispana, tom. i. p. 275. Al Bathar, of Malaga, their greatest botanist, had travelled into Africa, Persia, and India.

⁵ Dr. Watson (Elements of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 17, 18), shows the *original* merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modest confession of the famous Censor of the ninth century (D. Herbelot, p. 387), that he had drawn most of his science, perhaps of the transmutation of metals, from the ancient sages. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemistry and alchemy appear to have been known in Egypt at least three hundred years before Mahomet (Wotton's Reflections, p. 131-133. Paus. Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, tom. i. p. 376-420).⁶

⁶ Mr. Whewell (Hist. of Inductive Sciences, vol. i. p. 336) rejects the claim of the Arabians as inventors of the science of chemistry. "The formation and realisation of the notions of analysis and affinity were important steps in chemical science, which, as I shall hereafter endeavour to show, remained for the chemists of Europe to make at a much later period."

⁷ Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 26, 148) mentions a Syriac version of Homer's two poems, by Theophilus, a Christian Maronite of Mount Libanus, who professed astronomy at Baha or Edessa towards the end of the eighth century. His work would be a literary curiosity. I have read somewhere, but I do not believe, that Plutarch's Lives were translated into Turkish for the use of Mahomet the Second.

prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste, and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I know that the classics have much to teach, and I believe that the Orientals have much to learn: the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry. The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings, and asserted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of Eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of inquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant, and their prophet an impostor. The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences, and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almanon. To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armures of the faithful presumed to read and to reflect. Yet the foolish

vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly infused the sacred fire to the hubbubians of the East.

In the bloody conflict of the Omeyyads and Abbassides, the ^{Wars of Harun al Rashid against the Romans, A.D. 781-809} Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a severe contribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized, in his turn, the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosphorus, under the command of Harun, or Aaron, the second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of the sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominious peace, and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire. The Saracens had too wisely advanced into the midst of a distant and hostile land than to let it was solicited by the promise of faithful guides in plentiful markets, and not a Greek had courage to whisper that their weary force might be surrounded and destroyed in their narrow passages between a slippery mountain and the river Sangarius. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne

¹ I have perused, with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's Latin Commentary on Arabic Poetry (London 1774, in octavo), which was composed in the youth of that wonderful linguist. At present, in the maturity of his taste and judgment, he would perhaps think of the fervour and even partiality which he has bestowed on the Oriental.

² Almanon the Arab in philosophy. Averroes has been accused of disciplining the religions of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mohammedans (see his article in Bayle's Dictionary). Each of these sects would agree, that in two instances out of three, his contempt was reasonable.

³ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 646.

γρηγορι, οὗ ἡς τὸ Ἰωννῆς γρηγορι, ἑκατοντὶ τοῖς ἔτεσι, καὶ ἑξήκοντα τοῖς τοῖς ἔτεσι, καὶ ἑξήκοντα, p. 618, who tells us how manfully the emperor refused a mathematician to the instances and offers of the caliph Almanon. This refusal is expressed almost in the same words by the continuator of Theophanes (Scriptores post Theophanem, p. 114).

⁴ See the reign and character of Harun al Rashid, in the Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 431-432, under its proper title, and in the relative articles to which M. D'Herbelot refers. That learned collector has shown much taste in stripping the Oriental chronicles of their instructive and amusing anecdotes.

of his father and his older brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the West, as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers, as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the name of *Al Rashid* (the Just) is sullied by the extinction of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Rumeidas, yet he could listen to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a passage of the Koran, to threaten the inattentive despot with the judgment of God and posterity. His court was adorned with luxury and science, but, in a reign of three-and-twenty years, Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from Chorasán to Egypt, nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca, eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans, and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. But when the unnatural mother of Constantine was deposed and banished, her successor, Nicephorus, resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. The epistle of the emperor to the caliph was pointed with an allusion to the game of chess, which had lately spread from Persia to Greece. The queen (he spoke of Irene) considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous king submitted to pay the tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore therefore the fruits of your injustice, or drink the determination of the sword! At these words the ambassador set a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his scimitar, *samsamah*, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper, of his blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity. "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read

thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother! Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold, my reply." It was written in characters of blood and lac on the plains of Phrygia, and the weakness of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the show of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigues of the campaign, to his favourite palace of Raeca on the Laphates,¹ but the distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who repassed, in the depth of winter, the snows of Mount Taurus, his stratagems of policy and war were exhausted, and the peribolous Greek escaped with three wounds from a field of battle overspread with forty thousand of his subjects. Yet the emperor was ashamed of submission, and the caliph was resolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers received pay, and were inscribed in the military roll, and above three hundred thousand persons of every denomination marched under the black standard of the Abbassides. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tyan and Amog, and invested the Pontic Heraclea, once a flourishing state, now a petty town, at that time capable of sustaining, in her antique wall, a month's siege against the forces of the East. The ruin was complete, the spoil was ample, but if Harun had been conversant with Grecian story, he would have regretted the statue of Hercules, who attained

¹ For the situation of Raeca the old Nicephorus consult D'Anville (*Supplément à la Carte* p. 47). The Arabian *Nica* corresponds to Nicaea at Paphlagonia almost stationary at Heraclea. He respected the royal seat of the Abbassides, but the vices of the inhabitants had driven him from the city (*Abulph. Annal* p. 167).

² M. de Lorrainefort in his evening voyage from Constantinople to Trichinopol, passed a night at Heraclea or Pregril. His eye surveyed the present state, his reading collected the antiquities of the city (*Voyage du Levant*, tom. iii. lettre xli. p. 233). We have a separate history of Heracles in the fragments of Meleager, which are preserved by Photius.

butes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's head, were sculptured in massy gold. The progress of desolation by sea and land, from the Euxine to the isle of Cyprus, compelled the Emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty, the ruins of Heliaclea were left for ever as a lesson and a trophy, and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons.¹ Yet this plurality of lords might contribute to remove the dishonour of the Roman name. After the death of their father, the heirs of the caliph were involved in civil discord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamun, was sufficiently engaged in the restoration of domestic peace and the introduction of foreign science.

Under the reign of Almamun at Bagdad, of Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the islands of Crete and Sicily were subdued by the Arabs. The former of these conquests is disclaimed by their own writers, who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine historians, who now begin to cast a clearer light on the affairs of their own times.² A band of Andalusian volun-

¹ The wars of Harun al Rashid against the Roman empire are related by Theophanes (p. 351, 352, 361, 364, 407, 408), Constantinus (tom. ii. l. v. p. 115, 124), Cedrenus (p. 477, 488), Euthymius (Annales tom. ii. p. 40), Eusebius (Hist. eccles. p. 107, 301, 129), Abulpharagius (Hist. arab. p. 117, 118), and Abulfeda (p. 100, 106, 107).

² The authors from whom I have learned the state of the ancient and modern state of Crete, are Dion (Observations, &c. p. 20, 1718, 1753), Journéfort (Voyage du Levant, tom. i. lettre ii. et iii), and Mourins (Creta, in his works, tom. ii. p. 313-314). Although Crete is styled by Homer *Isispa*, by Dionysius *Ἰσίδρα* or *Ἰσίδρα*, I cannot conceive that mountainous island to surpass, or even to equal, in fertility the greater part of Spain.

³ The most authentic and circumstantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuatio of Theophanes, compiled by the pen of the emperor of Constantinople Porphyrogenitus, with the life of his father Basil, the Macedonian (Strasbourg post Theophanem, p. 1162 & Franc. c. Combès, Paris 1655). The loss of Crete and Sicily is related, l. ii. p. 46, 52. To these we may add the secondary evidence of Joseph Crensius (l. ii. p. 21. Venet.

1733), George Cedrenus (Compend. p. 506, 508), and John Scylitzes (proplatata (apud Baron Annal. Eccles. A. D. 827. No. 24, &c.). But the modern Greeks are such notorious plagiarists, that I should only quote a plurality of names. Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 261, 266, 268, 270) has described the ravages of the Andalusian Arabs in Egypt, but has forgot to connect them with the conquest of Crete. The emperor of Syria, explored the adventures of the sea, but as they sailed in no more than ten or twenty galleys, their warfare must be branded with the name of piracy. As the subjects and sectaries of the *white* party, they might lawfully invade the dominions of the *black* caliphs. A rebellious faction introduced them into Alexandria; they cut in pieces both friends and foes, pillaged the churches and the mosques, sold above six thousand Christian captives, and maintained their station in the capital of Egypt, till they were oppressed by the *white* and the presence of Almamun himself. From the mouth of the Nile to the Nile-spout, the islands and sea-coasts both of the Greeks and Moslems were exposed to their depredations, they saw, they envied, they tasted the fertility of Crete, and soon returned with forty galleys to a more serious attack. The Andalusians wandered over the land fearless and unmolested; but when they descended with their plunder to the sea shore, their vessels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Canb, confessed himself the author of the mischief. Their clamours accused his malice or treachery. "Of what do you complain?" replied the crafty emir. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country: repose from your toils, and forget the barren place of your nativity." "And our wives and children?" "Your beauteous captives will supply the place of your wives, and in their embraces you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny. The first habitation was their camp, with a ditch and rampart, in the bay of Suda; but an apostate monk led them to a more desirable position in the eastern parts, and the name of Candax, their fortress and colony, has

1733), George Cedrenus (Compend. p. 506, 508), and John Scylitzes (proplatata (apud Baron Annal. Eccles. A. D. 827. No. 24, &c.). But the modern Greeks are such notorious plagiarists, that I should only quote a plurality of names.

⁴ Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 261, 266, 268, 270) has described the ravages of the Andalusian Arabs in Egypt, but has forgot to connect them with the conquest of Crete.

been extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation of *Condura*. The hundred cities of the age of Minos were diminished to thirty, and of these, only one, most probably Cydonia, had courage to retain the substance of freedom and the profession of Christianity. The Saracens of Crete soon repaired the loss of their navy, and the timbers of Mount Ida were launched into the main. During a hostile period of one hundred and thirty-eight years, the princes of Constantinople attacked these licentious corsairs with fruitless curses and ineffectual arms.

The loss of Sicily¹ was occasioned by an act of superstitious rigour. An amorous youth, who had stolen a nun from her cloister, was sentenced by the emperor to the amputation of his tongue. Paphemus appealed to the reason and policy of the Saracens of Africa, and soon returned with the Imperial purple a fleet of one hundred ships, and an army of seven hundred horse and ten thousand foot. They landed at Mazara near the ruins of the ancient Selinus, but after some partial victories, Syracuse² was delivered by the Greeks, the apostate was slain before her walls, and his African friends were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of their own horses. In their turn they were relieved by a powerful reinforcement of their brethren of Andalusia, the largest and western part of the island was gradually reduced, and the commodious harbour of Palermo was chosen for the seat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved about fifty years

the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Caesar. In the last and fatal siege, her citizens displayed some remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They stood above twenty days against the battering rams and *catapultæ*, the mines and tortoises of the besiegers; and the place might have been relieved, if the mariners of the Imperial fleet had not been detained at Constantinople in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The deacon Theodosius, with the bishop and clergy, was dragged in chains from the altar to Palermo, cast into a subterranean dungeon, and exposed to the hourly peril of death or apostasy. His pathetic, and not inelegant complaint, may be read as the epitaph of his country. From the Roman conquest to this final calamity, Syracuse, now dwindled to the primitive isle of Ortygia, had insensibly declined. Yet the relics were still precious, the plate of the cathedral weighed five thousand pounds of silver; the entire spoil was computed at one million of pieces of gold (about four hundred thousand pounds sterling), and the captives must out-number the seventeen thousand Christians, who were transported from the sack of Tauromenium into African servitude. In Sicily, the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated, and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis; a hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and apostles. Had the Mohammedans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in

¹ *Δηλῶς* (says the continuator of Theophanes, l. ii. p. 651), *ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ κατεστῆσαν καὶ πλεονέκων ἢ τότε γραφίσα διαγνώσκει καὶ οἱ ἱερεὶς ἰδόντες ἤσαν*. This history of the loss of Sicily is no longer extant. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vii. p. 719, 21, &c.) has added some circumstances from the Italian chronicles.

² The splendid and interesting tragedy of *Taurade* would adapt itself much better to this epoch, than to the date (A.D. 1005) which Voltaire himself has chosen. But I must gently reproach the poet, for infusing into the Greek subjects the spirit of modern knights and ancient republicans.

³ The narrative or lamentation of Theodosius is transcribed and illustrated by Fagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 719, &c.). Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 69, 70, p. 190-192), mentions the loss of Syracuse and the triumph of the demons.

the West, the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa, their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence, and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory incursions.

In the sufferings of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber, and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered as the metropolis of the Christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people, but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. Their invisible sanctity had protected them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards, but the Arabs disclaimed both the Gospel and the legend, and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. The Christian *idols* were stripped of their costly offerings, a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter, and if the bodies of the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens. In their course along the Appian way, they pillaged Fundi and besieged Capri.

they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their direction, the Capitol was freed from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people, and their domestic force was unequal to the assault of an African emir. They claimed the protection of their Italian sovereign, but the Carolingian standard was overthrown by a detachment of the Bulgarians; they mediated the restoration of the Greek emperors, but the attempt was fruitless, and the succour remote. In calamitous their distress.

¹ The extracts from the Arabic histories of Sicily are given in Abulfida (Annal. Moslem. p. 271-273), and in the first volume of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*. M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. I p. 363, 364) has added some important facts.

² One of the most eminent Romans (Gratian

appeared to receive some aggravation from the death of their spiritual and temporal chief. But the pressing emergency supplied the forms and intrigues of an election. At the moment choice of Pope Leo the Ninth was the safety of the church and city. This pontiff was born a Roman, the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast, and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. The first days of his reign were consecrated to the purification and removal of relics, to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion, which served at least to heal the imagination, and restore the hopes, of the multitude. The public defence had been long neglected, not from the presumption of peace, but from the distress and poverty of the times. As far as the want of his means and the shortness of his leisure would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo: fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed, two of these commanded on either side of the Tiber, and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of a hostile navy. The Romans were as much refreshed by the welcome news that the siege of Capri had been raised, and that a part of the enemy, with their victorious plunder, had perished in the waves.

But the storm which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with a doubled violence. The Aglabites, who

admirum tamen non potest super
iudicium de his
nobis beati pontificis chaturum
ut, et si non sunt violenti
tollit. Quare
dixit, quia comp
dum de
mst. Arabibus in Roma IV p. 191.

¹ Voltaire (*Hist. G.* tom. II c. 38 p. 11) appears to be remarkably struck with the character of Pope Leo IV. I have borrowed his general expression, but the sight of the forum has furnished me with a more distinct and lively image.

² De Guignes, *Hist. Generale des Huns*, tom. I p. 364, 364. Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, sous la Domination des Arabes*, tom. II p. 24, 25. I observe, and cannot re

reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army, a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short retirement in the harbour of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the city, and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient insult, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi, and in the hour of danger, their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia under the command of Cassarius the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cassarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to inquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succour. The city hands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with marital devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same God who had supported St Peter and St Paul on the waves of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of his holy name. After a mutual prayer, and with equal resolution, the Moslems advanced to the attack of the Christian galleys, which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The Christians were sheltered, in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of a hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger neither found, nor deserved, mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the

dangerous multitude of captives, and the remainder was more usefully employed to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles, and, among the spoils of this naval victory, thirty Arabian bows of pure and many silver were suspended round the altar of the fishermen of Galilee. The reign of Leo the Fourth was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman state. The churches were renewed and embellished, near four thousand pounds of silver were consecrated to repair the losses of St Peter, and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold of the weight of two hundred and sixteen pounds, embossed with the portraits of the pope and emperor, and encircled with a string of pearls. Yet this vain magnificence reflects less glory on the character of Leo, than the paternal care with which he rebuilt the walls of Rosta and Amerina, and transported the wandering inhabitants of Centumcellæ to his new foundation of Laopoli, twelve miles from the seashore.¹ By his liberality, a colony of Corsicans, with their wives and children, was planted in the station of Porto at the mouth of the Tiber: the falling city was restored for their use; the fields and vineyards were divided among the new settlers; their first efforts were assisted by a gift of horses and cattle, and the hardy exile, who breathed revenge against the Saracens, swore to live and die under the standard of St Peter. The nations of the West and North who vied the threshold of the apostles had gradually formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished in the language of the times, as the *schools* of the Greeks and Goths, of the Lombards and Saxons. But this venerable spot was still open to sacrilegious insult: the design of enclosing it with walls and towers, exhausted all that authority could command, or charity would sup-

sonelle, the difference of these writers in the suppression of the Aglabites.

¹ Baretti (*Chorographia Italica Medii ævi* p. 104, 108) has illustrated Centumcellæ, Laopoli, Civitas Leonina, and the other places of the Roman duchy.

ply - and the pious labour of four years was animated in every season, and at every hour, by the presence of the indefatigable pontiff. The love of fame, a generous but worldly

Foundation of
the Leonine city
A.D. 822

passion, may be detected in the name of the *Leonine city*, which he bestowed on the Vatican; yet the pride of the dedication was tempered with Christian penance and humility. The boundary was trod by the bishop and his clergy, barefoot, in sackcloth and ashes, the songs of triumph were modulated to psalms and litinies, the walls were besprinkled with holy water, and the ceremony was concluded with a prayer, that under the guardian care of the apostles and the angelic host, both the old and the new Rome might ever be preserved pure, prosperous, and impregnable.

The Emperor Theophilus, son of

The Arabian
war between
Theophilus and
Motassem
A.D. 823.

Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active and high spirited princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. In offensive or defensive war, he marched in person five times against the Saracens, formidable in his attack, esteemed by the enemy in his losses and defeats. In the last of these expeditions he penetrated into Syria, and besieged the obscure town of Sozopetra, the casual birth place of the caliph Motassem, whose father Harun was attended in peace or war by the most favoured of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Persian impostor employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favour of a place for which he felt and acknowledged some degree of filial affection. These sollicitations determined the emperor to wound his pride in so sensible a part. Sozopetra was levelled with

¹ The Arabs and the Greeks are alike silent concerning the invasion of Rome by the Africans. The Latin chronicles do not afford much instruction (see the *Annals of Baronius* and *Pagi*). Our authentic and contemporary guide for the Popes of the ninth century is *Anastasius*, librarian of the Roman church. ² His *Life of Leo IV.* contains twenty-four pages (p. 176-199, edit. Paris), and if a great part consist of superstitious trifles, we must blame or commend his hero, who was much oftener in a church than in a camp.

the ground, the Syrian prisoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among these a matron of the house of Abbas invoked, in an agony of despair, the name of Motassem, and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honour of her kinsman to avenge his indignity, and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two eldest brothers, the inheritance of the youngest had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia; this frontier station had exercised his military talents; and among his accidental claims to the name of *Octonary*,¹ the most meritorious are the *eight* battles which he gained or fought against the enemies of the Koran. In this personal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; were recruited from the tribes of Arabia and the Turkish hordes his cavalry might be numerous, though we should deduct some myriads from the hundred and thirty thousand horses of the royal stables, and the expense of the armament was computed at four millions sterling, or one hundred thousand pounds of gold. From Tarsus the place of assembly, the Saracens advanced in three divisions along the high road of Constantinople. Motassem himself commanded the centre, and the vanguard was given to his son Abbas, who in the trial of the first adventures, might succeed with the more glory, or fail with the least reproach. In the revenge of his injury, the caliph prepared to retaliate a similar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amorium² in Phrygia. the original seat of the Imperial house had been adorned with

¹ The same number was applied to the following circumstance in the *Life of Motassem*. He was the *eight* of the Abbassides, he reigned *eight* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days, left *eight* sons, *eight* daughters, *eight* thousand slaves, *eight* millions of gold.

² Amorium is seldom mentioned by the old geographers, and totally forgotten in the Roman Itineraries. After the sixth century, it became an episcopal see, and at length the metropolis of the new Galatia (Carol Scot. Paulo, *Geograph Sacra*, p. 234). The city rose again from its ruins, if we should read *Ammuria*, not *Amuria*, in the text of the Nubian geographer (p. 236).

privileges and manumissions; and what ever might be the indifference of the people, Constantinople itself was scarcely of more value in the eyes of the sovereign and his court. The name of AMORIUM was inscribed on the shields of the Saracens; and their three armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been proposed by the wisest counsellors, to evacuate Amorium, to remove the inhabitants, and to abandon the empty structures to the vain resentment of the barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous resolution of defending, in a siege and battle, the country of his ancestors. When the armies drew near, the front of the Mohammedan line appeared to a Roman eye more closely planted with spears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either side to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the swords of thirty thousand Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Byzantine empire. The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, and had not their bow-strings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the Christians could have escaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Dorylaeum, at the distance of three days, and Theophilus, reviewing his trembling squadrons, forgave the common flight both of the prince and people. After this discovery of his weakness, he vainly hoped to deprecate the fate of Amorium. The inexorable caliph rejected with contempt his prayers and promises, and detained the Roman ambassadors to be the witnesses of his great revenge. They had nearly been the witnesses of his shame. The vigorous assaults of fifty five days were encountered, by a faithful governor, a veteran garrison, and a desperate people, and the Saracens must have raised the siege, if a domestic traitor had not pointed to the weakest part of the wall, a place which was decorated with the statues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Motassem was accomplished with unrelenting rigour. tired, rather

than satiated, with destruction, he returned to his new palace of Samarra, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, while the *unfortunate* Theophilus implored the tardy and doubtful aid of his Western rival the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the siege of Amorium above seventy thousand Moslems had perished: their loss had been revenged by the slaughter of thirty thousand Christians, and the sufferings of an equal number of captives, who were treated as the most atrocious criminals. Mutual necessity could sometimes extort the exchange or ransom of prisoners,¹ but in the national and religious conflict of the two empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field, those who escaped the edge of the sword were condemned to hopeless servitude, or exquisite torture, and a Catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Cicte, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil.² To a point of honour Motassem had sacrificed a flourishing city, two hundred thousand lives, and the property of millions. The same caliph descended from his horse, and dirtied his robe, to relieve the distress of a decrepit old man, who with his laden ass, had tumbled into a

¹ In the East he was styled *Is-uzas* (Continuator Theophan. l. iii. p. 81), but such was the ignorance of the West, that his ambassadors, in public discourse, might boldly narrate de victoris, quas adversus ceteras bellando gentes coelitus fuerat assecutus (Annalist. Justinian. apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 720).

² Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 167, 168) relates one of these singular transactions on the bridge of the river Euphrates in Cilicia, the limit of the two empires, and one day a journey westward of Tarsus (D'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 91). Four thousand four hundred and sixty Moslems, eight hundred women and children, one hundred confederates, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. They passed each other in the middle of the bridge, and when they reached their respective friends, they shouted *Allah Akbar*, and *Agios Athanasios*. Many of the prisoners of Amorium were, probably among them, but in the same text (l. ii. p. 91), the most illustrious of them, the forty two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's son.

³ Constantin Porphyrogenetus, in Var. l. c. c. 61, p. 150. These Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar severity as pirates and renegades.

ditish. Of which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure, when he was summoned by the angel of death?

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and nation expired. When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the East, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the fire-born and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the South is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the North, of which valour is the hasty and spontaneous production. Of the Turks who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war, or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the Mohammedan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Motassem, the first author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above fifty thousand Turks: their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence and the camp of his barbarian favourites at Samarra on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of Peace. His

¹ For Theophilus Motassem, and the Arabian war, see the continuator of Theophanes (l. iii. p. 123); Geograph. (l. iii. p. 133); Cedrenus (p. 539); Thurnm (Hist. Saracen. p. 10); Abulpharaz (Dinawar. p. 164, 165); Abulfat. (Annal. Almorav. p. 191); D'Hellebret (Froisart Oriental, p. 69, 610).

² Mr. Gungah, who sometimes heses, and sometimes stumbles, in the gulf between Chinese and Mohammedan story, thinks he can see at these times in the *Heckel* that the *Khalifa*, or *h. p. n. p.* that they were divided into three borders, from China and Siberia to the dominions of the caliphs and Samarras. (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 133, 143).

³ He changed the old name of Samarra, or Samarra, into the fanciful title of *Semmarra*, that which gives pleasure at first sight (*L'Her*

son Motiwakkel was jealous and cruel tyrant odious to his subjects, he cast himself on the fidelity of the soldiers, and these soldiers, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the course of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet staining with a father's blood, Montasser was triumphantly led, but in a reign of six months, he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. If he wept at the sight of an old tapestry which represented the crime and punishment of the son of Chosroes, if his days were alldged by grief and remorse, we may allow some pity to a parricide, who exulted, in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world and the world to come. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years created, deposed, and murdered, three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or revenge, these caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable ruin. At length, however, the fury of the tempest was spent or directed: the Abbassides retired to the less turbulent residence of Bagdad, the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a humane

helot, Pitholthe (p. 610); p. 88, D'Anville, (Euphrate et le Tigris, p. 97, 98).

⁴ Take a specimen, the death of the caliph Motas. Corruptum pedibus portabant, et audibus prole perfruerant, et apud omnia facies vestibus in oleo collabant pro ejus uermina. In pedibus alternos attollunt et demittunt. Adstantibus aliqui infesto colaphis continue ingerunt, quos ille objectis manibus avertunt stultus.

Quo facto traditus tortoris fuit, totoque triduo in oleo potius prohibitus suffocatus &c. (Abulfat. p. 200.) Of the caliph Motas, he says, coram oculis perpetuis in oleo contundebat, testiculosque pedibus concutabant (p. 208).

birds warbled their natural harmony Through this scene of magnificence, the Greek ambassador was led by the vizir to the foot of the caliph's throne. In the West, the Omniades of Spain supported, with equal pomp, the title of commander of the faithful. Threemiles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite sultana, the third and greatest of the Abdalahmans constructed the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder. his liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skilful sculptors and architects of the age, and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Greek and Italian marble. The hall of audience was encrusted with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the centre was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of these basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished not with water, but with the purest quick-silver. The seraglio of Abdalahman, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to six thousand three hundred persons, and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thousand horse, whose belts and scimitars were studded with gold.

In a private condition, our desires are perpetually repressed by poverty and subordination, but the lives and labours of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed, and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendour of his court, and whatever may be the cool dictates of reason, there are few among us who

¹ Abdallah, p. 23. D'Hérbelot, p. 117. In the passage of the French translation of the *Journal de l'ambassadeur* (Paris, 1765), the word "sultana" is used.

Carloune, III. oire d'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. I. p. 11. A just idea of the taste and intellect of the Arabs of Spain may be conceived from the description of Granada (Swinhurn's Travels, p. 171-185).

would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts and the cares of royalty. It may then not be of some use to borrow the experience of the same Abdalahman, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph. "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace, beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation, I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to FOURTEEN. — O man! place not thy confidence in this present world!" The luxury of the caliphs, so useless to their private happiness, relaxed the nerves, and terminated the progress of the Arabian empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet, and they supplying themselves with the necessities of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abbasides were impoverished by the multitude of their wives, and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object of ambition, their leisure, their education, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleasure. The rewards of valour were embroiled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm

Carloune, tom. I. p. 11. This confession, the completion of which is the vanity of this world (the French version, by elegant pen) in the *Journal de l'ambassadeur* (Paris, 1765), the word "sultana" is used. The triumph of the caliph is described by the French translation of the *Journal de l'ambassadeur* (Paris, 1765), the word "sultana" is used. The triumph of the caliph is described by the French translation of the *Journal de l'ambassadeur* (Paris, 1765), the word "sultana" is used.

was softened by time and prosperity they sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens, and the increase of prey, the repetition of donatives, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abubeker and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of praise.

Under the reign of the Ommiades, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually exposed to the dangers of the field must esteem the healing powers of medicine, or rather of surgery, but the starving physicians of Arabia murmured a complaint that exercise and temperance deprived them of the greatest part of their practice. After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mohammedan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almansur, the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the muses from their mountain seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science at his command; they were translated by the most skillful interpreters into the Arabic language. His subjects were exhorted as religiously to pursue the instructive writings, and the successors of Mahomet attended with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the

Introduction of
learning, among
the Arabians.
A.D. 751.

learned. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that they are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties. The mean ambition of the Chinese or the Turks may glory in the industry of their hands or the indulgence of their brutal appetites. Yet these dexterous artists must view, with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and pyramids of the cells of a bee hive. These fortitudinous heroes are awed by the superior fierceness of the lions and tigers, and in their unimurous enjoyments they are much inferior to the vigour of the grossest and most sordid quadrupeds. The teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of a world, which, without their aid, would again sink in ignorance and barbarism."¹ The zeal and curiosity of Almansor were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Ommiades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful. The same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces, and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizir of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The

¹ See their curious architecture in Regaur (Hist. des Insects, tom. v. Mouton, p. viii). These hexagons are closed by a pyramid. The angles of the three sides of a regular pyramid such as would compose the seven and with the smallest quantity possible of material, were determined by a mathematician, at 101 degrees 38 minutes for the larger, 70 degrees 31 minutes for the smaller. The actual sum is 109 degrees 25 minutes, 10 degrees 31 minutes. Yet this perfect harmony raises the work at the expense of the artist; the bees are not masters of transcendental geometry.

² Saad Ebn Ahmed esdhi of Toledo, who died A.D. 462, A.H. 1069, has furnished Abulpharagius (Oriens, p. 160) with this curious passage, as well as with the text of Ptolemy's Specimen Historie Arabe. A number of his rare anecdotes of philosophers, physicians, &c., who have flourished under each caliph, form the principal merit of the Dynasties of Abulpharagius.

³ The Calistan (p. 20) relates the conversation of Mahomet and a physician (Epistol. Benedicti in Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. i. p. 814). The prophet himself was skilled in the art of medicine, and Cæsar (De di. Mahomet tom. iii. p. 304 405) has given an extract of the aphorisms which are extant under his name.

and more skilful hand, and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare. But the nations of the East had been taught to submit on the successors of the prophet, and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism, that it seem to repeat the story of the pretensions of Rome.

While the flame of enthusiasm damped by the human knowledge, of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits, who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. How carefully soever the book of prophecy had been sealed by the apostle of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may profane the word) even the reason, of fanatics, might believe that, after the successive missions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, the same God, in the fulness of time, would reveal a still more perfect and permanent law. In the two hundred and seventy seventh year of the Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher, of the name of Cumarth, assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the Guide, the Director, the Demonstration, the Word, the Holy Ghost, the Camel, the Herald of the Messiah, who had conversed with him in a human shape, and the representative of Mohammed the son of Ali, of St. John the Baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume, the precepts of the Koran were reduced to a more spiritual sense, he relaxed the duties of abstinence, fasting and pilgrimage, showed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden food, and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The idleness and ferment of the rustic crowd awakened the attention of the magistrates of Cufa.

¹ See under the reigns of Motassim, Motawakkil, Mortassar, Mostar, Motar, Mohtadi, and Motamid, in the Bibliotheca of D. H. H. Lot, and the now familiar Annals of Elmash, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda.

a timid persecution assisted the progress of the new sect; and the name of the prophet became more revered after his person had been withdrawn from the world. His twelve apostles dispersed themselves among the Balouas, "a race of men," says Abulfeda, "equally devoid of reason and of religion," and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The Cumarthians were ripe for rebellion, since they disclaimed the title of the house of Abbas, and hoisted the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were susceptible of discipline, since they vowed a blind and absolute submission to their Imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. In stead of the legal titles, he claimed the fifth of their substance and spoil, the most flagitious sins were no more than the type of disobedience, and the brethren were united and concealed by an oath of secrecy. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bithrum, ^{their military} along the Persian Gulf. ^{plots} ^{A.D. 800, &c}

For and with the tribes of the desert were subject to the sceptre, or rather to the sword, of Abu Sud and his son Abu Thar, and these rebellious numbers could muster in the field a hundred and seven thousand fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were dismayed at the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter; and the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had effected in the character of the Arabians. Such troops were discomfited in every action, the cities of Ruca and Bashee, of Cufa and Bissora, were taken and pillaged, Bagdad was filled with consternation, and the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace. In a daring march beyond the Tigris, Abu Thar advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than two hundred horse. By the special order of Moctader, the bridges had been broken down, and the person or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful.

His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, apprised Abu Taher of his danger, and recommended a speedy escape. "Your master," said the intrepid Carmathian to the messenger, "is at the head of thirty thousand soldiers thrice such men as these are wanting in his host." At the same instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger into his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without a murmur. "Relate," continued the imam, "what you have seen before the evening your general shall be chained among my dogs." Before the evening, the camp was surprised, and the menace was executed. The rapine of the Carmathians was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca: they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and twenty thousand devout Moslems were abandoned on the burning sands to a death of hunger and thirst. Another year they sufficed the pilgrims to proceed without interruption; but, in the festival of devotion, Abu Taher stormed the holy city, and trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mohammedan faith. Thirty

They pillage
Mecca.
A.D. 929

thousand citizens and strangers were put to the sword, the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of three thousand dead bodies, the well of Zemzem overflowed with blood, the golden spout was forced from its place, the veil of the Caaba was divided among these impious sectaries, and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of sacrilege and cruelty, they continued to infect the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; but the vital principle of enthusiasm had withered at the root. Their scruples, or their avarice, again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and restored the black stone of the Caaba, and it is needless to inquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated.

* The sect of the Carmathians may be considered as the second visible cause

of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.¹

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The caliph Almamun

Revolt of the
provinces
A.D. 936

might proudly assert, that it was easier for him to rule the East and the West, than to manage a chess-board of two feet square; yet I suspect that in both those games he was guilty of many fatal mistakes, and I perceive, that in the distant provinces the authority of the first and most powerful of the Abbasides was already impaired. The analogy of despotism invests the representative with the full majesty of the prince, the division and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the passive subject to inquire into the origin and administration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is seldom worthy to reign, but the elevation of a private man, of a peasant perhaps, or a slave, affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity. The victory of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust: the nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign, and the command of armies and treasures are at once the object and the instrument of his ambition. A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenant of the caliph were content with their vicarious title, while they solicited for themselves or their sons a renewal of the Imperial grant, and still maintained on the coin and in the public prayers, the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power, they assumed the pride and

¹ For the sect of the Carmathians, consult Linnæus (Hist. Saracen. p. 219, 221, 229, 231, 238, 241, 243), Abulpharajus (Dyabek. p. 15, 182), Abulfeda (Annal. Mosim. p. 18, 219, 221, 223, 271), and Niebuhr (Biblioth. Oriental. p. 256-258, 633). I find some interesting sentences of theology and chronology which would not be easy nor of much importance to reconcile.

² Hyde, Syntagma Descript. tom. ii. p. 57, in Hist. Shahiulud.

* Compare Von Hammer Geschichte des Aassasins, p. 44, &c.—M.

attributes of Royalty, the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will, and the revenues of their government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, or a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber.

After the revolt of Spain, from the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbasides, the first symptoms of disobedience broke forth in the provinces of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenant of the vigilant and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the *Aglabites*.

The Aglabites bites the inheritance of his name and power. The indolence or policy of the caliphs dissembled the injury and loss, and pursued only with poison the founder of the *Edrisites*, who erected the kingdom and city of Fez on the shores of the Western ocean. In the East, the first dynasty was that of the *Taherites*, the posterity

¹ The dynasties of the Arabian empire may be studied in the *Annals of Elmacin*, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, under the proper years, in the dictionary of D'Hierbolet, under the proper names. The tables of M de Guignes (*Hist des Huns*, tom 1) exhibit a general chronology of the East, interspersed with some historical anecdotes, but his attachment to national bias has sometimes confounded the order of time and place.

² The Aglabites and Edrisites are the professed subject of M de Caradonne (*Hist de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Aglabes*, tom II p 165).

³ To escape the reproach of error, I must criticise the inaccuracies of M de Guignes (t. I p 39) concerning the Edrisites. The dynasty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of the Hegira 173 since the founder was a posthumous child of a descendant of Ali, who fled from Mecca in the year 160. The founder, Idris, the son of Edris, instead of living to the improbable age of 120 years, A. H. 313 died A. H. 314, in the prime of manhood. The dynasty ended A. H. 361, twenty three years sooner than it is fixed by the historian of the Huns. See the accurate *Annals of Abulfeda*, p 158, 159, 165, 238.

⁴ The dynasties of the Taherites and Saffarides, with the rise of that of the Samanides, are described in the original history and Latin version of Mirebond yet the most interesting

of the valiant Taher, who in the civil wars of the sons of Harun, had served with too much zeal and success the cause of Almamun, the younger brother. He was sent into honourable exile, to command on the banks of the Oxus, and the independence of his successors, who reigned in Chorasani till the fourth generation, was palliated by their modest and respectful demeanour, the happiness of their subjects, and the security of their frontier.

They were supplanted by one of those adventurers so frequent in the annals of the East, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the name of *Saffarides*) for the profession of a robber. In a nocturnal visit to the treasure of the prince of Sistani, Jacob, the son of Leth, stumbled over a lump of salt, which he unwarily tasted with his tongue. Salt, among the Orientals, is the symbol of hospitality, and the pious robber immediately retired without spoil or damage. The discovery of this honourable behaviour recommended Jacob to pardon and trust, he led an army at first for his benefactor, at last for himself, subdued Persia, and threatened the residence of the Abbasides. On his march towards Bagdad, the conqueror was arrested by a fever. He gave audience in bed to the ambassador of the caliph, and beside him on a table were exposed a naked scimitar, a crust of brown bread, and a bunch of onions. "If I die," said he, "your master is delivered from his fears. If I live, this must determine between us. If I am vanquished, I am return without reluctance to the homely fare of my youth."

From the height where he stood, the descent would not have been so soft or harmless a timely death secured his own repose and that of the caliph, who paid with the most lavish acknowledgments the retreat of his brother Amun to the palaces of Shiraz and Ispahan. The Abbasides were too feeble to contend, too proud to forgive, they invited the powerful dynasty of the *Samanides*, who passed

facts had already been drained by the diligence of M D Hierbolet.

mestic life, hurst into the houses of
 noblemen and princes, spilt the wine,
 broke the instruments, beat the musi-
 cians, and dishonoured, with infamous
 suspicions, the associates of every hand-
 some youth. In each profession, which
 allowed room for two persons, the one
 was a votary, till often an antagonist,
 of Ali, and the Abbasides were in-
 fected by the clamorous gnat of the sec-
 taries, who dined their title, and
 cursed their progenitors. A turbulent
 people could only be repressed by a
 military force, but who could satisfy
 the avarice or assert the discipline of
 the mercenaries themselves? The
 African and the Turkish guards drew
 their swords against each other, and
 the chief commanders, the emirs al
 Omia, imprisoned or deposed their
 sovereigns, and violated the sanctuary
 of the mosque and harem. If the
 caliph escaped to the camp or court of
 any neighbouring prince, their deliver-
 ance was a change of servitude, till
 they were prompted by despair to in-
 vent the bowdies, the sultans of Persia,
 who silenced the factions of Bagdad by
 their irresistible arms. The civil and
 military powers were assumed by Mo-
 zwalat, the second of the three
 brothers, and a stipend of sixty thou-
 sand pounds sterling was assigned by
 his generosity for the private expense
 of the commander of the faithful. But
 on the fortieth day, at the audience of
 the ambassadors of Chorasun, and in
 the presence of a trembling multitude,
 the caliph was dragged from his throne
 to a dungeon, by the command of the
 stranger, and the rude hands of his
 Dilemma. His palace was pillaged,
 his eyes were put out, and the mean
 ambition of the Abbasides aspired to
 the vacant station of danger and dis-
 grace. In the school of adversity, the
 A. 161 and died there A. H. 241. He fought
 and suffered in the dispute concerning the
 erection of the Koran.

The office of vizir was superseded by the emir al Omra, Imperialor Imperatorum, a title first instituted by Rahmī, and which merged at length in the Howāda and Seljuquides vocations.

luxurious caprices resumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. Dispossessed of their union and silken robes, they fasted, they prayed, they studied the Koran and the tradition of the Sunnites; they performed, with zeal and knowledge, the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the apostle, the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful, and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abbassides to the sovereignty of Baghdad. But then, misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or spurious progeny of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished, in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abbassides, and the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

In the declining age of the empire, in the century which elapsed after the war of Theophilus, and Me-

 Theophylact of
 Antioch, A.D. 960

 em, the horrible transactions of the two nations were confined to some murders by sea and land, the fruits of their dis-
 unity and inveterate hatred. But when the Eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. The Byzantine empire, since the accession of the Basilin race, had reposed in peace and dignity, and they might encounter with their entire strength the heat of some petty emir, whose ruin was es-
 sential to the dignity of his national foes of the Mohammedan faith. The lofty titles of the morning star and the death of the Duanees,¹ were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas, a prince as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city. In the subordinate station of frun-

¹ Hufstrand whose choleric temper was embittered by his uneasy situation, suggests the names of a peacock and contempt more applicable to Nicéphorus than the vain titles of the Greeks, here *venit stellae mutatus, sur, it l'aur, reverberat obtutu solis radios, pallida Sarcenorum mors, Nicéphorus pides*

domestic, or general of the East, he reduced the island of Crete, and extirpated the nest of pirates who had so long delighted, with impunity, the majesty of the empire. His military genius was displayed in the conduct and success of the enterprize, which had so often failed with loss and dishonour. The Saracens were confounded by the landing of his troops on safe and level bridges, which he cast from the vessels to the shore. Seven months were consumed in the siege of Candia, the despair of the native Cretans was stimulated by the frequent aid of their brethren of Africa and Spain, and, after the masonry wall and double ditch had been stormed by the Greeks, a hopeless conflict was still maintained in the streets and houses of the city.* The whole island was subdued in the capital, and a submissive people accepted, without resistance, the baptism of the conqueror.² Constantinople applauded the long forgotten pomp of a triumph, but the Imperial dulness was the sole reward that could repay the services, or satisfy the ambition, of Nicephorus.

After the death of the younger Romanus, the fourth in his descent of the Bismim race, his widow Theophanu successively married Nicephorus

¹ Notwithstanding the innovation of Zonaras, *see* *ii* p. 101 (tom. ii. l. xvi p. 197), it is an undoubted fact that Crete was completely and finally subdued by Nicephorus Phocas (Pagl. Critica, tom. iii. p. 573-57). Nicursius, *Creta*, l. i. c. 7, tom. ii. p. 161, 41.)

² A Greek life of St. Nikon the Armenian was found in the Sforza library, and translated into Latin by the Jesuit Sirmond, for the use of Cardinal Baronius. This contemporary legend casts a ray of light on Crete and Peloponnesus in the tenth century. He found the newly recovered island, *foelix dictandæ Agrenorum superstitiois vestitus adhuc plenam ac reformatam*. But the victorious mission-ary, *p. r. chris. with son, eternal vol. ad baptis- mum omnes ver. qui fidei di. cipi. in populis fœderis per totam insulam adducatis, &c.* (Annal. l. c. l. c. 1001)

* The Acroases of Theodoros, de expugnatione Cretæ, remarkable lambics, relate the whole campaign. Whoever would fairly estimate the merits of the poetical deacon, may read the description of the slinging a jackass into the foulshin, city. The poet is in a transport at the wit of the general, and revels in all the luxury of antiquity. Theodoros Acroases *see* *Bl. 175, in Næbula's Byzant.* 11

Phocas and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons, and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine empire. The subjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong, and of these about thirty thousand were armed with cuirasses: a train of four thousand mules attended their wren, and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an enclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecisive combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a few years by the course of nature. I shall briefly prosecute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Capadocia to the desert of Bagdad. The siege of Mopsuestia and

Tarsus, in Cilicia, first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia, which is divided by the river Sarus, two hundred thousand Moslems were predestined to death or slavery: a surprising degree of population, which must at least include the inhabitants of the dependent districts. They were surrounded and taken by assault, but Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine, and no sooner had the Saracens yielded on honourable terms than they were mortified by the distant and unprofitable view of the naval success of

¹ Ilmarin, Hist. baraca p. 278, 279. Lant prand was disposed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led against Assema an army of eighty thousand men.

- Ducenta fere milia hominum in numeris et urbs (Abulfeda, Annal. Mosum p. 21) of Mopsuestia, or Masut, Munjevsta, Mamusta, Mamista, as it is corruptly or perhaps more correctly, styled in the middle ages (Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 680). Yet I cannot credit this extreme populousness a few years after the testimony of the Emperor Leo *en gar πολυπληθὴς στήν τε τῆς Κιλικίας βασιλείας ἑστίς* (l. c. xviii in Meursii Opus tom. vi. p. 847).

The Eastern conquests of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces. A.D. 963-976.

Conquest of Cilicia.

Egypt. They were dismissed with a safe-conduct to the confines of Syria, a part of the old Christians had quietly lived under their dominion, and the vacant habitations were replenished by a new colony. But the mosque was converted into a stable, the pulpit was delivered to the flames, many rich crosses of gold and gems, the spoils of Asiatic churches, were made a grateful offering to the piety or avarice of the emperor, and he transported the gates of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, which were fixed in the wall of Constantinople, an eternal monument of his victory. After

Invasion of Syria. they had forced and secured the narrow passes of Mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet, instead of assaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or superstition of Nicephorus appeared to respect the ancient metropolis of the East: he contented himself with drawing round the city a line of circumvallation, left a stationary army, and instructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of spring. But in the depth of winter, in a dark and rainy night, an adventurous subaltern, with three hundred soldiers, approached the rampart, applied his scaling ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, stood firm against the pressure of multitudes, and bravely maintained his post till he was relieved by the tardy, though effectual support of his reluctant chief. The first tumult of

Recovery of Antioch. slaughter and rapine subsided, the reign of Caesar and of Christ was restored, and the efforts of a hundred thousand Saracens, of the armies of Syria and the fleets of Africa, were consumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of Aleppo was subject to Saiseddowlat, of the dynasty of Hamulan, who clouded his past glory by the precipitate retreat which abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his stately palace, that stood without the walls of Aleppo, they joyfully seized a well-furnished magazine of arms, a stable of fourteen hundred mules, and three hundred

bags of silver and gold. But the walls of the city withstood the strokes of their battering rams, and the besiegers pitched their tents on the neighbouring mountain of Jaulshan. Their retreat exasperated the quarrel of the towns-men and mercenaries, the guard of the gates and ramparts was deserted, and, while they furiously charged each other in the market place, they were surprised and destroyed by the sword of a common enemy. The male sex was exterminated by the sword, ten thousand youths were led into captivity, the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the beasts of burden, the superfluous remainder was burnt, and, after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads they commanded the husbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themselves, in the ensuing season, might reap the benefit: more than a hundred cities were reduced to obedience, and eighteen pulpits of the principal mosques were committed to the flames to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mahomet. The classic names of Hierapolis, Apamea, and Hemesa, revive for a moment in the list of conquest. The Emperor Zimisces encamped in the paradise of Damascus and accepted the ransom of a submissive people, and the torrent was only stopped by the impregnable fortress of Tripoli, on the sea-coast of Phœnicia. Since the days of Heraclius, the Euphrates below the passage of the straits of Mount Taurus, had been impervious, and almost invisible, to the Greeks. The river yielded a free passage to the victorious Zimisces, and the historian may imitate the speed with which he overran the once famous cities of Simosata, Pdesca, Martyropolis, Amidæ, and Nisibis, the

1 The text of Leo the deacon, in the corrupt names of Emata and Myctarum, reveals the cities of Amidæ and Martyropolis (Mafarkin des Abulfeda, *Geograph.* p. 245, *veta Rerum*) of the former, Leo observes, *urbs munita et illustris* of the latter, *civitas atque conspicua opibusque et pecore, reliquis ejus provincie urbibus atque oppidis longe præstant*

ancient habit of the empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. His ardour was quickened by the desire of grasping the virgin treasures of Ecbatana,¹ a well known name, under which the Byzantine writer has concealed the capital of the Abassides. The consternation of the fugitives had diffused the terror of his name, but the fancied riches of Bagdad had already been dissipated by the avarice and prodigality of domestic tyrants. The prayers of

Danger of the people, and the stern demands of the lieutenant of the Bowiders, required the caliph to provide for the defence of the city. The helpless Mothu replied, that his arms, his revenues, and his provinces, had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to support. The hour was inexorable, the furniture of the palace was sold, and the paltry price of fifty thousand pieces of gold was instantly consumed in private luxury. But the apprehensions of Bagdad were

relieved by the retreat of the Greeks; thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia, and the emperor, satiated with glory, and laden with Oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed, in his triumph, the silk, the aromatics, and three hundred myriads of gold and silver. Yet the powers of the East had been bent, not broken, by this transient lightning. After the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals, the subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance, the Moslems again purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the saints and martyrs, the Nestorians and Jacobites preferred a Suizen to an orthodox master, and the numbers and spirit of the Melchites were inadequate to the support of the church and state. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isle of Cyprus, was alone restored, a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire.²

CHAPTER LIII

STATE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THE TENTH CENTURY—EXTENT AND DIVISION—WEALTH AND LUXURY—PALACE OF CONSTANTINOPLE—TITLES AND OFFICES—PRIDE AND POWER OF THE EMPEROUS—TACTICS OF THE GREEKS, ARABS, AND HUNKS—LOSS OF THE LATIN TONGUE—STUDIES AND SCIENCE OF THE GREEKS

A RAY of historic light seems to beam from the darkness of the tenth century. We open with curiosity and respect the royal volumes of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which he composed at a

mature age for the instruction of his son, and which promise to unfold the genius, born in the purple, is eloquently defined by Claudian—

Ardua privata nequit fortuna Penates,
Et regnum cum lictis dedit. Cognata potestas
Excepit Tyrio venabile pignus in ostro

And Ducange, in his Greek and Latin Glossaries, produces many passages expressive of the same idea.

¹ See the Annals of Hincmar, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeida, from A.D. 851 to A.D. 911, and the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, in the Chronicles of Zonaras (tom ii l xvi p 199—l xvii 215) and Cedrenus (tom pond p 649-684). Their manifold defects are partly supplied by the MS history of Leo the Deacon, which Pagi obtained from the Benedictines, and has inserted almost entire, in a Latin version (Critica, tom iii p 873, tom iv p 37).²

¹ Ut et Ecbatana purget Agarenorumque regum everret. aut enim urbium quas viximus sunt ac toto orbe existunt felicissimam esse, auroque ditissimam (Leo inveni apud Bagdam, tom iv p 31). This splendid description suits only with Bagdad, and cannot possibly apply either to Hamadan, the true Ecbatana (A. Anville, Geog. Antiquae, tom ii p 237), or Tauris, which has been commonly mistaken for that city. The name of Ecbatana, in the same indefinite sense, is transferred by a more classic authority (Cicero pro Lege Manilia, c. 4) to the royal seat of Mithridates, king of Pontus.

² The epithet of *Πορφυρογενέτης*, Porphyro-

* The whole original work of Leo the

state of the Eastern empire, both in peace and war, both at home and abroad. In the first of these works he minutely describes the pompous ceremonies of the church and palace of Constantinople, according to his own practice and that of his predecessors.¹ In the second, he attempts, an accurate survey of the provinces, the *themus*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia.² The system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo.³ In the fourth, of the administration of the empire, he reveals the secrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hostile intercourse with the nations of the earth. The literary library of the age, the practical systems of law, agriculture, and history, might redound to the benefit of the subject, and the honour of the Macedonian princes. The sixty books of the

¹ A splendid MS. of Constantine de Ceremoniis, Aut. of the 13th c. Constantin, withdrawn from Constantinople to Leyd. Frankfurt, and Leipzig, where it was published in a splendid edition by Jock. & L. Paske (xv. 1751, in folio), with such lavish praise as editors never fail to bestow on the worthy or worthless object of their toil.

² See, in the first volume of Banduri's Imperium Orientale Constantinus de thematibus, p. 124 de Administrando Imperio, p. 415, edit. Vind. The text of the old edition of Mursinus is corrected from a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which Isaac Casanov had formerly seen (Hist. ad Polybium, p. 10), and a sense is illustrated by two maps of William Freshet, the prince of geographers till the appearance of the greater D. Anville.

³ The Tactics of Leo and Constantine are published with the text of some new MSS. in the great edition of the works of Mursinus, by the learned John I. and (tom. vi. p. 119, 123, 124, 1417, Florant 1746), yet the text is still corrupt and mutilated, the version is still obscure, and faulty. The Imperial library of Vienna would afford some valuable materials to a new editor (Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 499, 500).

Deacon has been published by Hase, and is inserted in the new edition of the Byzantine historians. M. Lassen has added to the Arabian authorities of this period some extracts from Kemaleddin's account of the treaty for the surrender of Aleppo.—M

Basilius, the code and pandects of civil jurisprudence, were gradually framed in the three first reigns of that prosperous dynasty. The art of agriculture had amused the leisure, and exercised the pens, of the best and wisest of the ancients, and their chosen precepts are comprised in the twenty books of the *Oponus* of Constantine. At his command, the historical examples of vice and virtue were methodised in fifty three books,⁴ and every citizen might apply, to his contemporaries or himself, the lesson or the warning of past times. From the august character of a legislator, the sovereign of the East descends to the more humble office of a teacher and a scribe, and if his successors and subjects were regardless of his paternal cares, we may impute and enjoy the everlasting legacy.

A closer survey will indeed reduce the value of the gift, and <sup>their imper-
fectness</sup> the gratitude of posterity in the possession of these Imperial treasures we may still deplore our poverty and ignorance, and the fading glories of their authors will be obliterated by indifference or contempt. The British will sink to a broken copy, a partial and mutilated version in the Greek language, of the laws of Jus

⁴ On the subject of the *Basilius*, Fabricius (Biblioth. Græc. tom. xii. p. 425-514), and Henricus (Hist. Juris Romani, p. 196-299) and Gualtero (Historia Juris di. Nipoli, tom. i. p. 4-4-88), as historical civilians, may be usefully consulted. Forty one books of this Greek code have been published, with a Latin version by Charles Anstalt (1800) (Paris 1800) in many tomes in folio. Four other books have been since discovered, and are inserted in Gerard Meerman's Novus thesaurus Juris Civ. et Canon. tom. v. Of the whole work the sixty books John Leunclavius has printed (Pasil. Lugd. an. elego. or synopsis. The one hundred and thirteen novels, or new laws of Leo may be found in the Corpus Juris Græc.

⁵ I have read the best and best edition of the *Grammaticæ* by Nicolas Nicolaï, Lipsic. 1781, two vols. in octavo. I read in the preface that the same emperor restored the long forgotten systems of rhetoric and philosophy, and his two books of *Hippocraticæ*, or *Horæ-phymæ*, were published at Paris, 1530, in folio (Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 493-500).

⁶ Of these fifty three books, or titles, only two have been preserved and printed, the *Legationibus* (by Fulvius Ursinus, Antwerp, 1582, and Daniel Hoeschellius, August. Viad. 1605), and the *Veritibus et Vitæ* (by Henry Valesius, or de Valois, Paris, 1684).

timian; but the sense of the old civilians is often superseded by the influence of bigotry: and the absolute prohibition of divorce, concubinage, and interest for money, enslaves the freedom of trade and the happiness of private life. In the historical book, a subject of Constantine might admire the inimitable virtues of Greco-Rome; he might learn to what pitch of energy and elevation the human character had formerly aspired. But a contrary effect must have been produced by a new edition of the lives of the saints, which the great logothete, or chancellor of the empire, was directed to prepare, and the dark fund of superstition was enriched by the fabulous and froud legends of Simon the *Metaphrastes*.¹ The merits and miracles of the whole calendar are of less account in the eyes of a sage, than the toil of a single husbandman, who multiplies the gifts of the Creator, and supplies the food of his brethren. Yet the royal authors of the *Cyropædics* were more seriously employed in expounding the precepts of the destroying art, which has been taught since the days of Xenophon,² as the art of heroes and kings. But the *Tactics* of Leo and Constantine are mingled with the baser alloy of the age in which they lived. It was a substitute of original genius, they implicitly transcribe the rules and maxims which had been confirmed by victories. It was unskilled in the propriety of style and method,

¹ The life and writings of Simon Metaphrastes are described by Hankius (*de Scriptoribus Byzant.* p. 418-460). This biographer of the saints indulged himself in a loose paraphrase of the sense or nonsense of more ancient acts. His Greek rhetoric is again paraphrased in the Latin version of Surian, and scarcely a thread can be now visible of the original texture.

² According to the first book of the *Cyropædia*, professors of tactics, a small part of the science of war, were already instituted in Persia, by which Greece must be understood. A good edition of all the *Scriptores Tactici* would be a task not unworthy of a scholar. His industry might discover some new MSS., and his learning might illustrate the military history of the ancients. But this scholar should be likewise a soldier, and, alas! Quintus Curtius is no more.*

* M. Guichenot, author of *Mémoires Militaires sur les Grecs et sur les Romains*. See Gibbon's *Extraits Raisonnées de ses Lectures*. *Misc Works*, vol. v. p. 219.—M

they blindly confound the most distant and discordant institutions, the phalanx of Sparta and that of Macedonia, the legions of Cato and Trajan, of Augustus and Theodosius. Even the use, or at least the importance, of these military rudiments may be fairly questioned: their general theory is dictated by reason, but the merit, as well as difficulty, consists in the application. The discipline of a soldier is formed by exercise rather than by study; the talents of a commander are appropriated to those calm, though rapid, minds, which nature produces to decide the fate of armies and nations. The former is the habit of a life, the latter the glance of a moment, and the battles won by lessons of tactics may be numbered with the epic poems created from the rules of criticism. The book of ceremonies is a recital, tedious yet imperfect, of the despicable pageantry which had infected the church and state since the gradual decay of the purity of the one and the power of the other. A review of the themes or provinces might promise such authentic and useful information, as the curiosity of government only can obtain, instead of traditional fables on the origin of the cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants.¹ Such information the historian would have been pleased to record; nor should his silence be condemned if the most interesting objects, the population of the capital and provinces, the amount of the taxes and revenues, the numbers of subjects and strangers who served under the Imperial standard, have been unnoticed by Leo the philosopher, and his

¹ After observing that the demerit of the Cappadocians rose in proportion to their rank and riches, he inserts a more pointed epigram, which is ascribed to Demodocus—

Κατωδονοντες ποτ' ἰχθύος καὶ δάκρυ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὴρ

Κάτθανι, γινωσκόντες αἰματος λεβίδα.

The sting is precisely the same with the French epigram against Freron: Un serpent mordit Jean Freron—Eh bien? Le serpent se mourut. But as the Paris wits are seldom read in the Anthology, I should be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their imitation (Constantin Porphyrogenon de Themat. c. II Brunck *Analect. Græc. tom. II. p. 64. Brevi Anthologia, I. II. p. 241*)

son Constantine. His treatise of the public administration is stained with the same blemishes, yet it is discriminated by peculiar merit: the antiquities of the nation may be doubtful or fabulous,* but the geography and manners of the Barbaric world are delineated

*Embassy of
Luitprand.*

with curious accuracy. Of these nations, the Franks alone were qualified to observe in their turn, and to describe, the metropolis of the East. The Ambassador of the great Otho, a bishop of Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his narrative lively, his observation keen, and even the prejudices and passions of Luitprand are stamped with an original character of freedom and genius. From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials, I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzantine empire, the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the character and literature, of the Greeks in a period of six hundred years, from the reign of Heraclius to the successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

After the final division between the sons of Theodosius, the swarms of barbarians from Scythia and Germany overspread the provinces and extinguished the empire of ancient Rome. The weakness of Constantinople was concealed by extent of dominion: her limits were inviolate, or at least entire; and the kingdom of Justinian was enlarged by the splendid acquisition of Africa and Italy. But the possession of these new conquests was transient and precarious; and almost a moiety of the Eastern empire was torn away by the arms of the Saracens. Syria and Egypt were oppressed by the Arabian caliphs, and after the reduction of Africa, their lieutenants invaded and subdued the Roman province which had been changed into the Gothic monarchy of Spain. The islands of the Mediterranean were not

inaccessible to their naval powers; and it was from their extreme stations, the harbours of Crete and the fortresses of Cilicia, that the faithful or rebel emirs insulted the majesty of the throne and capital. The remaining provinces under the obedience of the emperors, were cast into a new mould, and the jurisdiction of the presidents, the consulars, and the counts, was superseded by the institution of the *themes*,¹ or military governments, which prevailed under the successors of Heraclius, and are described by the pen of the royal author. Of the twenty nine themes, twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, the etymology doubtful or capricious: the limits were arbitrary and fluctuating, but some particular names that sound the most strangely to our ear were derived from the character and attributes of the troops that were maintained at the expense, and for the guard, of the respective divisions. The vanity of the Greek princes most eagerly grasped the shadow of conquest and the memory of lost dominion. A new Mesopotamia was created on the western side of the Euphrates: the appellation and prerogative of Sicily were transferred to a narrow slip of Calabria, and a fragment of the duchy of Beneventum was promoted to the style and title of the theme of Lombardy. In the decline of the Arabian empire, the successors of Constantine might indulge their pride in more solid advantages. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the Second, revived the fame, and enlarged the boundaries, of the Roman name: the province of Cilicia, the metropolis of Antioch, the islands of Crete and Cyprus, were restored to the allegiance of Christ and Cesar: one third of Italy was annexed to the throne of Constantinople: the kingdom of Bulgaria was destroyed, and the last

¹ The *Legatio Luitprandi Episcopi Cremonensis ad Nicephorum Phocam* is inserted in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. pars i.

¹ See Constantine de Thematis, in Banduri, tom. i. p. 1-30, who owns, that the word is *ἐκ παλαιᾶς ἑθνικῆς* is used by Maurice (Strategem. l. ii. c. 2) for a legion, from whence the name was easily transferred to its post or province (Ducas, *Gloss. Græc.* tom. i. p. 487, 488). Some etymologies are attempted for the Opacian, Optimatian, Thracellan, themes.

sovereigns of the Macedonian dynasty extended their sway from the sources of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Rome. In the eleventh century, the prospect was again clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes: the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers; and almost all the Asiatic branches were discovered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponnesus, and from Bulgaria to Nice, Tiberiopolis, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their sceptre; the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty islands of the *Ægean* or Holy Sea; and the remnant of their empire terminates the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

The same princes might assert, with dignity and truth, that of ^{General wealth and populousness} all the monarchs of Christendom they possessed the greatest city: the most ample revenue, the most flourishing and populous state. With the decline and fall of the empire, the cities of the West had decayed and fallen, nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts, of Paris and London, prepare the Latin traveller to contemplate the situation and extent of Constantinople, her strictly

palaces and churches, and the arts and luxury of an innumerable people. Her treasures might attract, but her virgin strength had repelled, and still promised to repel, the audacious invasion of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Russian. The provinces were less fortunate and impregnable, and few districts, few cities, could be discovered which had not been violated by some fierce barbarian, impatient to despoil, because he was hopeless to possess. From the age of Justinian the Eastern empire was sinking below its former level: the powers of destruction were more active than those of improvement, and the calamities of war were embittered by the more permanent evils of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. The captive who had escaped from the barbarians was often stripped and imprisoned by the ministers of his sovereign: the Greek superstition relaxed the mind by prayer, and emaciated the body by fasting, and the multitude of convents and festivals diverted many hands and many days from the temporal service of mankind. Yet the subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation, and in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. The provinces that still adhered to the empire were reoppressed and enriched by the misfortunes of those which were irrecoverably lost. From the yoke of the caliphs the Catholics of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, returned to the allegiance of their prince, to the society of their brethren: the movable wealth, which eludes the search of oppression, accumulated and alleviated their evil, and Constantinople received into her bosom the fugitive trade of Alexandria and Tyre. The chiefs of Armenia and Scythia, who fled from hostile or religious persecution, were hospitably entertained: their followers were encouraged to build new cities and to cultivate waste lands; and many spots,

¹ *ἡ ἀρχαία* as it is styled by the modern Greeks, from which the corrupt names of Archipelago, Archipel, and the Archæ, have been derived by geographers and sailors (cf. Anelli, Géographie Ancienne, tom. 1, p. 51. *Archæ* de la Carte de la Grèce, p. 68). The numbers of monks or caloyers in all the islands and the adjacent mountain of Athos (Observations de Belon, fol. 32, verso), monte santo might justify the epithet of hol., *ἁγία*, a slight alteration from the original *ἀγία*, imposed by the Dorians, who in their dialect gave the figurative name of *ἀγία*, or goats to the bounding waves (Vossius apud Cellarium, Géographie Antiq. tom. 1, p. 179).

² According to the Jewish traveller who had visited Europe and Asia, Constantinople was equalled only by Bagdad, the great city of the Israelites (Voyage de Benjamins de Tudela, par Barattier, tom. 1. c. 5, p. 407).

both in Europe and Asia, preserved the name, the manners, or at least the memory, of these national colonies. Even the tribes of barbarians, who had seated themselves in arms on the territory of the empire, were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and state, and as long as they were separated from the Greeks, their posterity supplied a race of faithful and obedient soldiers. Did we possess sufficient materials to survey the twenty nine themes of the Byzantine monarchy, our curiosity might be satisfied with a chosen example: it is fortunate enough that the clearest light should be thrown on the most interesting province, and the name of Peloponnesus will awaken the attention of the classic reader.

As early as the eighth century, in the troubled reign of the Iconoclasts, Greece, and even Peloponnesus, were over-run by some Slavonian bands who outstripped the royal standard of Bulgaria. The strangers of old, Cadmus, and Danaus, and Pelops, had planted in that fruitful soil the seeds of policy and learning, but the savages of the north eradicated what yet remained of them: sickly and withered roots. In this interruption, the country and the inhabitants were transformed, the Grecian blood was contaminated, and the proudest nobles of Peloponnesus were branded with the names of foreigners and slaves. By the diluvium of succeeding princes, the land was in some measure purified from the barbarians, and the humble remnant was bound by an oath of obedience, tribute, and military service, which they often renewed and often violated. The siege of Patras was formed by a singular concurrence of the Slavonians

of Peloponnesus and the Saracens of Africa. In their last distress, a pious fiction of the approach of the prophet of Corinth revived the courage of the citizens. Their sally was bold and successful; the strangers embarked, the rebels submitted, and the glory of the day was ascribed to a phantom or a stranger, who fought in the foremost ranks under the character of St Andrew the Apostle. The shrine which contained his relics was decorated with the trophies of victory, and the captive

city devoted to the service and veneration of the metropolitan church of Patras. By the revolt of two Slavonian tribes in the neighbourhood of Helos and Lacedæmon, the peace of the peninsula was oft disturbed. They sometimes insulted the weakness, and sometimes resisted the oppression, of the Byzantine government, till at length the approach of their hostile brethren extorted a golden bull to define the rights and obligations of the Ezerites and Milengi, whose annual tribute was defined at twelve hundred pieces of gold. From these strangers the Imperial geographer has accordingly distinguished a domestic and perhaps original race, who in some degree might derive their blood from the much-injured Helots. The liberality of the Romans, and especially

Freemen of Laconia.

of Augustus, had enfranchised the maritime cities from the dominion of Sparta, and the continuance of the same benefit ennobled them with the title of *Protheroi*—or Free Lacedæmonians. In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they had acquired the name of *Manaboi*, under which they dishonour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is shipwrecked on their rocky shores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruitful of olives, extended to the Cape of Malea: they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine master, and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity, rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia assumed the character

¹ Ἰσθμοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ γέγονε βαρβαροὶ παρὰ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον (Themistius, l. ii. c. 6. p. 65), in a style as barbarous as the idea, which he confirms, as usual by a foolish epithet. The epithet used of Strabo likewise occurs, καὶ νῦν δὲ γὰρ τῶν Ἑσπερίων, καὶ τῶν Ἀλῶν, καὶ Πελοποννησίων, καὶ Μακεδονίων, καὶ τῶν Ἀλῶν γένος (l. vi. p. 98, edit. Hudson edit. Casaub. 1251) a passage which lends Dodwell a weary dance (Geograph. Minor tom. ii. dissert. vi. p. 170-191), to enumerate the inroads of the Slavi, and to fix the date (A. D. 980) of this potty geographer.

¹ Strabon Geograph. l. viii. p. 592. Pausanias, Græc. Descriptio, l. iii. c. 21, p. 204, 205. Phil. Hist. Natur. l. iv. c. 8.

of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the Emperor Basil, they were baptized in the faith of Christ; but the altars of Venus and Neptune had been crowned by these rustic votaries five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. In the theme of Polo-

Cities and
revenue of
Peloponnesus.

ponnesus,¹ forty cities were still numbered, and the declining state of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, may be suspended in the tenth century, at an equal distance, perhaps, between their antique splendour and their present desolation. The duty of military service, either in person or by substitute, was imposed on the lands or benefices of the provinces; a sum of five pieces of gold was assessed on each of the substantial tenants; and the same capitation was shared among several heads of inferior value. On the proclamation of an Italian war, the Peloponnesians excused themselves by a voluntary obligation of one hundred pounds of gold (four thousand pounds sterling), and a thousand horses with their arms and trappings. The churches and monasteries furnished their contingent, a sacrilegious profit was extorted from the sale of ecclesiastical honours; and the indigent bishop of Leucadia² was made responsible for a pension of one hundred pieces of gold.³

But the wealth of the province, and the trust of the revenue, especially of silk, were founded on the fair and plentiful produce of trade and manufactures, and some symptoms of liberal policy may be traced in a law which exempts from all personal taxes the mariners of Peloponnesus, and the workmen in parchment

¹ Constantine de Administrando Imperio, l. II. c. 50, 51, 52.

² The rock of Leucate was the southern promontory of his island and diocese. Had he been the exclusive guardian of the Lover's Leap, so well known to the readers of Ovid (Epist. Iphigene), and the spectator, he might have been the richest prelate of the Greek church.

³ *Leucatenis mihi juravit episcopus, quotannis ecclesiam suam debere Niosphoro aurius centum persolvere, similiter et ceteris plus minuse secundum vires suas* (Lutprand in Legat. p. 489).

and purple. This denomination may be fairly applied or extended to the manufactures of linen, woollen, and more especially of silk: the two former of which had flourished in Greece since the days of Homer; and the last was introduced perhaps as early as the reign of Justinian. These arts, which were exercised at Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, afforded food and occupation to a numerous people: the men, women, and children, were distributed according to their age and strength, and if many of these were domestic slaves, their masters, who directed the work and enjoyed the profit, were of a free and honourable condition. The gifts which a rich and generous matron of Peloponnesus presented to the Emperor Basil, her adopted son, were doubtless fabricated in the Grecian looms. Danichis bestowed a carpet of fine wool, of a pattern which imitated the spots of a peacock's tail, of a magnitude to overspread the floor of a new church, erected in the triple name of Christ, of Michael the archangel, and of the prophet Elijah. She gave six hundred pieces of silk and linen, of various use and denomination: the silk was painted with the Tyrian dye, and adorned by the labours of the needle, and the linen was so exquisitely fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane.⁴ In his description of the Greek manufactures, an historian of Sicily discriminates their price, according to the weight and quality of the silk, the closeness of the texture, the beauty of the colours, and the taste and materials of the embroidery. A single, or even a double or triple thread, as thought sufficient for ordinary sale, but the union of six threads composed a piece of stronger and more costly workmanship. Among the colours, he celebrates, with affectation of eloquence, the fiery blaze of the scarlet, and the softer lustre of the green. The em-

⁴ See Constantine (In Vit. Basil. c. 74, 75, 76, p. 191, 197, in Script. post Theophanem), who allows himself to use many technical or barbarous words: barbarous, says he, τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἐμβαδῇ καλὴν γὰρ ἐστὶ τούτων κοινολογίαν. Ducange labours on some; but he was not a weaver.

broidery was raised either in silk or gold the more simple ornament of stripes or circles was surpassed by the more imitation of flowers the vestments that were fabricated for the palace or the altar often glittered with precious stones, and the figures were delineated in strings of Oriental pearls. Till the twelfth century, Greece alone, of all the countries of Christendom, was possessed of the insect who is taught by nature, and of the workmen who are instructed by art, to prepare this elegant luxury. But the secret had been stolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs: the caliphs of the East and West scorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel: and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Lisbon, were famous for the manufacture, the use, and perhaps the exportation, of silk. It was first

Manufactures transported from Greece to Sicily.

introduced into Sicily by the Normans, and thus emigration of trade distinguishes the victory of Roger from the uniform and fruitless hostilities of every age. After the sack of Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, his lieutenant embarked with a captive train of weavers and artificers of both sexes, a trophy glorious to their master, and disgraceful to the Greek emperor. The king of Sicily was not

¹ The manufactures of Palermo, as they are described by Hugo Falconius (Hist. Sicula in prelo in Muratori script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. v. p. 240) is a copy of those of Greece. With out transcribing his declamatory sentences, which I have softened in the text, I shall observe, that in this passage the strange word *exanthemata* by a misus, the first editor Falconius lived about the year 1190.

Tuile ad interiora Græciæ progressi Corinthum, Thebas, Athenas antiquæ nobilitate celsitibus, expugnant, et, mirasus ibidem præda diripi, opifices clam, qui sericos pannos texere solent obignominiam imprætoris illius, antiqui principis gloriam, captivos deducunt. Quos Rogerius, in Palæmo Siciliæ metropoli collocans, artem texendi suam docere præcepit, et exinde prædicta ars illa, prius à Græcis tantum inter Christianos habita, Romanis patriæ capitis ingenuis (Ottho Frisingen. de actis Frederici I. l. c. 43, in Muratori script. tom. vi. p. 648). This exception allows the bishop to celebrate Lisbon and Almeria in sericorum pannorum opificio prænobilissimas (in Chron. apud Muratori. Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 110.)

insensible of the value of the present: and in the restitution of the prisoners, he excepted only the male and female manufacturers of Thebes and Corinth, who labour, says the Byzantine historian, under a barbarous lord, like the old Eretrians in the service of Darius. A stately edifice, in the palace of Palermo, was erected for the use of this industrious colony, and the art was propagated by their children and disciples to satisfy the increasing demand of the western world. The decay of the looms of Sicily may be ascribed to the troubles of the island, and the competition of the Italian cities. In the year thirteen hundred and fourteen, Lucca alone, among her sister republics, enjoyed the lucrative monopoly. A domestic revolution dispersed the manufacturers to Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan, and even the countries beyond the Alps; and thirteen years after this event, the statutes of Modena enjoin the planting of mulberry trees, and regulate the duties on raw silk. The northern climates are less propitious to the education of the silkworm, but the industry of France and England is supplied and enriched by the productions of Italy and China.

I must repeat the complaint that the vague and scanty memoirs of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the Greek empire. From every province

¹ Nicetas in Manuel, l. ii. c. 8, p. 65. He describes these Greeks as skilled *ισχυρίους ἰδίας; ὑφαίνουσιν, ἃς ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς πινυχοῦσας τὰς ἐξαίματαις καὶ χρυσοῦσας ἐπὶ τοῖς*.

² Hugo Falconius styles them nobles off China. The Arabs had not introduced silk, though they had planted canes and made sugar in the plain of Palermo.

³ See the Life of Castruccio Castacani, not by Machiavel, but by his more authentic biographer Nicholas Tegrini. Muratori, who has inserted it in the eleventh volume of his scriptores, quotes this curious passage in his Italian Antiquities (tom. i. dissert. xxv. p. 378).

⁴ From the MS. statutes, as they are quoted by Muratori in his Italian Antiquities (tom. ii. dissert. xxx. p. 46-48).

⁵ The broad silk manufacture was established in England in the year 1690 (Anderson's Chronological Deduction, vol. ii. p. 4.) but it is to the revocation of the edict of Nantes that we owe the Spitalfields colony.

of Europe and Asia the rivulets of gold and silver discharged into the Imperial reservoir a copious and perennial stream. The separation of the branches from the trunk increased the relative magnitude of Constantinople, and the maxims of despotism contracted the state to the capital, the capital to the palace, and the palace to the royal person. A Jewish traveller, who visited the East in the twelfth century, is lost in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," says Benjamin of Tudela, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Greek empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious magazines of silk, purple, and gold. It is said that Constantinople pays each day to her sovereign twenty thousand pieces of gold, which are levied on the shops, taverns, and markets, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the capital by sea and land." In all pecuniary matters, the authority of a Jew is doubtless respectable, but in the three hundred and sixty-five days would produce a yearly income exceeding seven millions sterling, I am tempted to retrench at least the numerous festivals of the Greek calendar. The mass of treasure that was saved by Theodora and Basil the Second will suggest a splendid, though indefinite idea of their supplies and resources. The mother of Michael, before she retired to a cloister, attempted to check or expose the prodigality of her ungrateful son, by a free and faithful account of the wealth which he inherited, one hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, and three hundred thousand of silver, the fruits of her own economy and that of

her deceased husband. The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the mass of two hundred thousand pounds of gold (about eight millions sterling), which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace. Such accumulation of treasure is rejected by the theory and practice of modern policy, and we are more apt to compute the national riches by the use and abuse of the public credit. Yet the maxims of antiquity are still embraced by a monarch formidable to his enemies, by a republic respectable to her allies, and both have attained their respective ends, of military power, and domestic tranquillity.

Whatever might be consumed for the present wants, or reserved for the future use, of the state, the first and most sacred demand was for the pomp and pleasure of the emperor, and his discretion only could define the measure of his private expense. The princes of Constantinople were far removed from the simplicity of nature, yet, with the revolving seasons, they were led by taste or fashion to withdraw to a purer air, from the smoke and tumult of the capital. They enjoyed or affected to enjoy, the rustic festival of the vintage; their leisure was amused by the exercise of the chase and the calm occupation of fishing, and in the summer heats, they were shaded from the sun, and refreshed by the cooling breezes from the sea. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with their magnificent villas, but, instead of the modest art which secretly strives to hide itself and to decorate the scenery of nature, the noble structure of their gardens served only to expose the riches of the lord, and the labour of the architect. The successive casu-

¹ Voyage de Benjamin de Tudela, tom. 1. c. 5, p. 44. The Hebrew text has been translated into French by that marvellous child Barathier, who has added a volume of crude learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi are not a sufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels.

² I am inclined with Beugnot (*L'Asie Turcque*, part. iii. p. 101, etc.) and Joest (*Geschichte der Israeliten*, vol. vi. subhang p. 376), to consider this work a mere compilation, and to doubt the reality of the rabbi's travels.

³ See the continuator of Theophrastus (l. iv. p. 107), Cedrenus (p. 544), and Zonaras (tom. i. l. xii. p. 157).

⁴ Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 225), instead of pounds, uses the more classical appellation of talents, which, in a literal sense and strict computation, would multiply sixty fold the treasure of Basil.

Pomp and
luxury of the
emperors

alties of inheritance and forfeiture had rendered the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and suburbs, of which twelve were appropriated to the ministers of state, but the great palace,¹ the centre of the Imperial residence, was fixed during eleven centuries to the same position, between the hippodrome, the cathedral

^{The palace of Constantinople.} of St Sophia, and the gardens, which descended by many a terrace to the shores of the Propontis. The primitive edifice of the first Constantine was a copy, or rival, of ancient Rome, the gradual improvements of his successors aspired to emulate the wonders of the old world,² and in the tenth century, the Byzantine palace excited the admiration, at least of the Latins, by an unquestionable pre-eminence of strength, size, and magnificence.³ But the toil and treasure of so many ages had produced a vast and irregular pile, each separate building was marked with the character of the times and of the founder, and the want of space might excuse the reigning monarch who demolished, perhaps with secret satisfaction, the works of his predecessors. The economy of the Emperor Theophilus allowed a more free and ample scope for his domestic luxury and splendour. A favourite ambassador, who had astonished the Abbassides themselves by his pride and liberality, presented on his return the model of a palace, which the caliph of Bagdad had recently constructed on

the banks of the Tigris. The model was instantly copied and surpassed: the new buildings of Theophilus⁴ were accompanied with gardens, and with five churches, one of which was conspicuous for size and beauty. It was crowned with three domes, the roof of it in its repose on columns of Italian marble, and the walls were incrustated with marbles of various colours. In the face of the church, a semicircular portico, of the figure and name of the Greek *signia*, was supported by fifteen columns of Phrygian marble, and the subterraneous vaults were of a similar construction. The square before the signa was decorated with a fountain, and the margin of the basin was lined and encompassed with plates of silver. In the beginning of each season, the basin, instead of water, was replenished with the most exquisite fruits, which were abandoned to the populace for the

entertainment of the prince. He enjoyed this tumultuous spectacle from a throne resplendent with gold and gems, which was raised by a marble staircase to the height of a lofty terrace. Below the throne were seated the officers of his guards, the magistrates, the chiefs of the factions of the circus, the inferior steps were occupied by the people, and the place below was covered with troops of dancers, singers, and pantomimes. The square was surrounded by the hall of justice, the arsenal, and the various offices of business and pleasure, and the *purple chamber* was named from the unusual distribution of robes of red and purple by the hand of the emperor himself. The long series of the apartments was adapted to the seasons, and decorated with marble and porphyry, with painting, sculpture, and mosaics, with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. His fanciful magnificence employed the skill and patience of such artists as the times could afford, but the taste of Athens would have despised their frivolous and costly labours, a golden tree, with its leaves and branches,

¹ For a copious and minute description of the Imperial palace, see the Constantinopolitana (l. ii. c. 4, p. 11. 12.) of Ducun. the little part of the middle ages. Never has laborious Germany produced two antiquarians more laborious and accurate than these two natives of lively France.

² The Byzantine palace surpassed the Capitol, the palaces of Pergamus, the Rostrian wood (*πόρφυρεα δένδρα*), the temple of Adria at Cyarus, the pyramids, the Pharos &c., according to an epigram (Antholog. Grec. l. iv. p. 434. 435) Broedel, apud Wechel) ascribed to Julian, ex prefect of Egypt. Seventy his epigrams, some lively, are collected in a trunk (Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 493. 510), but this is wanting.

³ Constantinopolitanum Palatium non pulchritudine solum, verum etiam fortitudine, omnibus quæ unquam videtur munitionibus præstat (Hugonius. Hist. l. v. c. 9, p. 465.)

⁴ See the anonymous continuator of Theophanes (p. 59, 61. 81), whom I have followed in the next and concise abstract of Tebani (Hist. du Bas Empire tom. xiv. p. 426, 427.)

which sheltered a multitude of birds warbling their artificial notes, and two lions of massy gold, and of the natural size, who looked and roared like their brethren of the forest. The successors of Theophilus, of the Basilian and Comnenian dynasties, were not less ambitious of leaving some memorial of their residence, and the portion of the palace most splendid and august, was dignified with the title of the golden *triclinium*.¹ With becoming modesty, the rich and

Furniture and noble Greeks aspired to imitate their sovereign,

and when they passed through the streets on horseback, in their robes of silk and embroidery, they were mistaken by the children for kings.² A matron of Peloponnesus,³ who had cherished the infant fortunes of Basil the Macedonian, was excited by tenderness or vanity to visit the greatness of her adopted son. In a journey of five hundred miles from Patras to Constantinople, her age or indolence declined the fatigue of a horse or carriage the soft litter or bed of Danielis was transported on the shoulders of ten robust slaves, and as they were relieved at easy distances, a band of three hundred was selected for the performance of this service. She was entertained in the Byzantine palace with filial reverence, and the honours of a queen, and whatever might be the origin of her wealth, her gifts were not unworthy of the regal dignity. I have already described the fine and curious manufactures of Peloponnesus, of linen, silk, and woollen, but the most acceptable of her presents consisted in three hundred beautiful youths, of whom one

hundred were eunuchs.⁴ "for she was not ignorant," says the historian, "that the air of the palace is more congenial to such insects, than a shepherd's dairy to the flies of the summer." During her lifetime, she bestowed the greater part of her estates in Peloponnesus, and her testament instituted Leo, the son of Basil, her universal heir. After the payment of the legacies, fourscore villas or farms were added to the Imperial domain, and three thousand slaves of Danielis were enfranchised by their new lord, and transplanted as a colony to the Italian coast.⁵ From this example of a private matron, we may estimate the wealth and magnificence of the emperors. Yet our enjoyments are confined by a narrow circle; and, whatsoever may be its value, the luxury of life is possessed with more innocence and safety by the master of his own, than by the steward of the public, for tune.

In an absolute government, which levels the distinctions of noble and plebeian birth, the sovereign is the sole fountain of honour, and the rank, both in the palace and the empire, depends on the titles and offices which are bestowed and resumed by his arbitrary will. Above a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexius Comnenus,⁶ the *Cæsar* was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of *Augustus* was more freely communicated to the sons and brothers of the reigning monarch. To elude without violating his promise to a powerful associate, the husband of his sister, and without giving himself an

¹ In aureo triclino que prestantior est pars potentissimus (the swarthy Romanus) degens cæteras partes (fille) distribuerat (Lutprand Hist. i. v. c. 9, p. 409). For this lax signification of *triclinium* (edificium tria vel plura xλivæ scilicet εστῶν completens) see Ducange (Gloss. Græc. et Observations sur Joinville, p. 240), and Reiske (ad Constantinum de Ceremoniis, p. 7).

² In equis vecti (says Benjamin of Tudela) regum filii videntur permixti. I prefer the Latin version of Constantine l'Empereur (p. 46) to the French of Barstier (tom. i. p. 49).

³ See the account of her journey, munificence, and testament, in the Life of Basil, by his grandson Constantine (c. 74-76—1065 1071).

⁴ *Carsanathium* (καρσανθίδης, Ducange, Gloss.) Græc. vocant, amputatis virilibus et virga puerum eunuchum quos Veridunenses mercatores ob immensum lucrum facere solent et in Hispaniam ducere (Lutprand, i. vi. c. 3, p. 470). The last abomination of the abominable slave-trade! Yet I am surprised to find in the tenth century, such active speculations of commerce in Lorraine.

⁵ See the Alexiad (l. iii. p. 78, 79) of Anna Comnena, who, except in filial piety, may be compared to Mademoiselle de Montpensier. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, she styles her father *Βασίλειος ἡμετέριος*, the inventor of this royal art, the *τῆς βασιλείας* and *βασιλεῖος βασιλεῖος*.

equal, to reward the piety of his brother Isaac, the crafty Alexius interposed a new and super-eminent dignity. The happy flexibility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound the names of Augustus and Emperor (Sebastos and Autocrator), and the union produced the sonorous title of *Sebastocrator*. He was exalted above the Cæsar on the first step of the throne: the public acclamations repeated his name, and he was only distinguished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornaments of the head and feet. The emperor alone could assume the purple or red buskin, and the close diadem or tiara, which imitated the fashion of the Persian kings.¹ It was a high pyramidal cap of cloth or silk, almost covered by a profusion of pearls and jewels: the crown was formed by a horizontal circle and two arches of gold at the summit, the point of their intersection, was placed a globe or cross and two strings or lappets of pearl depended on either cheek. Instead of red, the buskins of the *Sebastocrator* and Cæsar were green, and on their open coronets or crowns, the precious gems were more sparingly distributed. Beside and below the Cæsar, the fancy of Alexius created the *Panhyperebasios*, and the *Protobasios*, whose sound and ignification will satisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple name of Augustus, and this sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Byzantine court. The daughter of Alexius applauded, with fond complacency, this still gradation of hopes and honours, but the science of words is accessible to the meanest capacity; and this grim dictionary was richly enriched by the pride of his successors. To their favourite sons or brothers, they imputed the more lofty appellation of Lord or *Despot*, which was illustrated with new ornaments, and prerogatives,

¹ *Σημμε, στίφανος, διαδρημα*, see Kelske, ad. i. c. 11, 15. Ducauge has given a learned dissertation on the crown of Constantinople, Rouen, France, 1668 (sur Joinville, xiv. p. 289-303), but of his thirty four models, none exactly tally with Anne's description.

and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of, 1. *Despot*, 2. *Sebastocrator*, 3. *Cæsar*, 4. *Panhyperebasios*, and, 5. *Protobasios*, were usually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majesty, but as they exercised no regular functions, their existence was useless, and their authority precarious.

But in every monarchy the substantial powers of government must be divided and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasury, the fleet and army. The titles alone can differ, and in the revolution of a the counts and prefects, the prætor and questor, insensibly descended, while their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1 In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the care and ornaments of the palace form the most respectable department. The *Curopolata*,² so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the *Protomastor*, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe. From thence his jurisdiction was extended over the numerous menials of pomp and luxury; and he presided with his silver wand at the public and private audience. 2 In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of *Logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were distinguished as the *Logothetes* of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasury, and the *great Logothete*, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies. His dis-

Officers of the palace, the state, and the army

¹ *Per extensa curia, solo diademate dispar Ordine pro rebus vocatus Cura Palatii* says the African (Orippus (de Laudibus Justiniani, l. i. 138), and in the same century (the sixth), Cassiodorus represents him, who viri, are decoratus, inter numerosa obsequia primus ante pedes regis incederet (Varian vii. 14). But this great officer (unknown), ἀντιστοιχῶν exercising no function, *οὐδὲ οὐδὲν ποιεῖ*, is set down by the modern Greeks to the fifteen rank (Codin c. 5, p. 65).

² Nicetas (in Manuel, l. vii c. 1) defines him *ὁ ἡ ἀρχὴν τῆς βασιλείας, ὁ δὲ*

from all who entered the royal presence, from the princes invested with the diadem and purple, and from the ambassadors who represented their independent sovereigns, the caliphs of Asia, Egypt, or Spain, the kings of France and Italy, and the Latin emperors of ancient Rome. In his transactions of business, Luitprand, bishop of Cremona,¹ as-

^{Reception of ambassadors.} surted the free spirit of a Frank and the dignity of his master Otho. Yet his sincerity cannot disguise the abasement of his first audience. When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions Luitprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate, and thence he touched the ground with his forehead. He arose, but in the short interval, the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the ceiling. The imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence. In this lion-st and curious narrative the bishop

Cremona represents the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, which are still practised in the Sublime Porte, and which were practised in the last age by the dukes of Muscovy or Russia. After a long journey by sea and land, from Venice to Constantinople, the ambassador halted at the golden gate, till he was conducted by the formal officers to the hospitable palace prepared for his reception, but this palace was a prison, and his jealous keepers prohibited all social intercourse either with strangers or natives. At his first audience, he offered the gifts of his master, slaves, and golden vases, and costly armour. The ostentatious presentation of the officers and troops displayed on his eyes the riches of the empire. he was entertained at a royal banquet,²

¹ The two emissaries of Luitprand to Constantinople, all that he saw or suffered in the capital, are related by the emperor himself (Hist. I. vi. c. 11, p. 469 471, Lacæus ad Ephorum Photam, p. 179 489).

² Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced, on his forehead a pike, or pole, twenty-four feet long, with a cross bar of two

in which the ambassadors of the nations were marshalled by the esteem or contempt of the Greeks. from his own table, the emperor, as the most signal favour, sent the plates which he had tasted, and his favourites were distinguished with a robe of honour.³ In the morning and evening of each day, his civil and military servants attended their duty in the palace; their labour was repaid by the sight, perhaps by the smile, of their lord, his commands were signified by a nod or a sign, but all earthly greatness stood silent and submissive in his presence. In his regular or extraordinary processions through the capital, he unveiled his person to the public view. The rites of policy were connected with those of religion, and his visits to the principal churches were regulated by the festivals of the Greek calendar. On the eve of these processions, the gracious or devout intent of the monarch was proclaimed by the heralds. The streets were cleared and purified, the pavement was strewed with flowers, the most precious furniture, the gold and silver, and silken hangings, were displayed from the windows and balconies, and a severe discipline restrained and silenced the tumult of the populace. The march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops they were followed in long order by the magistrates and ministers of the civil government. the person of the emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domestics, and at the church door he was solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy.

The task of applause was not abandoned to the rude and spontaneous voices of the crowd. The most convenient stations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the circus, and their furious conflicts, which had

cabits & 1 tile below the top. Two boys, naked, though encircled (*conspicue*) by their and singly, dashed, stood, played, descended & ascended the stadium redditi utraque manus nescio (p. 170). At the other end of the stadium of Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles was read their voices on a time (p. 481).

³ Is not improbably derived from Calas, or Calasat, in Arabic a robe of honour (Helske, Not. in Cæronia p. 84).

shaken the capital, were insensibly sunk to an emulation of scrupitude. From either side they echoed in responsive melody the praises of the emperor; their poets and musicians directed the choir, and long life and victory were the burden of every song. The same acclamations were performed at the audience, the banquet, and the church; and as an evidence of boundless sway, they were repeated in the Latin,¹ Gothic, Persian, French, and even English language,² by the mercenaries who sustained the real or notitious character of those nations. By the pen of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, this science of form and flattery has been reduced into a pompous and trifling volume,³ which the vanity of succeeding times might enrich with an ample supplement. Yet the calmer reflection of a prince would surely suggest that the same acclamations were applied to every character and every reign; and if he had risen from a private rank, he might remember, that his own voice had been the loudest and most eager in applause, at the very moment when he envied the fortune, or conspired against the life, of his predecessor.⁴

¹ Παλαρχνίζων is explained by ἐμφημίζων (Oudin c. 7, Ducange, Gloss. Græc. tom. 1 p. 1192).

² Κανειβειτ Διους ἀμπερσομα βιερτρομ—Βικερ σής σίμπετ—βίββατ Δαμην. 'Εμπερδ—σας, ἐν μούλτος ἀνους (Ceremonie c. 75, p. 215). The want of the Latin V, obliged the Greeks to employ their β, nor do they regard quantity till he recollected the true language, those strange sentences might puzzle a professor.

³ Βιραγγος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς πάτριας καὶ ἐξοικιστικῆς γλώσσας, ἤγειν. 'Ἰνάλισσι, πολυγρονίζουσι (Oudin p. 90). I wish he had preserved the words however corrupt, of their English translation.

⁴ For all these ceremonies, see the professed work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the notes or rather dissertations, of his German editor, Feich and Heiske. For the rank of the *domestici* courtiers, p. 80, not 23, 62, for the *domestici*, except on Sundays, p. 19, 210, not 1.

1, the introductions, p. 2, &c., not p. 3, &c., the acclamations *pasito* not 25, &c., the factions and Hippodrome, p. 177-214, not 9, 11, &c., the Gothic games, p. 229, not 111, vintage, p. 217, not 169 much more information is scattered over the work.

⁵ Et privato Othoni et super eadem dicens non adulato (Tacet Hist. 1. 85).

The princes of the North, of the nations, says Constantine, ^{Marriage of the} without faith or fame, ^{Cæsars with} were ambitious of mingling ^{foreign nations} their blood with the blood of the Cæsars, by their marriage with a royal virgin, or by the nuptials of their daughters with a Roman prince.¹ The aged monarch, in his instructions to his son, reveals the secret maxims of policy and pride; and suggests the most decent reasons for refusing these insolent and unreasonable demands. Every animal, says the discreet emperor, is prompted by nature to seek a mate among the animals of his own species, and the human species is divided into various tribes, by the distinction of language, religion, and manners. A just regard to the purity of descent preserves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful source of disorder and discord. Such had ever been the opinion and practice of the sage Romans: their jurisprudence proscribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger in the days of freedom and virtue, a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king; the glory of Mark Antony was sullied by an Egyptian wife;² and the Emperor Titus was compelled, by popular censure, to dismiss with reluctance the reluctant Berenice.³ This perpetual interdict was ratified by the fabulous sanction of the great Constantine. The ambassadors of the nations, more especially of the unbelieving nations, were solemnly admonished, that such strange alliances had been condemned

¹ The thirteenth chapter, de Administratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the *Epistola Byzantine* of Ducange.

² *Superbiunt nefas Agrippa conjunx* (Virgil, *Æneid* viii. 658). Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings (quid in mutavit) says Antony in a private letter to Augustus (an quod regnum in eo? *Uxor in adest* (Sueton. in August. c. 69). Yet I much question (for I cannot stay to inquire), whether the triumvir ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites.

³ *Berenice in invitum invitam dimisit* (Suetonius in Tit. c. 7). Have I observed elsewhere, that this Jewish beauty was at this time above fifty years of age? The judicious Ruland has most discreetly suppressed both her age and her country.

by the founder of the church and city. The irrefragable law was inscribed on the altar of St Sophia; and the impious prince who should stain the majesty of the purple was excluded from the civil and ecclesiastical communion of the Romans. If the ambassadors were instructed by any false brethren in the Byzantine history, they might produce three memorable examples of the violation of this imaginary law: the marriage of Leo, or rather of his father Constantine the Fourth, with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, the nuptials of the grand-daughter of Romanus with a Bulgarian prince, and the union of Bertha of France or Italy with young Romanus, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. To these objections three answers were prepared, which solved the difficulty and established the law. I. The deed and the guilt of Constantine Copronymus were acknowledged. The Isaurian heretic, who sullied the baptismal font, and declared war against the holy images, had indeed embraced a barbarian wife. By this unious alliance he accomplished the measure of his crimes, and was devoted to the just censure of the church and of posterity. II. Romanus could not be alleged as a legitimate emperor, he was a plebeian usurper, ignorant of the laws, and regardless of the honour, of the monarchy. His son Christopher, the father of the bride, was the third in rank in the college of princes, at once the subject and the accomplice of a rebellious parent. The Bulgarians were sincere and devout Christians, and the safety of the empire, with the redemption of many thousand captives, depended on this preposterous alliance. Yet no consideration could dispense from the law of Constantine: the clergy, the senate, and the people, disapproved the conduct of Romanus, and he was reproached, both in his life and death, as the author of public disgrace. III.

The first exception. A.D. 723. The second. A.D. 941. The third. A.D. 643. For the marriage of his own son with the daughter of Hugo king of Italy, a more honour-

able defence is contrived by the wise Porphyrogenitus Constantine, the great and holy, esteemed the fidelity and valour of the Franks,¹ and his prophetic spirit beheld the vision of their future greatness. They alone were excepted from the general prohibition. Hugo king of France was the lineal descendant of Charlemagne, and his daughter Bertha inherited the prerogatives of her family and nation. The voice of truth and malice insensibly betrayed the fraud or error of the Imperial court. The patrimonial estate of Hugo was reduced from the monarchy of France to the simple county of Arles, though it was not denied, that in the confusion of the times, he had usurped the sovereignty of Provence, and invaded the kingdom of Italy. His father was a private noble, and if Bertha derived her female descent from the Carolingian line, every step was polluted with illegitimacy or vice. The grandmother of Hugo was the famous Valdrada, the concubine, rather than the wife, of the second Lothair, whose adultery, divorce, and second nuptials, had provoked against him the thunders of the Vatican. His mother, as she was styled, the great Bertha, was successively the wife of the count of Arles and of the marquis of Tuscany. France and Italy were scandalised by her gallantries, and till the age of threescore, her lovers, of every degree, were the zealous servants of her ambition. The example of maternal incontinence was copied by the King of Italy, and the three favourite concubines of Hugo were decorated with the classic names of Venus, Juno, and Semele.² The

¹ Constantine was made to praise the *ἰσχυρὰν* and *εὐσεβεῖαν* of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Isaac (asmbon in *Dedicationibus*) are highly delighted with these compliments.

² Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administrat. Imp.* c. 28) exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo (*εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς Οὐγγαρίων*). A more correct idea may be formed from the *Criticism of Pagi*, the *Annals of Munster*, and the *Abridgment of St Marc*, A.D. 925-940.

³ After the mention of the three goddesses, *Antipater* very naturally adds, *et quoniam, nos*

daughter of Venus was granted to the solicitations of the Byzantine court her name of Bertha was changed to that of Eudoxia, and she was wedded, or rather betrothed, to young Romanus, the future heir of the empire of the East. The consummation of this foreign alliance was suspended by the tender age of the two parties, and at the end of five years, the union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse. The second wife of the Emperor Romanus was a maiden of plebeian, but of Roman birth, and their two daughters, Theophano, and Anne, were given in marriage to the princes of the earth. The eldest was bestowed, as the pledge of

Otho of
Germany
A.D. 974

peace, on the eldest son of the great Otho, who had solicited this alliance with arms and embassies. It might legally be questioned how far a Saxon was entitled to the privilege of the French nation; but every scruple was silenced by the fame and piety of a hero who had restored the empire of the West. After the death of her father in law and husband, Theophano governed Rome, Italy, and Germany, during the minority of her son, the third Otho, and the Latins have praised the virtues of an empress, who sacrificed to a superior duty the remembrance of her country. In the nuptials of her sister Anne, every prejudice was lost, and every consideration of dignity was superseded, by the stronger argument of necessity and fear. A Pagan

Wolodimir of
Russia
A.D. 988

of the North, Wolodimir, great prince of Russia, aspired to a daughter of the Roman purple, and his claim was enforced by the threats of war, the promise of conversion, and the offer of a

rex solus hic abutebatur, eorum nati ex incertis patribus originem ducunt (Hist. L. iv. c. 6) for the marriage of the younger Bertha, see Hist. L. v. c. 5, for the incontinence of the elder, dulcis exercitio Hymenaei, l. iii. c. 15, for the virtues and views of Hugo, l. iii. c. 5. Yet it must not be forgot, that the bishop of Cremona was a lover of carnal.

¹ Licet illa Imperatrix Graeca sibi et aliis fuisse satis utilis, et optima, &c., is the preamble of an Imperial writ, apud Pagi, tom. iv. A.D. 983. No 4. Her marriage and principal actions may be found in Muratori, Pagi, and St. Marc, under the proper years.

powerful succour against a domestic rebel. A victim of her religion and country, the German princess was torn from the palace of her fathers, and condemned to a savage reign and a hopeless exile on the banks of the Borysthenes, or in the neighbourhood of the Polar circle. Yet the marriage of Anne was fortunate and fruitful: the daughter of her grandson Jeroslaus was recommended by her Imperial descent, and the king of France, Henry I., sought a wife on the last borders of Europe and Christendom.

In the Byzantine palace, the emperor was the first slave.

Despotic power

he imposed, of the rigid forms which regulated each word and gesture, he sieged him in the palace, and violated the leisure of his rural solitude. But the lives and fortunes of millions hanging on his arbitrary will, and the firmest minds, superior to the allurements of pomp and luxury, may be seduced by the more active pleasure of communicating their equals. The legislative and executive powers were centred in the person of the monarch, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the philosopher. A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks in the wildest tumults of rebellion they

¹ Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 699. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 221. Eusebius, Hist. Armenien, l. iii. c. 6. Nestor apud Lequesne, tom. ii. p. 112. Pagi, Critica, A.D. 1011. No 6. A singular account of Wolodimir and Anne are wanted among the saints of the Russian church. Yet we know his vices, and are ignorant of his virtues.

² Hunc in primis duxit exorem Scythiarum, Russiam, sicut regis J. r. 1. An embassy of bishops was sent into Russia, and the father gratulerunt cum multis donis. The event happened in the year 1011. See the passages of the original chronicles in Lequesne's Histories of France (tom. xi. p. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29). Vol. vii. might wonder at this alliance, but he should not have owned his ignorance of the country, religion, &c. of Jeroslaus—a name so conspicuous in the Russian annals.

³ A constitution of Leo the Philosopher (lxxvii.) *no senatus-consulta amplius sunt*, speaks the language of naked despotism: *εἰς δὲ τοὺς μισθους ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνίσταται δικασταὶ, καὶ ἐκαστὸν καὶ παλαιὸν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ επιτοκίου συνιστάται.*

Of the Roman Empire

never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition riveted their chains, in the church of St. Sophia he was canonically crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar, they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his side he engaged to abstain as much as possible from the capital punishments

^{Coronation oath.} his orthodox creed was subscribed with his own hand, and he promised to obey the decrees of the seven synods, and the canons of the holy church.¹ But the assurance of mercy was loose and indefinite: he swore, not to his people, but to an inviolable judge, and except in the inexorable guilt of heresy, the ministers of heaven were always prepared to punish the indelible right, and to absolve the venial transgressions, of their sovereign. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate: at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an ignominious death: whatever might be their wealth or influence, they could never succeed like the Latin clergy in the establishment of an independent republic, and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned, what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother. Yet the exercise of boundless despotism is happily checked by the laws of nature and necessity.

alone. Virtue, the minister of an empire is confined to the path of his sacred and libidinous duty. In proportion to his vice and folly, he drops the sceptre too weighty for his hands, and the motions of the royal image are ruled by the imperceptible thread of some minister or favourite, who undertakes for his

private interest to exercise the task of the public oppression. In some fatal moment, the most absolute monarch may dread the reason or the caprice of a nation of slaves, and experience has proved, that whatever is gained in the extent, is lost in the safety and solidity, of regal power.

Whatever titles a despot may assume, whatever claims he may assert, it is on the ^{point} of the sword that he must ultimately depend to guard ^{the bar} and the ^{the} him against his foreign and domestic enemies. From the age of Charlemagne to that of the Crusades, the world (I overlook the remote monarchy of China) was occupied and disputed by the three great empires or nations of the Greeks, the Saracens, and Franks. Their military strength may be ascertained by a comparison of their courage, their arts and riches, and their obedience to a supreme head, who might call into action all the energies of the state. The Greeks, far inferior to their rivals in the first, were superior to the Franks, and at least equal to the Saracens, in the second and third of the warlike qualifications.

The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the ^{key} of the service of the poorer nations, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts and the annoyance of their enemies.² A commerce of mutual benefit exchanged the gold of Constantinople for the blood of the Seljuks and Turks: the Bulgarians and Russians: their valour contributed to the victories of Nicephorus and Zimces; and if a hostile people pressed too closely on the frontier they were recalled to the defence of their country, and the dispute of peace, by the well managed at-

¹ If we listen to the threats of Nicephorus to the ambassador of Otto, *Neo est in mari domo duo classium numeros. Navigantium fortitudo mihi soli inest, qui eum classibus aggrediar, bello maritimo ejus civitates commollar, et quæ fluminibus sunt vicinas reddam in favillam.* (Lutprand in Legat. ad Nicephorum Photium, in Muratori Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars. i. p. 481). He observed in another place, *qui ea tibi prestant Veneclii sunt et Arabii huius*

¹ Cod. nus. (de Officiis, c. xvii. p. 120, 121) gives an idea of this oath so strong to the church *πιστες και ηρησεις δουλος και υιος της αγιας ιακωβου*, so weak to the people *και σπειρ-ωτας φωνας και ακρωτηριασμων και των ομοιων* *Τουτοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατον*

tack of a more distant tribe.' The command of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Tanais to the columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. Their capital was filled with naval stores and dexterous artificers: the situation of Greece and Asia, the long coasts, deep gulfs, and numerous islands, accustomed their subjects to the exercise of navigation; and the trade of Venice and Amalfi supplied a nursery of seamen to the imperial fleet.³ Since the time of the Peloponnesian and Punic wars, the sphere of action had not been enlarged, and the science of naval architecture appears to have declined. The art of constructing those stupendous machines which displayed three, or six, or ten, ranges of oars, rising above, or falling behind, each other, was unknown to the ship-builders of Constantinople, as well as to the mechanicians of modern days.⁴ The *Dromones*,⁵ or light galleys of the Byzantine empire, were content with two tier of oars, each tier was composed of five-and-twenty benches; and two rowers were seated on each bench, who plied their oars on either side of the vessel. To these we must add the captain or centurion, who, in time of action, stood erect with his armour-

bearer on the poop, two steersmen at the helm, and two officers at the prow, the one to manage the anchor, the other to point and play against the enemy the tube of liquid fire. The whole crew, as in the infancy of the art, performed the double service of mariners and soldiers, they were provided with defensive and offensive arms, with bows and arrows, which they used from the upper deck, with long pikes, which they pushed through the port-holes of the lower tier. Sometimes, indeed, the ships of war were of a larger and more solid construction, and the labours of combat and navigation were more regularly divided between seventy soldiers and two hundred and thirty mariners. But for the most part they were of the light and manageable size, and as the cape of Malea in Peloponnesus was still clothed with its ancient terrors, an Imperial fleet was transported five miles overland across the Isthmus of Corinth.⁶ The principles of maritime tactics had not undergone any change since the time of Thucydides, a squadron of galleys still advanced in a crescent, charged to the front, and strove to impel their sharp beaks against the feeble sides of their antagonists. A machine for casting stones and darts was built of strong timbers in the midst of the deck, and the operation of boarding was effected by a crane that hoisted baskets of armed men. The language of signals, so clear and copious in the naval grammar of the moderns, was imperfectly expressed by the various positions and colours of a commanding flag. In the darkness of the night the same orders to chase, to attack, to halt, to retreat, to break, to form, were conveyed by the lights of the leading galley. By land, the fire-signals were repeated from one mountain to another, a chain of eight stations commanded a space of five hundred miles; and Constantinople in a few hours was apprised of the hostile

Nec ipsa capiet eum (the Emperor Otho) in qua ortus est pauper et pellifica Saxonia pecuni! qua pollemus omnes nationes super eum invitabimus et quad Keranicum confricemus (Lutprand in Legat. p. 487). The two books, *de administrando Imperio*, perpetually inculcate the same policy.

³ The nineteenth chapter of the *Tactics* of Leo (Meurs. Oper., tom. vi. p. 825-848), which is given more correct from a manuscript of Gudlin, by the laborious Fabricius (*Bibl. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 372-376), relates to the *Naumachia* or naval war.

⁴ Even of fifteen and sixteen rows of oars, in the navy of Demetrius Poliorcetes. These were for real use the forty rows of Ptolemy Philadelphus were applied to a floating palace, whose tonnage, according to Dr. Arbuthnot (*Tables of ancient Coins*, &c., p. 231, 236), is compared as 4 to one, with an English 100 gun ship.

⁵ The *Dromones* of Leo, &c., are so clearly described with two tier of oars, that I must censure the version of Meursius and Fabricius, who pervert the names by a blind attachment to the classic appellation of *triremes*. The Byzantine historians are sometimes guilty of the same inaccuracy.

⁶ Constantine Porphyrogen in *Vit. Basil.* c. lxi. p. 185. He calmly praises the stratagem as a *βουλὴ συντήρησις καὶ σφόν*, but the sailing round Peloponnesus is described by his terrified fancy as a circumnavigation of a thousand miles.

motions of the Sparacens of Tarsus.¹ Some estimate may be formed of the power of the Greek emperors, by the curious and minute detail of the armament which was prepared for the reduction of Crete. A fleet of one hundred and twelve galleys, and seventy-five vessels of the Pamphylian style, was equipped in the capital, the islands of the Ægean sea, and the sea-ports of Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. It carried thirty-four thousand mariners, seven thousand three hundred and forty soldiers, seven hundred Russians, and five thousand and eighty-seven Mardaites, whose fathers had been transplanted from the mountains of Iabrus. Their pay, most probably of a month, was computed at thirty-four centenaries of gold, about one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds sterling. Our fancy is bewildered by the endless recapitulation of arms and engines, of clothes and linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horses, and of stores and utensils of every description, inadequate to the conquest of a petty island, but amply sufficient for the establishment of a flourishing colony.²

The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war. To these liquid combustibles the city and empire of Constantine owed their deliverance, and they were employed in sieges and sea-fights with

Tactics and
character of
the Greeks.

powder, produce a total revolution in the art of

¹ The continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 123, 123) names the successive stations, the castle of Lulum near Tarsus, Mount Argeus, Campus, Agilus, the hill of Marmas, Cyrius, Modius, the hill of Auxentius, the sun dial of the library of the great palace. He asserts, that the news were transmitted in *dedesi*, in an indivisible moment of time. Miserable amplification, which, by saying too much, says nothing. How much more forcible and instructive would have been the definition of three, or six, or twelve hours?

² See the Cereemoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, l. ii. c. 44, p. 176-192. A critical reader will discern some inconsistencies in different parts of this account, but they are not more obscure or more stubborn than the establishment and effectives, the present and fit for duty, the rank and file and the private, of a modern regiment, which retain in proper hands the knowledge of these profitable mysteries.

terrible effect. But they were either less improved, or less susceptible of improvement, the engines of antiquity the catapults, balistæ, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications, nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy *hurra* of a line of infantry, whom it were fruitless to protect with armour against a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety, and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields, of the tenth century did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles.³ But instead of accustoming the modern Greeks, like the legionaries of old, to the constant and easy use of this salutary weight, their armour was laid aside in light chariots, which followed the march, till on the approach of an enemy, they resumed with haste and reluctance the unusual encumbrance. Their offensive weapons consisted of swords, battle-axes, and spears, but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to the more convenient measure of twelve cubits or feet. The sharpness of the Scythian and Arabian arrows had been severely felt, and the emperors lament the decay of archery as a cause of the public misfortunes, and recommend, as an advice, and a command, that the military youth, till the age of forty, should assiduously practise the exercise of the bow.⁴ The *bands*, or regiments, were usually three hundred strong, and as a medium between the extremes of four and sixteen, the foot soldiers of Leo and Constantine were formed eight deep, but the cavalry charged in four

³ See the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, *περί δόλων, περί ἐπαισιων, and περί γυμνασιων*, in the Tactics of Leo, with the corresponding passages in those of Constantine.

⁴ They observe *τῆς γὰρ ταχίας πατίλων ἀμειλιχίας. . . .* *ἡ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πολλὰ οὐκ ἐνὶ ἐσθλότητα γινώσκται*. Leo, Tactics p. 581, Constantin p. 1216. Yet such were not the maxims of the Greeks and Romans, who despised the loose and distant practice of archery.

ranks, from the reasonable consideration, that the weight of the front could not be increased by any pressure of the hindmost horses. If the ranks of the infantry or cavalry were sometimes doubled, this cautious array betrayed a secret distrust of the courage of the troops, whose numbers might swell the appearance of the line, but of whom only a chosen band would dare to encounter the spears and swords of the barbarians. The order of battle must have varied according to the ground, the object, and the adversary; but their ordinary disposition, in two lines and a reserve, presented a succession of hopes and resources most agreeable to the temper as well as the judgment of the Greeks.¹ In case of a repulse, the first line fell back into the intervals of the second, and the reserve, breaking into two divisions, wheeled round the flanks to improve the victory or cover the retreat. Whatever authority could enact was accomplished, at least in theory, by the camps and marches, the exorcises and evolutions, the edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch.² Whatever art could produce from the forge, the loom, or the laboratory, was abundantly supplied by the riches of the prince, and the industry of his numerous workmen. But neither authority nor art could frame the most important machine, the soldier himself, and if the ceremonies of Constantine always suppose the safe and triumphal return of the emperor,³ his tactics seldom soar above the means of escaping a defeat, and procrastinating the war.⁴

¹ Compare the passages of the Tactics, p. 669 and 721, and the twelfth with the thirteenth chapter.

² In the preface to his Tactics, Leo very freely deprecates the loss of discipline and the calamities of the times, and repeats, without scruple (Preface p. 537), the reproaches of *ἀμείλια, ἀταξία, ἀνυπακοή, βλάβη, &c.*, nor does it appear that the same censures were less deserved in the next generation by the disciples of Constantine.

³ See in the Ceremonial (l. ii. c. 19, p. 353) the form of the emperor's trampling on the necks of the captive Saracens, while the singers chanted, "Thou hast made my enemies my footstool!" and the people shouted forty times the *Kyrie eleison*.

⁴ Leo observes (Tactics, p. 668) that a fair open battle against any nation whatsoever is *ισοψηφία*

Notwithstanding some transient success, the Greeks were sunk in their own esteem and that of their neighbours. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar description of the nation: the author of the Tactics was besieged in his capital, and the last of the barbarians, who trembled at the name of the Saracens, or Franks, could proudly exhibit the medals of gold and silver which they had extorted from the feeble sovereign of Constantinople. What spirit their government, and character denied, might have been inspired in some degree by the influence of religion, but the religion of the Greeks could only teach them to suffer and to yield. The Emperor Nicephorus, who restored for a moment the discipline and glory of the Roman name, was desirous of bestowing the honours of martyrdom on the Christians who lost their lives in a holy war against the infidels. But this political law was defeated by the opposition of the patriarch, the bishops, and the principal senators, and they strenuously urged the canons of St. Basil, that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier should be separated, during three years, from the communion of the faithful.⁵

These scruples of the Greeks have been compared with the tears of the primitive Christians and the Moslems when they were held back from battle, and this contrast of base superstition and high-spirited enthusiasm, unfolds to the philosophic eye the history of the rival nations. The subjects of the first caliph had undoubtedly demonstrated

and *ισοψηφία* the words *ισοψηφία* and the remark is true, but the subject of the opinion of the old historians is confined on the shores of the Hellespont.

⁵ *Contras* (tom. ii. l. xli. p. 102, c. 4, and *Conspend* p. 608), who reads the design of Nicephorus, most unfortunately apply the epithet of *γυναικός* to the opposition of the patriarch.

The seventeenth chapter of the Tactics of the different nations is the most historical and useful of the whole collection of Leo. The manners and arms of the Saracens (Tactics p. 517), and a fragment from the *Medieval* in the preface of the sixth volume of

from the fear and faith of the companions of the prophet. Yet their untutored creed still represented the Deity as the author of war: the vital though latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the heart of their religion, and among the Saracens, who dwelt on the Christian borders, it was frequently rekindled to a lively and active flame.

Their regular force was formed of the valiant slaves who had been educated to guard the person and accompany the standard of their lord: but the Mussulman people of Syria and Cilicia, of Africa and Spain, was awakened by the trumpet which proclaimed a holy war against the infidels. The rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God, the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder, and the old, the blind, and the women, assumed their share of meritorious service by sending their substitutes, with arms and horses, into the field. These offensive and defensive arms were similar in strength and temper to those of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the lance and the bow: the messy silver of their belts, their bridles, and their swords, displayed the magnificence of a prosperous nation, and except some black archers of the South, the Arabs displayed the naked bravery of their incursions. Instead of waggon, they were attended by a long train of camels, mules, and asses: the multitude of these animals, whom they bedecked with flags and streamers, appeared to swell the pomp and magnificence of their host: and the horses of the enemy were often disordered by the uncouth figure and odious smell of the camels of the East. Invincible by the patience of thirst and heat, then swifly were frozen by a winter's cold, and thus their propensity to sleep exacted the most dangerous precautions against the surprises of the night. Their order of battle was a long

Maurusius the Roman emperor was too frequently called upon to study

Περὶ δὲ καὶ κακῶν ἔργων τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι αἰτίους ὑποτίθενται, καὶ παλαιοὶ, καὶ ἰστορικοὶ λέγουσι τοῖς θεοῖς, τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐκείνη τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην διακρίνειν. Laon Tacite p. 803

square of two deep and solid lines: the first of archers, the second of cavalry. In their engagements by sea and land, they sustained with patient firmness the fury of the attack, and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they were repulsed and broken, they knew not how to rally or renew the combat; and their dismay was heightened by the superstitious prejudice, that God had declared himself on the side of their enemies. The decline and fall of the caliphate countenanced this fearful opinion, nor were there wanting, among the Mahomedans and Christians, some obscure prophecies, which prognosticated their alternate defeats. The unity of the Arabian empire was dissolved, but the independent fragments were equal to populous and powerful kingdoms, and in their naval and military armaments, an emir of Aleppo or Tunis might command no despicable fund of skill, and industry, and treasure. In their transactions of peace and war with the Saracens, the princes of Constantinople too often felt that the barbarians had nothing barbarous in their discipline: and that if they were destitute of original genius they had been endowed with a quick spirit of curiosity and imitation. The model was indeed more perfect than the copy: their ships, and engines and fortifications, were of a less skilful construction, and they confess, without shame, that the same God who has given a tongue to the Arabians, had more nicely fashioned the hands of the Greeks.

A name or some German tribes between the Rhine and the The Franks or Weser had spread its victorious influence over the greatest

Empire (p. 481-484), relates and interprets the oracles of the Greeks and Saracens in which, after the fashion of prophecy, the just is clear and historical the future is direct, enigmatical and erroneous. From this kind of light and shade a impartial critic may commonly determine the date of the composition.

The sense of this distinction is expressed by Abulhasan (Dinawar p. 267-268), but I cannot recollect the precise in which it is conveyed by the lively prophetic language.

part of Gaul, Germany, and Italy; and the common appellation of FRANKS¹ was applied by the Greeks and Arabians to the Christians of the Latin church, the nations of the West, who stretched beyond *their* knowledge to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The vast body had been inspired and united by the soul of Charlemagne, but the division and degeneracy of his race soon annihilated the Imperial power, which would have rivalled the Cæsars of Byzantium, and revenged the indignities of the Christian name. The enemies no longer feared, nor could the subjects any longer trust, the application of a public revenue, the labours of trade and manufactures in the military service, the mutual aid of provinces and armies, and the naval squadrons which were regularly stationed from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tiber. In the beginning of the tenth century, the family of Charlemagne had almost disappeared, his monarchy was broken into many hostile and independent states, the regal title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; their revolt was imitated in a long subordination of anarchy and discord, and the nobles of every province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbours. Their private wars, which overturned the fabric of government, fomented the martial spirit of the nation. In the system of modern Europe, the power of the sword is possessed, at least in fact, by five or six mighty potentates; their operations are conducted on a distant frontier, by an order of men who devote their lives to the study and practice of the military art. The rest of the country and community enjoys in the midst of war the tranquillity of peace, and is only made sensible of the change

by the aggravation or decrease of the public taxes. In the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peasant was a soldier, and every village a fortification; each wood or valley was a scene of murder and rapine, and the lords of each castle were compelled to assume the character of princes and warriors. To their own courage and policy, they boldly trusted for the safety of their family, the protection of their lands, and the revenge of their injuries; and, like the conquerors of a larger size, they were too apt to transgress the privilege of defensive war. The powers of the mind and body were hardened by the presence of danger and necessity of resolution. The same spirit refused to desert a friend and to forgive an enemy; and, instead of sleeping under the guardian care of the magistrate, they proudly disdain the authority of the laws. In the days of feudal anarchy, the instruments of agriculture and art were converted into the weapons of bloodshed. The peaceful occupations of civil and ecclesiastical society were abolished or corrupted, and the bishop who exchanged his mitre for a helmet, was more forcibly urged by the manners of the times than by the obligation of his tenure.

The love of freedom and of arms was felt, with conscious pride, by the Franks themselves, and is observed by the Greeks with some degree of amazement and terror. "The Franks," says the Emperor Constantine, "are bold and valiant to the verge of temerity and their dauntless spirit is supported by the contempt of danger and death." In the field and in close onset, they press to the front, and rush headlong against the enemy, without deigning to compute either his numbers or their own. Their ranks are formed

¹ Ex Francis, quo nomine tam Latinos quam Teutones comprehendit, ludum habuit (Luitprand in Legat. ad imp. Nicephorum, p. 483, 484). This extension of the name may be confirmed from Constantine (de administrando Imperio, l. ii. c. 27, 28) and Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 55, 56), who both lived before the Crusades. The testimonies of Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 60) and Abulfeda (Prefat. ad Geograph.) are more recent.

² On this subject of ecclesiastical and benevolent discipline, Father Thomassin (tom. iii. l. i. c. 40, 45, 46, 47) may be usefully consulted. A general law of Charlemagne exempted the bishops from personal service, but the opposite practice, which prevailed from the ninth to the fifteenth century, is countenanced by the example or silence of saints and doctors. You justify your cowardice by the holy canons, says Katherius of Verona, the canons likewise forbid you to whore, and yet—

themselves as the inseparable colleagues of the same office, as the joint sovereigns of the Roman world and city, which were bounded by the same limits. After the fall of the Western monarchy, the majesty of the purple resided solely in the princes of Constantinople, and of these, Justinian was the first, who, after a divorce of sixty years, regained the dominion of ancient Rome, and ascribed, by the right of conquest, the august title of Emperor of the Romans. A motive of vanity or discontent solicited one of his successors, Constantine the Second, to abandon the Thracian Bosphorus, and to restore the pristine honours of the Tiber. An extravagant project (exclaims the malicious Byzantine), as if he had despoiled a beautiful and blooming virgin, to crush, or rather to expose, the deformity of a wrinkled and decrepit matron. But the world of the Lombards opposed his settlement in Italy: he entered Rome, not as a conqueror, but as a fugitive, and, after a visit of twelve days, he pillaged, and for ever despoiled, the ancient capital of the world. The final revolt and separation of Italy was accomplished about two centuries after the conquests of Justinian, and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislation had composed his Institutes, his code and his Pandects, in the language which he celebrates as the proper and public style of the Roman govern-

ment, the consecrated idols of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces, it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the intelligents of the laws and the ministers of the state. After a short earnest, native and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power for the general benefit of his subjects, Justinian promulgated his novels in the two languages the several parts of his voluminous jurisprudence were successively translated, the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal, as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom. Justinus by the Arabs, and Maurice by the Italians,

subsided, the caliphs aspired to conquer the arts, rather than the provinces, of the empire: their liberal curiosity rekindled the emulation of the Greeks, brushed away the dust from their ancient libraries, and taught them to know and reward the philosophers, whose labours had been hitherto repaid by the pleasure of study and the pursuit of truth. The Cæsar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the Third, was the generous protector of letters, a title which alone has preserved his memory and excused his ambition. A particle of the treasures of his nephew was sometimes diverted from the indulgence of vice and folly; a school was opened in the palace of Magnaura, and the presence of Bardas excited the emulation of the masters and students. At their head was the philosopher Leo, archbishop of Thessalonica: his profound skill in astronomy and the mathematics was admired by the sages of the East; and this occult science was magnified by vulgar credulity, which modestly supposes that all knowledge superior to its own must be the effect of inspiration or magic. At the pressing entreaty of the Cæsar, his friend, the celebrated Photius,¹ renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and absolved by the synods of the East and West. By the concession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, in defatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction. Whilst he exercised the office of protospatharius, or captain of the guards, Photius was sent ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad.² The tedious

more commonly ascribed to the emperor of the same name. The physics of Leo in MS. are in the library of Vienna, (Fabricius, *Bibliot. Græcæ* tom. vi. p. 436, tom. xi. p. 781) Quærant!

¹ The ecclesiastical or literary character of Photius is copiously discussed by Hamaker (*de Scriptis Photii* Leydæ p. 241-246), and Fabricius.

² Leo never goes any only met in Bagdad, the seat of the caliph; and the relation of his embassy might have been curious as instructive. But how did he procure his books? A library so numerous could neither be found at Bagdad, nor transported with his baggage, nor preserved in his memory. Yet the last, however in

hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the hasty composition of his *Library*, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and fourscore writers, historians, orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method. He abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom, which often breaks through the superstition of the times. The Emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, entrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor Leo the philosopher, and the reign of that prince and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus forms one of the most prosperous eras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the Imperial library, by their pens, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgments as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the *Basilus*, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the human species propagated with equal diligence, and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into fifty three heads or titles, of which two only (of embassies, and of virtues and vices) have escaped the injuries of time. In every station, the reader might contemplate the image of the past world, apply the lesson or warning of each page, and learn to admire, perhaps to imitate, the examples of a brighter period. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Greeks, who by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved, in some measure, the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical commonplace book of Stobæus, the grammatical and historical lexicon of Suidas, the *Onians* of Tzetzes, which comprise six hundred narratives in twelve thousand credible, seems to be affirmed by Photius himself, *ὅτις αὐτῶν ἡ μνησὶς οὐκ ἔστι* Camusot (*Hist. Critique des Journaux*, p. 87-94) gives a good account of the *Myriobiblion*.

are the farthest removed from the models whom they affect to emulate. In every page our taste and reason are wounded by the choice of gigantic and obsolete words, a stiff and intricate phraseology, the discord of images, the childish play of false or unseasonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themselves, to astonish the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the smoke of obscurity and exaggeration. Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry, their poetry is sinking below the fitness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses, were silent and inglorious; the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale, they forgot even the rules of prosody, and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of *political* or *city verses*.¹ The minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and impious superstition, which extends her dominion round the circle of profane science. Their understandings were bewildered in metaphysical controversy, in the belief of visions and miracles, they had lost all principles of moral evidence, and their taste was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an absurd medley of declamation and Scripture. Even these contemptible studies were no longer dignified by the abuse of superior talents: the leaders of the Greek church were humbly content to admire and copy the *oracles* of antiquity, nor did the schools or pulpit rivals of the fume

Athenians and Chrysostom.²

In all the pursuits of active speculative life, the emulation of states want of national and individual is the most powerful spring of the efforts and improvements of

¹ The *sermos politici*, those common proscriptions as from their easiness, they are styled by Leo Allutius, usually consist of fifteen syllables: they are used by Constantine Manasses, 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. (Lucanage, G. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.)

² As St. Bernard of the Latin, so St. John Damascenus in the eighth century, is revered as the last father of the Greek church.

mankind. The cities of ancient Greece were cast in the happy mixture of union and independence, which is repeated on a larger scale, but in a looser form, by the nations of modern Europe: the union of language, religion, and manners, which renders them the spectators and judges of each other's merit; the independence of government and interest, which asserts their separate freedom, and excites them to strive for pre-eminence in the career of glory. The situation of the Romans was less favourable, yet in the early ages of the republic which fixed the national character, a similar emulation was kindled among the states of Latium and Italy, and in the arts and sciences they aspired to equal or surpass their Grecian masters. The empire of the Cæsars undoubtedly checked the activity and progress of the human mind, its magnitude might indeed allow some scope for domestic competition, but when it was gradually reduced, at first to the East and at last to Greece and Constantinople, the Byzantine subjects were degraded to an abject and languid temper, the natural effect of a solitary and insulated state. From the North they were oppressed by nameless tribes of barbarians, to whom they scarcely imputed the appellation of men. The language and religion of the more polished Arabs were in no manner suitable to all social improvement. The conquerors of Europe were their brethren in the Christian faith, but the speech of the Franks or Latins was unknown, their manners were rude, and they were rarely connected, in peace or war, with the successors of Hercules. Alone in the universe the self-satisfied pride of the Greeks was not disturbed by the comparison of foreign merit, and it is no wonder if they imputed the race, since they had neither competitors to urge their speed, nor judges to crown their victory. The nations of Europe and Asia were mingled by the expeditions to the Holy Land, and it is under the Commagenian dynasty that a faint emulation of knowledge and military virtue was rekindled in the Byzantine empire.

CHAPTER LIV.

ORIGIN AND DOCTRINE OF THE PAULICIAN¹—THEIR PERSECUTION BY THE GREEK EMPERORS—REVOLT IN ARMENIA, ETC.—TRANSPLANTATION INTO THRACE—PROPAGATION IN THE WEST—THE CREEDS, CHARACTER, AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION

In the profession of Christianity, the variety of national character of the Greek actors may be clearly distinguished. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion. Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world, and the wit of the lively and loquacious Greeks was consumed in the disputes of metaphysical theology. The incomprehensible mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, instead of commanding their silent submission, were treated in vehement and subtle controversies, which endangered their faith at the expense, perhaps, of their charity and reason. From the council of Nice to the end of the seventh century, the peace and unity of the church was invaded by these spiritual wars, and so deeply did they affect the decline and fall of the empire, that the historian has too often been compelled to attend the synods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the sects, of this busy period of ecclesiastical annals. From the beginning of the eighth century to the last ages of the Byzantine empire, the sound of controversy was seldom heard, curiosity was exhausted, zeal was fatigued, and, in the decrees of six councils, the articles of the Catholic faith had been erroneously defined. The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires some enfeeblement and exercise of the mental faculties, and the prostrate Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the Virgin and the Saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks, and worshipped by the people, and the appellation of people

might be extended, without injustice, to the first ranks of civil society. At an unreasonable moment, the Eastern emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects under their influence; reason might obtain some proselytes, a far greater number was swayed by interest or fear, but the Eastern world embraced or deplored their visible doctrines, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the first orthodox. In this passive and enormous state the ecclesiastical influence was reduced from the toil, or deprived of the pleasure, of persecution. The Pagans had disappeared, the Jews were silent and obscure, the disputes with the Latins were rare and remote, hostilities against a national enemy and the sects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration under the shadow of the Arabian eclipses. About the middle of the seventh century, a branch of Manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny, their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion, and their exile has scattered over the West the seeds of reformation. These important events will justify some inquiry into the doctrine and story of the PAULICIANS.

¹ The errors and virtues of the Paulicians are weighed, with his usual judgment and candour, by the learned Mosheim (Hist. Eccles. set. secundæ, p. 311, &c.). He draws his original intelligence from Photius (contra Manichæos, l. 1.) and Peter Sautius (Hist. Manichæorum, &c.). The first of these accounts has not fallen into my hands, the second, which Mosheim prefers, I have read in a Latin version inserted in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum (tom. xvi. p. 70. 704) from the edition of the Jesuit Radier (Inagolstadt, 1804 in 4to).*

* Compare Hallam's Middle Ages, p. 461-471. Mr. Hallam justly observes that this chapter "appears to be accurate as well as luminous, and is at least far superior to any modern work on the subject." M

and as they cannot plead for themselves, our candid criticism will magnify the good, and abate or suspect the evil, that is reported by their adversaries.

The Gnostics, who had distracted the infancy, were oppressed by the greatness and authority, of the church. Instead of emulating

Origin of the Paulicians or disciples of St. Paul. A.D. 660 &c

surpassing the wealth, learning, and labors, of the Catholics, their obscure remnant was driven from the capitals of the East and West and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. Some vestige of the Marcionites may be detected in the fifth century; but the numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of the Manicheans, and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandson of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosata, more famous for the birth of Lucian than for the title of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer arose, esteemed by the Paulicians as the chosen messenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Constantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and pupils of the Gnostic clergy.¹ These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith, and the Catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledge that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul. the name of the Paulicians is derived by their cunning from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I

am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the Gentiles. His disciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Tychicus, were represented by Constantine and his fellow-labourers: the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations which they assembled in Arminia and Cappadocia; and this innocent allegory revived the example and memory of the first ages. In the Gospel, and the Epistles of St. Paul, his faithful follower investigated the creed of primitive Christianity, and, whatever might be the success, a Protestant reader will applaud the spirit, of the inquiry. But if the Scriptures of the Paulicians were pure they were not perfect. Their founders rejected the two Epistles of St. Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, whose dispute with their favourite for the observance of the law could not easily be forgiven.² They agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt, for the Old Testament, the books of Moses and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the Catholic church. With equal boldness, and doubtless with more reason, Constantine, the new Sylvanus, disclaimed the visions, which, in so many bulky and splendid volumes, had been published by the Oriental sects,³ the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the

¹ In rejecting the Epistle of St. Peter the Paulicians are justified by some of the most respectable of the ancient and modern Theologians. Wetstein ad loc., Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, c. 17. They likewise overlooked the Apocalypse (Petr. Sicul. p. 766), but as such neglect is not imputed as a crime, the Greeks of the ninth century must have been careless of the credit and honour of the Revelations.

² This contention, which has not escaped the malice of Porphyry, supposes some error and passion in one or both of the apostles. By Chrysostom, Jerome, and Erasmus it is represented as a sham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles and the correction of the Jews (Middletown's Works, vol. II. p. 120).

³ Those who are curious of this heterodox library, may consult the researches of Beauzobre (Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. I. p. 306-437). Even in Africa, St. Austin could describe the Manichean books, tam multi, tam grandæ, tam pretiosæ codicibus (contra Faust. xii. 14), but he adds, without pity, Incendite omnes illas membranas. and his advice has been vigorously followed.

¹ In the time of Theodoret, the diocese of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained eight hundred villages. Of these, two were inhabited by Arians and Maronians, and eight by Marcionites, whom the laborious bishop reconciled to the Catholic church (Dupin, Bibliog. Ecclesiastique, tom. IV. p. 81, 82).

² Nobis profanis ista (sæpe Evangelia) legere non licet sed sacerdotibus duntaxat, was the strict scruple of a Catholic when he was advised to read the Bible (Petr. Sicul. p. 761).

first, the spiritual gospels, epistles, and acts, which in the first age had overwhelmed the orthodox code, the theology of Manes, and the authors of the kindred heresies, and the thirty generations, or more, which had been created by the fruitful fancy of Valentinus. The Paulicians sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichean sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ.

Of the ecclesiastical chain, many links had been broken by the Paulician reformers, and their liberty was enlarged, as they reduced the number of masters, at whose voice profane reason must bow to mystery and miracle. The early separation of the Gnostics had preceded the establishment of the Catholic worship, and against the gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine, they were as strongly guarded by habit and version, as by the silence of St. Paul and the evangelists. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colours. An image made without hands was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvass must be indebted for their merit or value. The miraculous relics were a heap of bones and ashes, testament of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the person to whom they were ascribed. The true and vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber, the body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. The mother of God, was degraded from her celestial honours and immaculate virginity, and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise the laborious office of mediation in heaven, and ministry upon earth. In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the Gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion

of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of Scripture, and as often as they were pressed by the literal sense, they could escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmost diligence must have been employed to dissolve the connection between the Old and New Testament; since they adored the latter as the oracles of God, and abhorred the former as the fabulous and absurd invention of men or demons.

We cannot be surprised, that they should have found in the Gospel the orthodox mystery of the Trinity, but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the virgin like water through a pipe, with a fantastic crucifixion, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus simple and spiritual was not adapted

to the genius of the times,¹ of the Magians and the rational Christian, who might have been contented with the light yoke and easy burden of Jesus and His apostles, was justly offended, that the Paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion. Their belief and then trust was in the Father, of Christ, of the human soul, and of the invisible world. But they likewise held the eternity of matter, a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.² The appearances of moral and physical evil had established the two principles in the ancient philosophy and religion of the East, from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various swarms of the Gnostics. A thousand shades may be devised in the nature and character of

¹ The six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus (p. 756) with much prejudice and passion.

² Primum illorum axioma est, duo rerum esse principia, Deum malum et Deum bonum, aliumque hujus mundi conditorem et principem, et alium futuri ævi (Petr. Sicul. p. 756).

Ahriman, from a rival god to a subordinate demon, from passion and frailty to pure and perfect malevolence, but, in spite of our efforts, the goodness, and the power, of Ormuzd are placed at the opposite extremities of the line, and every step that approaches the one must recede in equal proportion from the other.¹

The Apostolic labours of Constantine. The establishment of the Paulicians in Armenia, Pontus, &c. Sylvanus soon multiplied the number of his disciples, the secret recompense of spiritual ambition. The remnant of the Gnostic sects, and especially the Manicheans of Armenia, were united under his standard, many Catholics were converted or seduced by his arguments; and he preached with success in the regions of Pontus² and Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed the religion of Zoroaster. The Paulician teachers were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the modest title of fellow-pilgrims by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. But they were incapable of desiring, or at least of obtaining, the wealth and honours of the Catholic clergy: such anti-Christian pride they latterly censured, and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish synagogue. The new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates, six of their principal congregations represented the churches to which St. Paul had addressed his epistles, and their founder chose his residence in the neighbourhood of Colonia,³

in the same district of Pontus which had been celebrated by the altars of Bellona⁴ and the miracles of Gregory.⁵ After a mission of twenty-seven years, Sylvanus, who had retired from the tolerating government of the Arabs, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution. The laws of the pious emperors, which seldom touched the lives of less odious heretics, proscribed without mercy or disguise the tenets, the books, and the persons of the Montanists and Manicheans: the books were delivered to the flames, and all who should presume to secrete such writings, or to profess such opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death.⁶ A Greek minister, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to strike the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon and the proof of their repentance, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office, the

the conquest of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus above Neo-Cæsarea, is named by the Turks *Coulukhisar*, or *Chonac*, a populous town in a strong country (D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 74. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxi. p. 29.)

¹ The temple of Bellona at Comana in Pontus was a place of great sanctity. The office had been occupied by his mother's family, Strabo (l. xii. p. 809, 835-837) dwells with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worship, and festival, which was twice celebrated every year. But the Bellona of Pontus had the features and character of the goddess, not of war, but of love.

² Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea (A.D. 310-326), surnamed Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker. An hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, his namesake and countryman, the brother of the great St. Basil.

³ Hoc ceterum ad sua egregia facinora, divinitusque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæi Montanæque capituli puniri sententia suberent, eorumque librorum, quos unque in loco inventi erant, flammis tradidi, quos siquis usquam eosdem, or cultu se detraherentur, hunc eundem mortis perire videlicet, usque bona in faciem inferi (Petr. Sicul. p. 740). What more could bigotry and persecution desire?

¹ Two learned critics, Beausobre (*Hist. Critique de Manichéisme*, l. i. iv, v, vi) and Morellet (*Institut. Hist. Eccles. et de Rel. des Chrétiens ante Constantinum*, sec. i. ii, iii), have laboured to explore and discriminate the various systems of the Gnostics on the subject of the two principles.

² The countries between the Euphrates and the Tigris were possessed above 500 years by the Medes (Herodot. l. i. c. 103) and Persians, and the kings of Persia were of the royal race of the Achæmenids (Callist. Fragment. l. iii. with the French Supplement and notes of the Tr. de Bréquigny).

³ Most probably founded by Pompey after

stones dropped from their filial hands, and of the whole number, only one exception could be found, a new David, as he is styled by the Catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justus was his name, soon deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren, and a new conformity to the acts of St. Paul may be found in the conversion of Simon like the apostle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honours and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom,¹ but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict, and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose amidst their foreign hostilities, they found leisure for domestic quarrels, they quarrelled, they disputed, they suffered, and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians.² The native cruelty of Justinian the Second was stimulated by a pious cause, and he vainly hoped to extinguish, in a single conflagration, the name and memory of the Paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their abhorrence of popular superstition, the Iconoclast priests might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines, but they themselves were exposed to the calumnies of the monks, and they chose to be the tyrants, lest they should be accused as the accomplices, of the Monarchs.

¹ It should seem, that the Paulicians allowed themselves some latitude of equivocation and mental reservation till the Catholics discovered the pressing questions, which reduced them to the alternative of apostasy or martyrdom (Petr. Scul. p. 760).

² The persecution is told by Petrus Siculus (p. 579, 763) with satisfaction and pleasure. *Iustus iustus persolvit*. Nicephorus was not *pius* but *pius* (the pronunciation of the two vowels must have been nearly the same), a great while that drowned the mariners who mistook him for an island. See likewise Cedrenus (p. 432, 435).

Such a reproach has sullied the clemency of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favour the severity of the penal statutes, nor will his character sustain the honour of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael the First, the rigid Leo the Armenian were foremost in the race of persecution, but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the Oriental church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the empress have affirmed that, in a short reign, one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth, but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name, and that some who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In a holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse the justice of their arms hardens them against the feelings of humanity, and they revenge their father's wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces. They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the Imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics, and the deepest recesses of Mount Argens protected their independence and revenge. A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Cubras, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of

Revolt of the
Paulicians
A.D. 843

¹ Petrus Siculus (p. 763, 764), the continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. c. 4, p. 103, 104), Cedrenus (p. 511, 512, 515), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 146), describe the revolt and exploits of Cubras and his Paulicians.

the East. His father had been impaled by the Catholic inquisitors, and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren were united by the same motives, they renounced the allegiance of anti-christian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph, and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the

^{The Paulicians fortify Tephrike} mountains between Diwas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrike, which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the use of the Bible and the sword. During more than thirty years Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war in their hostile mountains the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet and the peaceful Christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodora, was compelled to march in person against the Paulicians: he was defeated under the walls of Samosata, and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carbeas, and the captive generals, with more than a hundred tribunes, were either released by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir, his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In

alliance with his faithful Moslems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia, the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; the edicts of persecution ^{The Paulicians pillage Asia Minor} were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus, nor could the apostle St. John protect from violation his city and sepulchre. The cathedral of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mules and horses, and the Paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not unpleasant to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The Emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to sue for peace, to offer a ransom for the captives, and to request, in the language of molestation and charity, that Chrysocheir would spare his fellow-Christians, and content himself with a royal donative of gold and silver and silk garments. "If the emperor," replied the insolent fanatic, "be desirous of peace, let him abdicate the East, and reign without molestation in the West. If he refuse, the servants of the Lord will precipitate him from the throne." The reluctant Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the alliance, and led his army into the land of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the Paulicians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the strength of Tephrike, the multitude of the barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless siege. On his return to Constantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his celestial patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah, and it was his daily prayer that he might live to transpire, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was accomplished: after a successful invasion, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat; and the rebel's head was tri-

¹ Otter (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. II.) is probably the only Frank who has visited the independent barbarians of Tephrike, now Divriani, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.

² In the history of Chrysocheir, Genesis (Chron. p. 674, edit. Venet.) has exposed the nakedness of the empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in V. l. Basil. c. 37-38, p. 106-171) has displayed the glory of his grandfather Cedrenus (p. 570-578) is without their passions or their knowledge.

umphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged the arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chrysoscheir,

the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered on the second expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrike was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infected the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the Gospel.

About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine sur-named Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace, and by this migration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe. If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians.¹ In the tenth

century, they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces² transported from the Chalybian hills to the valleys of Mount Hæmus. The Oriental clergy who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence, of the Manichæans the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their valour their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief, but, on the side of the Danube, against the barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; the Catholics were their subjects, the Jacobite emigrants their associates they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus, and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire, and the courage of these dogs, over greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious they were easily provoked by caprice or injury, and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five hundred Manichæans deserted the standard of Alexius Comnenus,³ and retired to their native homes. He dissembled till the moment of revenge, invited the chiefs to a friendly conference, and punished the innocent and the guilty by imprisonment, confiscation, and

¹ Συγκριμαμένη πᾶσα ἡ ἀνδρεία τῇ Τεφρικῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ. How elegant is the Greek word, even in the mouth of a cedrenus!

² Copronymus transported his, συγγενεῖς, heretics, and thus ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡ αἵρεσις - ἐν Παλαιστινίᾳ, says Cedrenus (p. 463), who has copied the annals of Theophanes.

³ Petrus Paulus, who resided nine months at Tephrike (i. e. 870) for the ransom of captives (p. 704), was informed of their intended mission and addressed his preservative, the Historia Manicheorum, to the new archbishop of the Bulgarians (p. 754).

¹ The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites transplanted by John Zimisces (A. D. 970) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras (tom. II. l. xvi. p. 200) and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, l. xiv. p. 450, &c.)

² The Alexiad of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 131, l. vi. p. 464, l. vii. p. 450-4-7, with the Annotations of Ducange) records the transactions of her apostolic father with the Manichæans, whose abominable heresy she was desirous of eradicating.

baptism. In an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and state his winter quarters were fixed at Philippopolis, and the thirteenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter, consumed whole days and nights in theological controversy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy was melted, by the honours and rewards which he bestowed on the most eminent piety, and a new city surrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities, and dignified with his own name, was founded by Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts. The important station of Philippopolis was wrested from their hands, the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country, and their lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and solitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St Sophia. But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invincible zeal of the Paulicians, who ceased to dissimble or refused to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France. From that era, a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the valleys of Mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin, and their religion is disgraced

by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.

In the West, the first teachers of the Manichaean theology had their introduction repulsed by the people, or suppressed by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the most pious Christians against the church of Rome. Her aversion was oppressive, her despotism odious, less degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in the worship of saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and scandalous, she had rigorously defined and imposed the doctrine of transubstantiation, the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt, and the Eastern bishops might pass for the successors of the apostles, if they were compared with the lordly prelates, who wicked by turns the cross, the sceptre, and the sword. Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into the heart of Europe. After the conversion of Hungary, the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the course of the Danube in their journey and return they passed through Philippopolis, and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their respective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice prevailed the coast of the Adriatic, and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily, in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps. It was soon discovered

¹ Basil, a monk, and the author of the *Rogationes*, a sect of Gnostics, who soon vanished (Anna Comnenæ Alexiad., l. xi. p. 480-491; Mosheim, Hist. Ecclesiastica, p. 420).

- Matt. Paris, Hist. Major, p. 267. This passage of our English historian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villichardouin (No. 206), who found the Paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians.

² See Marsigli, *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano*, p. 24.

- The introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France is amply discussed by Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italicae mediæ ævi*, tom. v. dissert. ix. p. 81-152), and Mosheim (p. 379-382, 419-422). Yet both have overlooked a curious passage of William the Apulian, who clearly

that many thousands and Catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichean heresy, and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians, a name prominent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government, their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology, but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the Old Testament, and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or the eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners was extorted from their enemies, and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, of those who professed, and of those who assented. It was in the country of the Agout, in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted, and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighborhood of the Lupatres, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the

describes them in a battle between the Greeks and Normans, A.D. 1010 (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 200)

tum Graecis aderint quidam, quos pessimus error,

Peccatamini, et ab ipso nomen habebant

that he is so ignorant of their doctrine as to make them a kind of Sabellians or Itripesians.

¹ Bulgarian, a name, however, a national appellation, has been applied by the French as a term of reproach to usurers and unnatural sinners. The *Palamari*, or *Patrini*, has been made to signify a smooth and flattering hypocrite, such as *Avocat Patelin* of that original and pleasant farce (Ducange, Gloss. Latinitat. med. et infim. Aet.). The Manicheans were likewise named *Cathari*, or the pure, by corrupt Latin writers, &c.

² Of the laws, crusade, and persecution against the Albigensians, a just, though general, notice is expressed by Mosheim (p. 477-481). The detail may be found in the ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern, Catholics and Protestants; and amongst these Fleury is the most impartial and moderate.

banks of the Rhone. The laws of the Eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the Second. The insurgents of Tephree were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc. Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her solicits could equal the heroes of the Crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the Inquisition, an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigensians, were extirpated by fire and sword, and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul, who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and pursued their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual, but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

A philosopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, above

¹ The Acts (*Liber sententiarum*) of the Inquisition of Tholouse (A.D. 1307-1323) have been published by Limborch (Amstelodami, 1697), with a previous history of the Inquisition in general. They deserved a more learned and critical editor. As we must not calumniate even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the secular arm.

² The popularity of "Milner's History of the Church" with some readers, may make it proper to observe, that his attempt to exculpate the Paulicians from the charge of Gnosticism or Manichaeism is a direct defiance, if not in ignorance of all the original authorities. Gibbon himself, it appears, was not acquainted with the works of Photinus, *contra Manichaeos Repulantes*, the first book of which is edited by Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, pars II. p. 313, 375, the whole by Wolf, in *his Anecdota Graeca* Hamburg, 1722. Compare

or against our reason, they have enfranchised the Christians, for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalised by the freedom, of our first reformers.¹ With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew Scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel, and they were bound, like the Catholics, to justify against the Jews and abolition of a divine law. In the great mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation the reformers were severely orthodox. They freely adopted the theology of the four, or the six first councils; and with the Athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleasantry, but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling, and their taste, the first Protestants were entangled in their own scruples, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a *corporeal*, and Calvin a *real*, presence of Christ in the eucharist, and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches.² But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith,

¹ The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are exposed in the second part of the general history of Mosheim, but the balance, which he has held with so clear an eye, and so steady a hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren.

² Under Edward VI. our reformation was more bold and perfect, but in the fundamental articles of the church of England, a strong and explicit declaration against the real presence was obliterated in the original copy, to please the people, or the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth (Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 82, 123, 302).

a very sensible tract, Letter to Rev H. R. Mayhew, by J. G. Dowling, M.A. London, 1836.—M.

grace, and predestination, which have been strained from the epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had ~~not~~ assuredly been prepared by the fathers and schoolmen; but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Hitherto the weight of supernatural belief inclined against the Protestants, and many a sober Christian would rather admit that a wafer is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are solid and important, and the philosopher must own his obligations to these fearless enthusiasts.¹ By their hands the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes of the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labours of social life. A hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities, were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness. Their images and relics were banished from the church, and the credulity of the people was no longer nourished with the duly repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of paganism was supplanted by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least unworthy of the Deity. It only remains to observe, whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with popular devotion, whether the vulgar, in the absence of all visible objects, will not be inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside in languor and indifference. If the chain of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world, and each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the Scriptures, no interpreter but his own

¹ "Had it not been for such men as Luther and myself," said the fanatic Whiston to Halley the philosopher, "you would now be kneeling before an image of St. Winifred."

conscience. The freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the Reformation. The patriot reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigour their ergos and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrate to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus the guilt of his own rebellion;¹ and the flames of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer.² The nature of the tiger was the same but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fur. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the Roman pontiff. The Protestant doctors were subjects of humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. His decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the Catholic church than arguments

and disputes were submitted to the people, and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the reformed churches, many weeds of prejudice were eradicated, and the disciples of Erasmus diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right;³ the free governments of Holland⁴ and England⁵ introduced the practice of toleration, and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits of its powers, and the words and shadows that might amuse the child can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The volumes of controversy are overspread with cobwebs the doctrine of a Protestant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members, and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh, or a smile, by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the Catholics are accomplished the web of mystery is unravelled by the

¹ The article of *Servetus* in the *Dictionnaire Critique* of Chifflet is the best account which I have seen of this shameful transaction. See likewise the *Abbe d'Artigny, Nouveau Memoire d'Histoire*, &c., tom. ii. p. 154.

² I am more deeply scandalised at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hucubombs which have blazed in the Auto da Fés of Spain and Portugal. The zeal of Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienne, and betrayed for his destruction, the sacred trust of a private correspondence. The deed of cruelty was not vanquished by the pretence of danger to the church or state. In his passage through Geneva he preached, nor printed, nor made proselytes. A Catholic inquisitor yields the same obduracy which he requires, that Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as would be done by, a rule which I read in a moral treatise of Isocrates (in Nicæus, tom. i. p. 93, edit. Huth) four hundred years before the publication of the Gospel. "Α πρῶτον ἐφ' ὧν ἐγγράφετε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε."

³ See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 84 b. The sense and humanity of the young king were oppressed by the authority of the priests.

⁴ Gibbon has not accurately rendered the sense of this passage, which does not contain the maxim of charity, *Do unto others as you would they should do unto you*, but simply the maxim of justice. Do not to others that which would offend you if they should do it to you.

¹ Erasmus may be considered as the father of rational theology. After a slumber of a hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland, Grocius, Limborch, and La Cæ, England by Whittingworth, the latitudinarians of Cambridge (Burnet, Hist. of own Times, vol. i. p. 261 268 octavo edition), Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadly, &c.

² I am sorry to observe, that the three writers of the last age, by whom the rights of toleration have been so nobly defended, Hays, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philosophers.

³ See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the Religion of the United Provinces. I am not satisfied with Grocius (de Rebus Belgicis, Annal. i. l. p. 13, 14, edit. in 12mo), who approves the Imperial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the Inquisition.

⁴ Sir William Blackstone (Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 53, 54) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of Papists, and of those who deny the Trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were not more effectual than a hundred statutes.

Armenians, Arians, and Socinians, whose numbers must not be computed from their separate congregations, and the pillars of Revelation are shaken by

those men who, professing the name with out the substance of religion, who indulge the licence without the temper of philosophy.^{1*}

CHAPTER LV.

THE BULGARIANS—ORIGIN, MIGRATIONS, AND SETTLEMENT OF THE HUNGARIANS—THEIR INROADS IN THE EAST AND WEST—THE MONARCHY OF RUSSIA—GEOGRAPHY AND TRADE WARS OF THE RUSSIANS AGAINST THE CIRCASSIANS—CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS

UNDER the reign of Constantine the grandson of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caliphs, then unknown and accidental auxiliaries the Roman legions were occupied in Asia and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Casus were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. If, in the account of this interesting people, I have deviated from the strict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the subject will hide my transgression, or solicit my excuse. In the East, in the West, in war, in religion, in science, in their prosperity, and in their decay, the Arabians press themselves on our curiosity: the first overthrow of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to their arms, and the disciples of Mahomet still hold the civil and religious sceptre of the Oriental world. But the same labour would be unworthily bestowed on the swarms of savages, who between the seventh and the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient inroad, or perpetual emigration: Their names are uncouth, their

origins doubtful, their actions obscure, their superstition was blind, their violence brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither softened by innocence, nor refined by policy. The majesty of the Byzantine throne repelled and survived then desecrated attacks, the greater part of these barbarians had disappeared without leaving any memorial of their existence, and the despicable remnant continued, and may long continue, to groin under the dominion of a foreign tyrant. From the antiquities of the *Bulgarians*, the *Hungarians*, and the *Russians*, I shall content myself with selecting such facts as yet deserve to be remembered. The conquests of the IV. NORMANS, and the monarchy of the V. RUSSS, will naturally terminate in the memorable Crusades to the Holy Land,

tomes, or six volumes, in 4to. But the fish in has not enhanced the price of these few materials.

I shall recommend to public attention two passages in Dr Priestley, which bear the ultimate tendency of Epicurus. At the end of these (Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity, vol. I. p. 275. 2.) the passage is in the second (vol. II. p. 481) to the same effect, but in a different manner.

If it were not for the fact that many believe in Christianity, however imperfect his creed. The observations which the whole of this passage on the effects of the reformation in which much truth and justice is mingled with much prejudice would suggest, could not possibly be compressed into a note, and would indeed embrace the whole religious and political history of the time which has elapsed since Gibbon wrote. M.

¹ All the passages of the Byzantine history which relate to the barbarians are compiled, methodised, and inscribed, in a Latin version, by the laborious John Gotthelf Spretter, in his "Memoriae Populorum, ad Danubium, Pontum, Kazanum, Paludem Mesotilem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septentrionem moventium." Petropoli, 1771-1779, in four

and the double wall of the city and empire of Constantine.

¹ I. In his march to Italy, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians. After this defeat, the name and the nation are lost during a century and a half, and it may be suspected that the same of a similar appellation was revived by strange colonies from the Boiysthenes, the Tanais, or the Volga.

A king of the ancient Bulgaria² bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of moderation and concord. It was received as youth has ever received the counsels of age and experience: the five princes buried then father, divided his subjects and cattle, forgot his advice, separated from each other, and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the exarch of Ravenna.³ But the stream of emigration was directed or impelled towards the capital of the modern Bulgaria, along the southern banks of the Danube, was stamped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour: the new conquerors successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Ruman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus;⁴ the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian, and in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or

Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch.⁵ The unquestionable evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Slavonian, or more properly Slavonian, race,⁶ and the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Walachians,⁷ &c., followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives, or subjects, or allies, or enemies, of the Greek empire, they overspread the land, and the national application of the *GRAVES* has been degraded by chance or malice from the signification of glory to that of servitude.⁸ Among these colonies, the Chio-

² The situation and royalty of Lychnidus, or Achrida, are clearly expressed in Catena (p. 713). The removal of an archbishop or patriarch from Justiniana prima to Lychnidus and at length to Lerino, has produced some perplexity in the ideas or language of the Greeks (Nepheorus, *regoria*, l. ii c. 2 p. 11, l. Thomasin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i l. i c. 10 p. 23) and a Frenchman (D'Alembert) is more accurately skilled in the geography of their own country (*Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxi).

³ Chalcocodjles, a competent judge affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Servians, Bulgarians, Poles, (de Rebus Turcicis, l. x p. 283), and elsewhere of the Bohemians (l. ii p. 38). The same author has marked the separate names of the Slavians.

⁴ See the work of John Christopher de Jordan, de Originibus Slavicus, Vindobonæ, 1771 in four parts, or two volumes in folio. His sections and researches are useful to elucidate the antiquities of Bohemia and the adjacent countries, but his plan is narrow, his style barbarous, his criticism shallow, and the Avic counsellor is not free from the prejudices of a Bohemian.

⁵ Justin subscribes to the well known and probable derivation from *slava*, *gloria*, a word of familiar use in the different dialects and parts of speech, and which forms the termination of the most illustrious names (de Originibus Slavicus, pars i p. 40, pars iv p. 101, 102).

⁶ This conversion of a national into an appellative name appears to have arisen in the eighth century, in the Oriental branch, where the princes and bishops were rich in Slavonian captives, not of the Bohemian (exclaiming Jorian), but of Sorbian race. From thence the word was extended to general use, to the modern languages, and even to the style of the lost Byzantines (see the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange). The confusion of the *γροβλοι*, or Servians, with the Latin *Grævi*, was still more fortunate and familiar (Constant.

¹ Hist. vol. ii p. 6.

² Theophanes, p. 296-299. Anastasius p. 111, Nepheorus, CP p. 22, 23. Theophanes places the old Bulgaria on the bank of the Attil or Volga, but he deprives himself of all geographical credit, by discharging that river into the Euxine Sea.

³ Paul Diacon de Gestis Langobard l. v c. 29 p. 881, 882. The apparent difference between the Lombard history and the above mentioned Greeks, is easily reconciled by Camillo Pellegrino (de Ducatu beneventano, disert. vii in the *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* tom. v p. 196, 197) and Borelli (*Chorograph. Italicæ* fol. p. 273, &c.). This Bulgarian colony was planted in a vacant district of Samnium, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native language.

⁴ These provinces of the Greek idiom and empire are assigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the dispute of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 860, No. 75).

batians,* or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia. The maritime cities, and of these the infant republic of Ragusa, implored the aid and instructions of the Byzantine court: they were advised by the magnanimous Basil to reserve a small acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman Empire, and to appease, by an annual tribute, the wrath of these irresistible barbarians. The kingdom of Croatia was shared by eleven *seigniors*, or feudatory lords, and their united forces were numbered at sixty thousand horse and one hundred thousand foot. A long sea coast, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a string of islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores, disposed both the natives and strangers to the practice of navigation. The boats or brigantines of the Croats were constructed after the fashion of the old Liburnians: one hundred and eighty vessels may excite the idea of a respectable navy, but our seamen will smile at the allowance of ten, or twenty, or forty, men for each of these ships of war. They were gradually converted to the more honourable service of commerce, yet the Slavonian pirates were still frequent and dangerous, and it was not before the close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the Gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic.[†] The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings were equally removed from the use and abuse of navigation: they dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days' journey, according to the Greek computation, from the sea of darkness.

^{*} Porphyry de administrando Imperio, c. 32, p. 69.

[†] The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, most accurate for his own times, most fabulous for preceding ages, describes the Slavonians of Dalmatia (c. 27, 30).

[‡] See the annals of the eleventh century, ascribed to John Sagorninus (p. 14-102), and that composed in the fourteenth by the Doge, Andrew Dandolo (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xii. p. 227-230), the two oldest monuments of the history of Venice.

The glory of the Bulgarians[‡] was confined to a narrow scope first kingdom of both of time and place the Bulgarians A.D. 680-1017. In the ninth and tenth centuries, they reigned to the south of the Danube; but the more powerful nations that had followed their emigration repelled all return to the north and all progress to the west. Yet, in this obscure catalogue of their exploits, they might boast an honour which had hitherto been appropriated to the Goths, that of slaying in battle one of the successors of Augustus and Constantine. The Emperor Nicephorus had lost his fame in the Arabian, he lost his life in the Slavonian, war. In his first operations he advanced with boldness and success into the centre of Bulgaria, and burnt the royal court, which was probably no more than an edifice and village of timber. But while he searched the spoil and refused all offers of treaty, his enemies collected their spirits and their forces: the power of retreat were insuperably barred; and the trembling Nicephorus was heard to exclaim, "Alas, alas! unless we could assume the wings of birds, we cannot hope to escape." Two days he waited his fate in the inactivity of despair, but, on the morning of the third, the Bulgarians surprised the camp, and the Roman prince, with the great officers of the empire, were slaughtered in their tents. The body of Valens had been saved from insult, but the head of Nicephorus was exposed on a spear, and his skull, encased with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. The Greeks bewailed the dishonour of the throne, but they acknowledged the just punishment of avarice and cruelty. This savage cup was deeply tinged with the manners of the Scythian wilderness; but they were softened before the end of the same century by a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, the possession of a

[‡] The first kingdom of the Bulgarians may be found under the proper dates, in the Annals of Cedrenus and Zonaras. The Byzantine materials are collected by Stritter (*Memorie Populorum*, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 441-447), and the series of their kings is disposed and settled by Ducange (*Fam. Byzant.* p. 303-312).

cultivated region, and the introduction of the Christian worship. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople, and Simion, a youth of the royal line was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and warrior, and in his reign, of more than forty years, Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilised powers of the earth. The Greeks, whom he repeatedly attacked, derived a faint consolation from indulging themselves in the reproaches of pride and sacrilege. They purchased the aid of the new Turks, but Simion, in a second battle, redeemed the loss of the first, at a time when it was esteemed a victory to elude the arms of that formidable nation. The Slavians were overthrown, made captive, and dispersed, and those who visited the country before their restoration could discover no more than fifty giants, without women or children, who extorted a precarious subsistence from the chase. On chosen ground, on the banks of the Achelous, the Greeks were defeated; then horn was broken by the strength of the Barbaric Hercules. He formed the siege of Constantinople, and, in a personal conference with the emperor, Simion imposed the conditions of peace. They met with most jealous precautions, the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well fortified platform, and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarian. "Are you a Christian?" said the humble Romans. "it is your duty to abstain from the blood of your fellow-Christians. Has the thirst of riches seduced you from the blessings of peace?" Sheath

your sword, open your hand, and I will satiate the utmost craving of your desires. The reconciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance, the freedom of trade was granted or restored, the first honours of the court were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or strangers, and her princes were dignified with the high and inviolable title of *Basileus*, or emperor. But this friendship was soon disturbed after the death of Simion, the nations were again in arms, his feeble successors were divided and extinguished, and, in the beginning of the eleventh century, the second Basil, who was born in the purple, deserved the appellation of conqueror of the Bulgarians. His avarice was in some measure gratified by a tribute of four hundred thousand pounds sterling (ten thousand pounds' weight of gold), which he found in the palace of Lychnidus. His cruelty inflicted a cool and exquisite vengeance on fifteen thousand captives who had been guilty of the defence of their country. They were deprived of sight, but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind century to the presence of their king. Their king is said to have expired of grief and horror, the nation was awed by this terrible example, the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province, the surviving chiefs betook them to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

If When the black swarm of Hungarians first hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the Christian era, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the

Emigration of
the Turks or
Hungarians.
A.D. 884.

¹ Simionem, cum Graeci esse melior, eo quod a patribus Byzantini Demosthenis rhetoricam et Aristotelis syllogismos didicerat. Frontin., l. iii. c. 8. He says in another place, Simion, fortis bellator, bulgaris praeerat Christianus, sed vicinis Graecis valde inimicus (l. i. c. 2).

² —Rigidum fors dextera cornu
Dum tenet, inflexit, truncoque a fronte revellit.
Ovid (Metamorph. ix. 1100) has boldly painted the combat of the river god and the hero, the meivai and the stranger.

³ The ambassador of Otto was provoked by the Greek excuses, cum Christiani filium Petrus Bulgarorum laudibus conjugem diceret, Symphonia, id est conuincta, scripto iuramento firmata sunt, ut omnium gentium Apostoli, id est nunciis, pueri nos Bulgarorum Apostoli preponantur, honorantur diligantur (Lutprand in Leatione, p. 482). See the ceremoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, tom. i. p. 84, tom. ii. p. 420, 430, 434, 435, 443, 444, 446, 477, with the annotations of Heiske.

signs and forerunners of the end of the world.³ Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity.⁴ Their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns, but they complain that their primitive records have perished in the Tatar war, that the truth or fiction of their rustic songs is long since forgotten, and that the fragments of a rude chronicle must be painfully reconciled with the contemporary though foreign intelligence of the Imperial geographer.⁵ *Matyar* is the national and oriental denomination of the Hungarians, but, among the tribes of

³ A bishop of Wurtzburg submitted this opinion to a reverend abbot, but he more gravely decided, that Gog and Magog were the spiritual persecutors of the church, since Gog signifies the root, the pride of the Hierarchical, and Magog, what comes from the root, the propagation of their sects. Yet these men once commanded the respect of mankind (Library, Hist. Lectures tom. xi. p. 591, &c.)

⁴ The two national authors, from whom I have derived the most assistance, are George Pray (Dissertationes ad Annales veterum Hungarorum, &c., Vindobonæ, 1775, in folio), and Stephen Katona (Hist. Critica Ducum et Regum Hungarorum scriptis Vapulam, I. tom. 1778, 1781, 2 vols. in octavo). The first embraces a large and often conjectural space, the latter, by his learning, judgment, and perspicuity, deserves the name of a critical historian.

⁵ The author of this Chronicle is styled the notary of king Bela. Katona has assigned him to the twelfth century, and defends his character against the hypercriticism of Pray. This rude annalist must have transcribed some historical records, since he could allude with dignity, rejectis falsis fabulis rusticorum, of garrulo crassa jocularitorem. In the fifteenth century, these fables were collected by Humboldt, and embellished by the Italian Bonfinius. See the Preliminary Discourse in the Hist. Critica Ducum, p. 7, 8.

⁶ See Constantin de Administrando Imperio, c. 3, 4, 11, 12. Katona has nicely fixed the composition of this work to the years 949, 950, 951, (p. 1-7). The critical historian (p. 34, 107) endeavours to prove the existence, and to relate the actions, of a 11th duke *Imre* the father of Arpad, who is tacitly rejected by Constantin.

⁷ Vapora Engel, Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer, Halle, 1797, and Malath, Geschichte der Magyaren, Wien, 1825. In an appendix to the latter work will be found a brief abstract of the speculations, for it is difficult to comprehend them more, which have been advanced by the learned, on the origin of the Magyar, and the Hungarians nation. Compare vol. i. p. 908, note M.

Scythia, they are distinguished by the Greeks under the proper and peculiar name of *Turks*, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preserved a correspondence of trade and amity with the eastern Turks on the confines of Persia, and after a separation of three hundred and fifty years, the missionaries of the king of Hungary discovered and visited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hospitably entertained by a people of Pagans and Savages who still bore the name of Hungarians, conversed in their native tongue, recollecting a tradition of their long lost brethren, and listened with amazement to the marvellous tale of their new kingdom and religion. The zeal of conversion was animated by the interest of community, and one of the greatest of their princes had formed the generous, though fruitless, design of replenishing the solitude of Pannonia by this domestic colony from the heart of Turkey.¹ From this primitive country they were driven to the West by the tide of war and emigration by the weight of the more martial tribes, who at the same time were fugitives and conquerors.² Reason or fortune directed their course towards the frontiers of the Roman empire, they halted in the usual stations along the banks of the great rivers, and in the territories of Moscow, Kiow, and Moldavia, some vestiges have been discovered of their temporary residence. In this long and various peregrination, they could not always escape the dominion of the stronger, and the purity of their blood

¹ Pray (Dissert. p. 37, 38, &c.) produces and illustrates the original passages of the Hungarian missionaries, Bonfinius and Sylvius.

² In the deserts to the south east of Astrakhan have been found the ruins of a city named *Muk*. Here of the Hungarians. Pallas, vol. 2, p. 535.

³ This is contested by Klaproth in his Travels, c. xxi. *Madachur* (he states), in old Tartar, means "stone building." This was a fortress mentioned by the Mohammedan writers.—M

It is the observation of the Imperial author of the *Tactics*,¹ that all the Seythian hordes resembled each other in their pastoral and military life, that they all practised the same means of subsistence, and employed the same instruments of destruction. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians and Hungarians were superior to their brethren, and similar to each other, in the improvements, however rude, of their discipline and government: their visible likeness determines Leo to confound his friends and enemies in one common description, and the picture may be heightened by some strokes from their contemporary poets of the tenth century. Except the merit and fame of military prowess, all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these barbarians: whose native fierceness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. The trunks of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments of fur, they shaved their hair, and scarified their faces: in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious, and they shared the common reproach of barbarians, too ignorant to conceive the importance of truth, too proud to deny or palliate the breach of their most solemn engagements. Their simplicity has been praised, yet they abstained only from the luxury they had never known, whatever they saw, they coveted, their desires were insatiate, and their sole industry was the hand of violence and rapine. By the definition of a pastoral to varnish with philosophy their brutal ignorance.

¹ Leo has observed, that the government of the Turks was monarchical, and that their punishments were rigorous. (*Utic* p. 394, *μεταξὺ καὶ βασιλεῖς*.) Rhagino (in *Chron. A.D. 899*) mentions theft as a capital crime, and his jurisprudence is confirmed by the original code of *Ἰσχυρὸν* (*A.D. 1010*). If a slave were guilty, he was chastised, for the first time, with the loss of his nose, or a fine of five halves, for the second, with the loss of his ears, or a similar fine, for the third, with death, which the freeman did not incur till the fourth offence, as his first penalty was the loss of liberty (*Agapton, Hist. Regum Hungar. tom. i. p. 231, 232*).

I have recalled a long description of the economy, the warfare, and the government that prevailed in that state of society, I may add, that to fishing, as well as to the chase, the Hungarians were indebted for a part of their subsistence, and since they *seldom* cultivated the ground, they must, at least in their new settlements, have sometimes practised a slight and unskilful husbandry. In their emigrations, perhaps in their expeditions, the host was accompanied by thousands of sheep and oxen, who increased the cloud of formidable dust, and afforded a constant and wholesome supply of milk and animal food. A plentiful command of forage was the first care of the general, and if the flocks and herds were secure of their pastures, the hardy warrior was alike insensible of danger and fatigue. The confusion of men and cattle that overspread the country exposed their camp to a nocturnal surprise, had not a still wider circuit been occupied by their light cavalry, perpetually in motion to discover and delay the approach of the enemy. After some experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of the soldier, and the iron breast plate of his steed: but their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow: from the earliest infancy, their children and servants were exercised in the double science of archery and horsemanship, their aim was strong, their aim was sure, and in the most rapid career, they were taught to throw themselves backwards, and to shoot a volley of arrows into the air. In open combat, in secret ambush, in flight, or pursuit, they were equally formidable. An appearance of order was maintained in the foremost ranks, but then charge was driven forwards by the impatient pressure of succeeding crowds. They pursued, headlong and rash, with loosened reins and hoarse outcries, but, if they fled, with real or dissembled fear, the ardour of a pursuing foe was checked and chastised by the same habits of irregular speed and sudden evolution. In the abuse of victory, they astonished Europe, yet

smarting from the wounds of the Saracen and the Dane, mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to pity, and their appetite for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain. Yet the Hungarians were not devoid of those principles of justice and humanity, which nature has implanted in every bosom. The licence of public and private injuries was restrained by laws and punishments, and in the security of an op. camp, theft is the most tempting and most dangerous offence. Among the barbarians, there were many whose spontaneous virtue supplied their laws and corrected their manners, who performed the duties, and sympathized with the affections, of social life.

After a long pilgrimage of flight or victory, the Turkish and hordes approached the common limits of the French and Byzantine empires. Their first conquests and final settlements extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary. This ample and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compass of a narrow province. Charlemagne had stretched a vague and nominal empire as far as the edge of Transylvania, but, after the failure of his legitimate line, the dukes of Moravia forgot their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of Oriental France. The bastard Arnulph was provoked to invite the arms of the Turks: they rushed through the real or figurative wall, which his indiscretion had thrown open, and the king of Germany has been justly reproached as a traitor to the civil and ecclesiastical society of the Christians. During the life of Arnulph, the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear, but in the infancy of his son Lewis they

¹ See Katona, *Hist. Ducum Hungar.* p. 321-352.

discovered and invaded Bavaria, and such was their Scythian speed, that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles was stripped and consumed. In the battle of Augsburg the Christians maintained their advantage till the seventh hour of the day: they were deceived and vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turkish cavalry. The conflagration spread over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and the Hungarians promoted the reign of anarchy, by forcing the stoutest barons to discipline their vassals and fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns is ascribed to this calamitous period, nor could any distance be secured against an enemy, who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetic monastery of St Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the shores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the ignominy of tribute, and resistance was daunted by the menace, the serious and efficacious menace, of dragging the women and children into captivity, and of slaughtering the males above the age of ten years. I have neither power nor inclination to follow the Hungarians beyond the Rhine, but I must observe with surprise, that the southern provinces of France were blasted by the tempest, and that Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers. The vicinity of Italy had tempted their early incursions, but, from their camp on the Limentia, they beheld with some terror the apparent strength and populousness of the new discovered country. They requested leave to retire, their request was proudly rejected.

¹ *Hungarorum gens, cujus omnia fore nationes experies scilicet, &c.* is the preface of Lutprand (l. 1 c. 2) who frequently expatiates on the calamities of his own times. See l. 1 c. 5, l. 1 c. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, l. 11 c. 1, &c. l. 1 v. c. 8, 15, in *Legat.* p. 485. His colours are glaring but his chronology must be rectified by Pagi and Muratori.

² The three bloody reigns of Arpad, Zoltan, and Toxus, are critically illustrated by Katona (*Hist. Ducum, &c.* p. 107-499). His diligence has searched both natives and foreigners; yet to the deeds of mischief, or glory, I have been able to add the destruction of Bremen, (*Adam Bremenais*, l. 43).

by the Italian king, and the lives of twenty thousand Christians paid the forfeit of his obstinacy and rashness. Among the cities of the West, the royal Pavia was conspicuous in fame and splendour, and the pre-eminence of Rome itself was only derived from the relics of the apostles. The Hungarians appeared, Pavia was in flames, forty-three churches were consumed, and, after the massacre of the people, they spared about two hundred wretches, who had gathered some bushels of gold and silver (a vague exaggeration) from the smoking ruins of their country. In these annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches that yet escaped resounded with a fearful litany 'O save and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!' But the saints were dead or inexorable, and the torrent rolled forwards, till it was stopped by the extreme land of Calabria.¹ A composition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian subject, and ten bushels of silver were poured forth in the Turkish camp. But filchhood is the natural antagonist of violence, and the robbers were divided both in the numbers of the assessment and the standard of the metal. On the side of the East the Hungarians were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians who, faith forbade an alliance with the Pagans, and whose situation formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned, the emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banner of the Turks, and one of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a battle

¹ Muratori has considered with patriotic care the danger and resources of Modena. The citizens besought St. Geminus, their patron, to avert by his intercession, the *ruinas flagitium*, &c.

Nunc te rogamus, ut servet presidium, Ab Ungarorum in nos defendat iuvulis. The bishop erected walls for the public defence, not contra humanos sorores (Antiquitat. Ital. med. Aevi, tom. I. dissertat. I. p. 21, 22) and the song of the nightly watch is not without elegance or use (tom. III. diss. XI. p. 700). The Italian annalist has accurately traced the series of their incursions (Annali d'Italia, tom. VII. p. 365, 367, 393, 401, 437, 440, tom. VIII. p. 19, 41, 52, &c.)

axe into the golden gate. The arts and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault, but the Hungarians might boast, in their retreat, that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars. The remote and rapid operations of the same campaign appear to magnify the power and numbers of the Turks, but, their courage is most deserving of praise, since a light troop of three or four hundred horse would often attempt and execute the most daring incursions to the gates of Jerusalem and Constantinople. At this disastrous era of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge from the North, and East, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen, sometimes trod the same ground of desolation, and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcass of a mingled stag.²

The deliverance of German and Christendom was achieved by Henry the Fowler, the Emperor of Germany, who, in two memorable battles, for ever broke the power of the Hungarians. The valiant Henry was rescued from a bed of sickness by the invasion of his country, but his mind was vigorous and his prudence successful.

The Hungarian and Russian annals suppose, that they besieged, or attacked, or assaulted Constantinople (Pray, diplomat. x. p. 239. Katon's Hist. Hungar. p. 351, 360), and it is almost admitted by the Byzantine writers (Leont. li. c. 10. p. 506. Cedren. tom. II. p. 67) yet however gloomy notwithstanding, it is denied or doubted by the critical historians, and even by the writers of the East. Their scepticism is meritorious: they could not easily transcribe or believe the astonishing fabulous but Katon might have given due attention to the evidence of Luitprand, Bulgarrorum gentem aliquæ Greecorum tributum servant (Hist. I. II. c. 4, p. 440).

² — λίονδ' ὡς, θρασυτέρων. "Οὐδ' ἔριος περιφθιει σπριπταμένη ἐλάφῃς, ἄμφω κινδύνοντι, μίγνυ φρονέοντι μαχησέσθαι. Hist. xvi. 756.

³ They are amply and critically discussed by Katon's Hist. Hungar. p. 330-363, 427-470. Luitprand (I. II. c. 3, 9) is the best evidence for the former, and Wittekind (Annal. Saxoni. I. in.) of the latter, but the critical historian will not even overlook the born of a warrior, which is said to be preserved at Jasberia.

of a fruitful soil. The native race, the Turkish or Fennic blood, was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Slavonian origin;¹ many thousands of robust and industrious captives had been imported from all the countries of Europe;² and after the marriage of Geisa with a Bavarian princess, he bestowed honours and estates on the nobles of Germany.³ The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpad reigned three hundred years in the kingdom of Hungary. But the fierce barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of choosing, deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state.

III The name of RUSSIAN⁴ was first

¹ Among these colonies we may distinguish, 1 The Chazars, or Cabari, who joined the Hungarians on their march (Constant. de Admin. Imp. c. 39, 40, p. 103, 104). 2 The Jazyges, Moravians, and Sclavi, whom they found in the land, the last were perhaps a remnant of the Huns of Attila, and were intrusted with the guard of the borders. 3 The Russians, who like the Swiss in France, imported a general name to the royal power. 4 The Bulgarians, whose chiefs (A. D. 900) were invited, cum multis multitudinis Russulorum. History of these Slavonians, embraced the Mohammedan religion? 5 The Hssent and Cumans, a mixed multitude of Patrinians, Usl, Chazars, &c. who had spread to the lower Danube. The last colony of 40,000 Cumans, A. D. 1259, was received and converted by the kings of Hungary, who derived from that tribe a new regal appellation (Hist. Dissert. vii p. 109, 173. Katona, Hist. Ducum, p. 259, 261, 470, 479, 483, &c.).

² Christianis autem, quorum pars major populi est, qui ex omni parte mundi illuc tracti sunt captivi, &c. Such was the language of Pilgrinus, the first missionary who entered Hungary, A. D. 973. Pars major is strong Hist. Ducum, p. 517.

³ The fideles Tentoniel of Geisa are authenticated in old charters and Kitiona, with his usual industry, has made a fair estimate of these colonies, which had been so loosely magnified by the Italian Itinerary (Hist. Critic. Ducum, p. 667, 661).

⁴ Among the Greeks, this national appellation has a singular form, Ρωσ, as an undecolinated word, of which many fanciful etymologies have been suggested. I have perused, with pleasure and profit, a dissertation de Origine Russorum (Comment. Academ. Petropolitane, tom vii p. 335-436) by Theophilus Sigeftid Bayer, a learned German, who spent his life and labours in the service of Russia. A geographical tract of P. Anville, de l'Empire de

divulged, in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or czar, of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople, they had traversed many hostile nations, and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return, by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin; they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France, and it might justly be apprehended, that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained, while the Greeks were dismissed, and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence, according to the interest of both empires.⁵ This Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes, of Russia, may be confirmed

Rusle, son Origne, et ses Accroissements, (Paris, 1772, in 12mo) has likewise been of use. See the entire passage (dignum says Bayer, ut aurore in tribus signatur) in the Annales Bartholomaei Emmeroni (in Script. Hist. Norwici, tom ii pars i. p. 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁵ The later antiquarians of Russia and Germany appear to acquiesce in the authority of the monk Nestor, the earliest Annalist of Russia, who derives the Russians, or Varangians, from Scandinavia. The names of the first founders of the Russian monarchy are Scandinavian or Norman. Their language (according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus de Administr. Imper. c. 9) differed essentially from the Slavonian. The author of the Annals of St. Bertin, who first named the Russians (Rutheni) in the year 839 of his Annals, assigns them Sweden for their country. So Huitprand calls the Russians the same people as the Normans. The Finns, Laplanders, and Estonians, call the Swedes, to the present day, Koota, Koota, Kootzi, Kootsinaue. See Thunman, Untersuchungen über der Geschichte der Estlichen Europäischen Völker, p. 374, Gatterer, Compend. Reg. Scient. Gotting. xiii p. 120. Schlozer in his Nestor Koch Revolut. de l'Europe, vol. i p. 60. Malte-Brun, Geograph. vol. vi p. 378. — M.

and illustrated by the national annals¹ and the general history of the North. The Normans, who had so long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly burst forth in the spirit of naval and military enterprise. The vast, and as it is said, the populous, regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers, who sighed in the laziness of peace, and smiled in the agonies of death. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue, of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they started from the banquet, grasped their arms, sounded their horn, ascended their vessels, and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements; they visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Finnish and Slavonian tribes, and the primitive Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians* or *Corsairs*. Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars against the more inland savages, the Varangians condescended to serve as friends and mercenaries, and gradually by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect. Their tyranny was expelled, then, when was again recalled, till at length, Rurik, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynasty which reigned above seven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence

the example of service and usurpation was imitated by his companions in the southern provinces of Russia, and their establishments, by the usual methods of war and assassination, were cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

As long as the descendants of Rurik were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians, distributed estates and subjects to their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast.² But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Russians in blood, religion, and language, and the first Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne, his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands, but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but more wealthy master, that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompense of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompense and restrain, these impetuous children of the North. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character, of the *Varangians*: each day they rose in confidence and esteem, the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards, and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the island of Thule. On this occasion, the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England, and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piracy had approxi-

¹ My knowledge of these annals is drawn from M. Levesque, *Histoire de Russie*. Nestor, the first and best of these ancient annalists, was a monk of Kiev, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century, but his chronicle was obscure, till it was published at Petersburg, in 1795, in 4to. Levesque, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. I. p. xvi. Coxes *Travels*, vol. II. p. 184.

² Theophilus Sig. Bayer de Varagis (for the name is differently spelt), in *Comment. Acad. Petropolitane*, tom. IV. p. 275-311.

* The late M. Schlozer has translated and added a commentary to the "Annals of Nestor," and his work is the mine from which henceforth the history of the north must be drawn.—G.

³ Yet, as late as the year 1018, Kio and Russia were still guarded ex fugitivorum servorum robore, confutium et maxime Danorum. Bayer, who quotes (p. 272) the Chronicle of Dithmar of Merseburgh, observes, that it was unusual for the Germans to enlist in a foreign service.

visited the countries of the earth; these exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome, he slept and feasted under their trusty guard, and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.¹

In the tenth century, the geography of Scythia was extended far beyond the limits of ancient knowledge, and the monarchy of the Russians obtains a vast and conspicuous place in the map of Constantine.² The sons of Rurik were masters of the spacious province of Volodimir, or Moscow, and if they were confined on that side by the hordes of the East, their western frontier in those early days was enlarged to the Baltic Sea and the country of the Pussians. Their northern reign ascended above the sixtieth degree of latitude, over the Hyperborean regions, which fancy had peopled with monsters, or clouded with eternal darkness. To the south they followed the course of the Borysthenes,

Geography and
Trade of
Rus
A.D. 900

and approached, with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered, in this ample circuit were obedient to the same conqueror, and insensibly blended into the same nation. The language of Russia is a dialect of the Slavonian; but in the tenth century, these two modes of speech were different from each other, and as the Slavonian prevailed in the South, it may be presumed that the original Russians of the North, the primitive subjects of the Varangian chief, were a portion of the Fennic race. With the emigration, union, or dissolution, of the wandering tribes, the loose and indefinite picture of the Scythian desert has continually shifted. But the most ancient map of Russia affords some places which still retain their name and position, and the two capitals, Novogorod³ and Kiow,⁴ are coeval with the first age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not yet deserved the epithet of great, nor the influence of the Hansatic League, which diffused the streams of opulence and the principles of freedom. Kiow could not yet boast of three hundred churches, an innumerable people, and a degree of greatness and splendour which was compared with Constantinople, by those who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars. In their origin, the two cities were no more than camps or fairs, the most convenient stations in which the barbarians might assemble for the occasional business of war or trade.

¹ Ducange has collected from the original authors the state and history of the Varangians at Constantinople (Glossar Med et Infimæ Civitatis, sub voce βαργγγοι. Med et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce Varri. Not ad Alexiad Anna Comnenæ, p. 24, 257, 258. Notes sur Villchardouin, p. 276, 290). See likewise the annotations of Lelake to the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant. of Constantine, tom. ii. p. 143, 150. Saxo Grammaticus affirms that they spoke Danish, but Codinus maintains them till the fifteenth century in the use of their native English. ἡ δὲ λαὸς τοῦ βαργγγοι κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλῶσσαν αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν ἰγκλινομένη.

² The original record of the geography and trade of Russia is produced by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imperii, c. 2, p. 55, 56, c. 9, p. 59-61, c. 13, p. 63-67, c. 37, p. 106, c. 42, p. 112, 113), and illustrated by the diligence of Bayer (de Geographia Russiæ vicinarumque Regionum circiter A.C. 938, in Comment. Acad. Imper. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 367-422, tom. x. p. 371-421), with the aid of the chronicles and traditions of Russia, Scandinavia, &c.

³ The haughty proverb "Who can resist God and the great Novogorod?" is applied by M. Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 60), even to the times that preceded the reign of Surluc. In the course of his history he frequently celebrates this republic, which was suppressed A.D. 1495 (tom. ii. p. 252-260). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, describes (in 1643) the remains of Novogorod, and the route by sea and land of the Holstein ambassadors, tom. i. p. 123-129.

⁴ In hac magna civitate, quæ est caput regni, plus trecentæ ecclesiæ, habentur et undecimæ octo, populi etiam ignota manus (Kieghardus ad A.D. 1018, apud Bayer, tom. ix. p. 412). He likewise quotes (tom. x. p. 387) the words of the Saxon annalist, Cujus (Russia) metropolis est Chive, semula ceptri Constantinopolitani, quæ est clarissimum decus Græciæ. The fame of Kiow, especially in the eleventh century, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers.

'Yet even these assemblies announce some progress in the arts of society, a new kind of cattle was imported from the southern provinces, and the spirit of commercial enterprise pervaded the sea and land from the Baltic to the Buxpe, from the mouth of the Oder to the port of Constantinople. In the age of idolatry and barbarism, the city of Julin was frequented and enriched by the Normans, who had prudently secured a fine mart of purchase and exchange.¹ From this harbour, at the entrance of the Oder, the carter, or merchant, sailed in forty-five days to the eastern shores of the Baltic, the most distant nations were intermingled, and the holy groves of Curland are said to have been decorated with Grecian and Spanish gold.² Between the sea and Novogorod an easy intercourse was discovered, in the summer, through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river, in the winter season, over the hard and level surface of boundless snows.³ From the neighbourhood of that city, the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes, then canoes, of a single tree, were laden with slaves of every age, furs of every species, the spoil of

their bee-hives, and the hides of their cattle, and the whole produce of the North was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kiow. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet: the timber of the canoes was framed into the oars and benches of more solid and capacious boats, and they proceeded without obstacle down the Borysthenes, as far as the seven or thirteen ridges of rocks, which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters of the river. At the more shallow falls it was sufficient to lighten the vessels, but the deeper cataracts were impassable, and the mariners, who dragged their vessels and their slaves six miles over land, were exposed in this toilsome journey to the robbers of the desert.⁴ At the first island below the falls, the Russians celebrated the festival of their escape: at a second, near the mouth of the river, they repaired their shattered vessels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black Sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible, with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Asia, and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the North. They returned at the stated season with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen resided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the persons, effects, and privileges, of the Russian merchant.⁵

¹ In Odoro ostio qua Scythicas alluit undas, nobilissima civitas Julinum, celeberrimam, Barbaris et Grecis qui sunt in circuitu, prestant stationem: est sane maximè omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum (Adam Bremenensis, Hist. Eccles. p. 19). A strange exaggeration even in the eleventh century. The trade of the Baltic, and the Hanseatic League, are carefully treated in Anderson's Historical Deduction of Commerce, at least, in our language, I am not acquainted with any book so satisfactory.

² According to Adam of Bremen (de Situ Urbis, p. 68), the old Curland extended eight days' journey along the coast, and by Peter Cudoburgicus (p. 68, A. D. 1320), Memel is divided as the common frontier of Russia, Curland, and Prussia. Aurum ibi plurimum, (says Adam) divites, argenti atque necromanticis omnes domus sunt plene. A toto orbe ibi responsa petuntur, maxime ab Hispania (foras Spania, id est regalis littoribus) at Grecis. The name of Greeks was applied to the Russians even before their conversion, an imperfect conversion, if they still consulted the wizards of Curland (Bayer, tom. x. p. 78, 402, &c. Grotius, Prolegomen. ad Hist. Goth. p. 90).

³ The book of authority is the "Geschichte Hanseatischen Bundes," by George Sarlhus, Göttingen, 1803.—M.

⁴ Constantine only reckons seven cataracts, of which he gives the Russian and Slavonic names: but thirteen are enumerated by the Sicur de Kauplan, a French engineer, who had surveyed the course and navigation of the Dniuper or Borysthenes (Description de l'Ukraine, Rouen, 1800, a thin quarto), but the map is unluckily wanting in my copy.

⁵ Nextor, apud Lavrasque, Hist. de Russie tom. i. p. 78-80. From the Dniuper or Borysthenes, the Russians went to Black Bulgaria, Chazaria, and Syria. To Syria how? where? when? May we not, instead of *Zupia*, read *Scania* (de Administrat. Imp. c. 42, p. 113)? The alteration is slight, the position of Scania, between Chazaria and Lazica, is perfectly suitable, and the name was still used in the eleventh century (Cedren. tom. ii. p. 770).

Naval expeditions of the Russians against Constantinople.

But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople: the event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object, were the same in these naval expeditions.¹ The Russian traders had seen the magnificence and tasted the luxury of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen: they coveted the gifts of nature which their climate denied, they coveted the works of art, which they were too lazy to imitate and too indigent to purchase. The Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwell in the northern isles of the ocean.² The image of their naval armaments was revived in the last century, in the fleets of the Cossacks, which issued from the Borysthènes, to navigate the same seas for a similar purpose.³ The Greek appellation of *monozyla*, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the long stem of a beech or willow, but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast, to move with sails and oars; and to contain from forty to seventy men, with their arms, and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of

the Russians was made with two hundred boats; but when the national force was exerted, they might arm against Constantinople a thousand or twelve hundred vessels. Their fleet was not much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon, but it was magnified in the eyes of fear to ten or fifteen times the real proportion of its strength and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foresight to discern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have sealed with a maritime force the mouth of the Borysthènes. Their indolence abandoned the coast of Anatolia to the calamities of a piratical war, which after an interval of six hundred years, again infested the Euxine; but as long as the capital was respected, the sufferings of a distant province escaped the notice both of the prince and the historian. The storm which had swept along from the Phæris and Tiberioud, at length burst on the Bosphorus of Thrace, a strait of fifteen miles, in which the rife vessels of the Russian might have been stopped and destroyed by a more skilful adversary. In their first enterprise, under the princes of Kiow, they passed without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople in the absence of the Emperor Michael, the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils, he landed at the palace-stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary.⁴ By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea, and a seasonal tempest, which determined the retreat of the Russians, was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God.⁵

The first
A.D. 865.

¹ The wars of the Russians and Greeks in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, are related in the Byzantine annals, especially those of Zonaras and Cedrenus, and all their testimonies are collected in the *Russica* of Stritter, tom. II. pars II. p. 339-1044.

² *Προσπειραμένοι δὲ καὶ συμμαχικοὶ οὗτοι ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰκούτων ἐν ταῖς προσημασμέναις τοῦ Οὐμανοῦ νήσοις ἰδιῶν* Cedrenus in Compend p. 758.

³ See Beauplan (Description de l'Ukraine, p. 64-61) his descriptions are lively, his plans accurate, and except the circumstance of fire arms, we may read old Russians for modern Cossacks.

⁴ It is to be lamented, that Beyer has only given a Dissertation de Russorum prima Expeditione Constantinopolitana (Comment. Acad. Petropol. tom. VI. p. 385-391). After disentangling some chronological intricacies, he fixes it in the years 864 or 865, a date which might have smoothed some doubts and difficulties in the beginning of M. Levesque's history.

⁵ When Photius wrote his encyclical epistle on the conversion of the Russians, the miracle was not yet sufficiently ripe, he reproaches the nation as *ὡς ἀμάρτυρα καὶ μαρτυρίας νέοντας δευτέρας ταυτίσιν*.

⁶ Leo Grammaticus, p. 463, 464. Constantini Continuator, in Script. post Theophanem, p.

The silence of the Greeks may inspire some doubt of the truth, or at least of the importance, of the second attempt

The second. by Oleg, the guardian of the sons of Rurik: A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosphorus: they were induced by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus, and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles, as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale. The leader of the third attempt, Igor, the son of

The third. Rurik, had chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not want, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy, but instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sails and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dexterous, the weather was propitious, many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea, and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one third of the canoes escaped into shallow water, and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge. After a long peace, Jaroslaw, the great-grandson of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval in-

vasion. A fleet, under the

A 8 1042. command of his son, was repulsed at the entrance of the Bos-
L. I. 122 Symeon Logothet p 444; 448
Georg Monach p 535, 536 Cedrenus, tom
II p 551 Zonaras, tom II p 162

1 See Nestor and Nicen, in Levesque's Hist
de Russie, tom I p 11-50 Kuron (Hist
de Russie, p 75-79) uses his advantage to disprove
this Russian victory, which would cloud the
shame of Kiof by the Hungarians

- Leo Grammaticus, p 600 607 Inscr.
Contin p 203, 204 Symeon Logothet p 400,
401 Georg Monach p 688, 689, Cedren tom
II p 620 Zonaras, tom II p 100, 101, and
Lutprand, l v c 6, who writes from the
narratives of his father in law, then ambassador
at Constantinople, and corrects the vain ex-
aggeration of the Greeks

phorus by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit, the van-guard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men, their provision of fire was probably exhausted, and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.

Yet the threats or calamities of a Russian war were more Negotiations and frequently dictated by prophecy treaty than by arms. In these naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks, then savage enemy afforded no mercy, his poverty promised no spoil, his impetuous retreat deprived the conqueror of the hopes of revenge, and the pride or weakness of empire indulged in opinion, that no honour could be gained or lost in the intercourse with barbarians. At first then demands were high and mad, three pounds of gold for each soldier or man of the fleet: the Russian youth adhered to the design of conquest and glory, but the counsels of moderation were recommended by the hoary sages. "Be content," they said, "with the liberal offers of Caesar, is it not far better to obtain without a combat the possession of gold, silver, silks and all the objects of our desires? Are we sure of victory? Can we conclude a treaty with the sea? We do not tread on the land, we float on the abyss of water, and a common death hangs over our heads." The memory of these Arctichet that seemed to descend from the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the Imperial city. By the vulgus of every rank, it was asserted and believed, that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople. In our own time, a

1 I can only appeal to Cedrenus (tom II p 538, 709) and Zonaras (tom II p 23 241), but they grow more weighty and credible as they draw near to their own times

- Nestor, apud Levesque, Hist de Russie, tom I p 87

2 This brazen statue, which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins, was supposed to represent either Joshua or Balthazaphon, an odd dilemma. See

Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borysthenes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe, and the Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron of strong and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its naval science and thundering artillery, could have sunk or scattered a hundred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which the style is unambiguous and the date unquestionable.

By land the Russians were less formidable than by sea, and as they fought for the most part on foot, their irregular legions must often have been broken and overthrown by the cavalry of the Scythian hordes. Yet their growing towns, however slight and imperfect, presented a shelter to the subject, and a barrier to the enemy the monarchy of Kiow, till a fatal partition, assumed the dominion of the North, and the nations from the Volga to the Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms of Swatoslaus, the son of Igor, the son of Oleg, the son of Ruric. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardships of a military and savage life. Wrapped in a bear skin, Swatoslaus usually slept on the ground, his head reclining on a saddle, his diet was coarse and frugal, and, like the heroes of Homer, his meat (it was often horse flesh) was broiled or roasted on the coals. The exercise of

war gave stability and discipline to his army, and it may be presumed, that no soldier was permitted to transcend the luxury of his chief. By an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, he was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria, and a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold was laid at his feet to defray the expense, or reward the toils, of the expedition. An army of sixty thousand men was assembled and embarked, they sailed from the Borysthenes to the Danube, their landing was effected on the Masian shore; and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave; his children were made captive, and his dominions, as far as Mount Ilunus, were subdued or ravaged by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Veringian prince was more disposed to advance than to retire, and, had his ambition been crowned with success, the seat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate. Swatoslaus enjoyed and acknowledged the advantages of his new position, in which he could unite, by exchange or rapine, the various productions of the earth. By an easy navigation he might draw from Russia the native commodities of furs, wax, and hydromel. Hungary supplied him with a breed of horses and the spoils of the West, and Greece abounded with gold, silver, and the foreign luxuries, which his poverty had affected to disdain. The hands of Paternacles, Cimarus, and Iunks, repaired to the standard of victory; and the ambassador of Nicephorus betrayed his trust, assumed the purple, and proposed to share with his new allies the treasures of the Eastern world. From the banks of the Danube the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople, a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Swatoslaus fiercely replied, that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master.

Nicetas Choniates (p. 413, 414), Codinus (de Originibus CP. p. 24), and the anonymous writer de Antiquitat. CP. (Banduri, I. p. Orient. tom. I. p. 17, 18) who lived about the year 1100. They witness the belief of the prophecy, the rest is immaterial.

¹ The life of Swatoslaus, or Sviatoslaf, or Sphenostichabius, is extracted from the Russian Chronicles by M. Laveaque (Hist. de Russie, tom. I. p. 94, 107).

- This resemblance may be clearly seen in the ninth book of the Iliad (205-21) in the minute detail of the cookery of Achilles. By such a picture, a modern epic poet would disgrace his work, and disgust his reader, but the Greek verses are harmonious—a dead language seldom appears low or familiar, and at the distance of two thousand seven hundred years, we are amused with the primitive manners of antiquity.

Nicophorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced, but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisceus,* who, in a diminutive body possessed the spirit and abilities of a hero. The first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, twenty thousand of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Thrace was delivered, but seventy thousand barbarians were still in arms, and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria, prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passes of Mount Hæmus had been left unguarded, they were instantly occupied, the Roman vanguard was formed of the *immortals* (a proud imitation of the Persian style), the emperor led the main body of ten thousand five hundred foot, and the rest of his forces followed in slow and cautious array, with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit of Zimisceus was the reduction of Marcianopolis, or Peristhida,† in two days the trumpets sounded,

* This singular epithet is derived from the Armenian language, and *ἱζμίσκος* is interpreted in Greek by *μυζακίζης*, or *μυρακίζης*. As I profess myself equally ignorant of these words, I may be indulged in the question in the play, "Pray, which of you is the later poet?" From the context, they seem to signify *Adolwentulus* (Leo Diacon, l. iv. v. 85. *ajed* Ducang, *Glossar* Græc. p. 1570).

In the Slavonic tongue ο of *Περσική* implied the *east* or *illustrious* city, *μυζάλη καὶ οὐρα* — *λεγομένη*, says Anna Comnena (*Alexiad*, l. vii. p. 194). From its position between Mount Hæmus and the Lower Danube, it appears to fill the ground, or at least the station, of Marcianopolis. The situation of *Peristhida*, or *Dristra*, well known and conspicuous (Comment. Academi. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 114, 418. D'Auvill, *Géographie Ancienne* tom. i. p. 307, 311).

* Curbed, the learned Armenian, gives another derivation. There is a city called *Tschemischgairg*, which means a bright or purple sandal, such as women wear in the East. He was called *Tschemischghigh* (for so his name is written in Armenia, from this city, his native place) *Ilaso* Note to *Leo Diacon* p. 454, in Niebuhr's *Byzant. Hist.* — M.

the walls were scaled; eight thousand five hundred Russians were put to the sword, and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and invested with a nominal diadem. After these repeated losses, Swatoslaus retired to the strong post of *Dristra*, on the banks of the Danube, and was pursued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine galleys ascended the river, the legions completed a line of encirculation, and the Russian prince was encompassed, assaulted, and famished, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed, several desperate sallies were attempted, nor was it till after a siege of sixty-five days that Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announced the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself, by solemn imprecations, to relinquish all hostile designs, a safe passage was opened for his return, the liberty of trade and navigation was restored, a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers, and the allowance of twenty two thousand measures atoned the loss and the remnant of the barbarians. After a painful voyage, they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes, but then provisions were exhausted, the season was unfavourable, they passed the winter on the ice, and, before they could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful enmity. For different was the return of Zimisceus, who was received in his capital like *Cumulus* or *Maurus*, the saviours of ancient Rome. But the merit of the victory was attributed by the pious emperor to the mother of God, and the image of the Virgin Mary, with the divine infant in her

† The political management of the Greeks, more especially with the *Patriarchatus*, is explained in the seven first chapters, de *Administratione Imperii*.

arms, was placed on a triumphal car, adorned with the spoils of war, and the ensigns of Bulgarian royalty. Zimisce made his public entry on horseback, the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand, and Constantinople was astonished to applaud the martial virtues of her sovereign.¹

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition equalled to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians.² Those fierce and bloody barbarians had been persuaded, by the voice of reason and religion, to acknowledge Jesus for their God, the Christian missionaries for their teachers, and the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was transient and premature. In the various fortunes of their practical adventures, some Russian chiefs might allow themselves to be sprinkled with the waters of baptism, and a Greek bishop with the name of metropolitan, might administer the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the Gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the impostors, the converts were few, and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the era of Russian Christianity.³ A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre, of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience

of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed from Kiow to Constantinople, and the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as he has described, with minute diligence, the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted, to gratify the vanity of the stranger, with due reverence to the superior majesty of the purple.⁴ In the sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the Empress Helena, and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen deacons of a higher, and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers, and forty-four Russian merchants who composed the retinue of the great Princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion, but her labours in the propagation of the Gospel were not crowned with success, and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoslaus was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions, and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The savage deities of the North were still propitiated with human sacrifices in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a Christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacrilegious knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult.⁵ Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize, and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry

¹ In the narrative of this war, Leo the Deacon (apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A. D. 963-973) is more authentic and circumstantial than Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 469-483), and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 203, 214). These declaimers have multiplied to 303,000 and 300,000 men, those Russian forces, of which the contemporary had given a moderate and consistent account.

² Phot. Epistol. ii. No. 35, p. 58, edit. Montan. It was unworthy of the learning of the editor to mistake the Russian nation, το Ρωσ, for a variety of the Bulgarians, nor did it become the enlightened patriarch to accuse the Slavonian idolaters τῶν ἑλλανισσῶν καὶ ἀθελῶν δεῖν. They were neither Greeks nor Athelists.

³ M. Levesque has extracted, from old chronicles and modern researches, the most satisfactory account of the religion of the Slavs, and the conversion of Russia (Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 25-54, 60, 62, 68, 113-121, 124-126, 148, 160, &c.).

⁴ See the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant. tom. ii. c. 15, p. 343-345 the style of Olga, or Elga, is Ἀρχιεπισκοπική Πριγκίπισσα. For the chief of barbarians the Greeks whimsically borrowed the title of an Athenian magistrate, with a female termination, which would have astonished the ear of Demosthenes.

of the woods with the elegant super-
stitution of Constantinople. They had
gazed with admiration on the dome of
St Sophia, the lively pictures of saints
and martyrs, the riches of the altar,
the lumber and vestments of the
priests, the pomp and order of the
ceremonies, they were edified by the
minute succession of devout silence
and harmonious song, nor was it diffi-
cult to persuade them that a choir of
angels descended each day from heaven
to join in the devotion of the Chris-
tians. But the conversion of Wolodo-

Baptism of
Wolodomir
A.D. 988

mir was determined, or
hastened, by his desire of
a Roman bride. At the
same time, and in the city of Cherson,
the rites of baptism and marriage were
celebrated by the Christian pontiff,
the city he restored to the Emperor
Basil, the brother of his spouse, but
the hazy gates were transported, as
it is said, to Novogorod, and erected
before the first church as a trophy of
his victory and faith. At his despotic
command, Peroun, the god of thunder,
whom he had so long adored, was
dragged through the streets of Kiow,
and twelve sturdy barbarians battered
with clubs the misshapen image, which
was indignantly cast into the waters of
the Borysthene. The edict of Wolodo-
mir had proclaimed, that all who
should refuse the rites of baptism
would be treated as the enemies of God
and their prince; and the rivers were
instantly filled with many thousands of
obedient Russians, who acquiesced in
the truth and excellence of a doctrine

which had been embraced by the great
duke and his boyars. In the next
generation, the relics of Paganism were
finally extirpated, but as the two
brothers of Wolodomir had died with-
out baptism, their bones were taken
from the grave, and sanctified by an
irregular and posthumous sacrament.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh
centuries of the Christian
era, the reign of the
Gospel and of the church

Christianity of
the North
A.D. 800-1100

was extended. But in Hungary,
Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway,
Sweden, Poland, and Russia. The
triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated
in the iron age of Christianity, and the
northern and eastern regions of Europe
submitted to a religion, more difficult
in theory than in practice, from the
worship of their native idols. A laud-
able ambition excited the monks, both
of Germany and Greece, to visit the
tents and huts of the barbarians,
poverty, hardships, and dangers, were
the lot of the first missionaries; their
courage was active and patient, their
motive pure and disinterested, their
present reward consisted in the testi-
mony of their conscience and the re-
spect of a grateful people, but the
fruitful harvest of their toils was in-
vited and enjoyed by the proud and
wealthy prelates of succeeding times.
The first conversions were free and
spontaneous, a holy life and an elo-
quent tongue were the only arms of the
missionaries, but the domestic tables
of the Pagans were silenced by the
miracles and visions of the strangers,
and the favourable temper of the heath-
ens was accelerated by the dictates of
vanity and interest. The leaders of
nations, who were saluted with the
titles of kings and saints, held it law-

See an anonymous fragment published by
Banduri (*Imperium Orientale*, tom. ii. p. 112,
113), de Conversione Russorum.

Cherson, or Corcon, is mentioned by He-
berstein (*caput Paël*, tom. iv. p. 50) as the place
of Wolodomir's baptism and marriage, and
both the tradition and the gates are still pre-
served at Novogorod. Yet in others, travel-
lers mention the brazen gates from M-
d-
and a p. 113) and quotes in inscription,
which seems to justify his opinion. The
modern reader must not confound this old
Cherson of the Tauric or Crimean peninsula,
with a new city of the same name, which has
arisen near the mouth of the Borysthene, and
was lately honoured by the memorable inter-
view of the empress of Russia with the emperor
of the West.

Consult the 1 or Paul, historian
of Mosheim's ex-
planation of the first li-
on of the church of the

In the year 1000 the ambassador of
Stephen received from the pope the title
of King of Hungary, with a dukedom of Croa-
tia and Slavonia. It had been designed for the
duke of Poland, but the Poles, by their own
confession, were yet too barbarous to deserve
an ecclesiastical and apostolic crown. See
Hist. Litt. de l'Europe, tom. x. p. 120.

ful and pious to impose the Catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the Gulf of Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross, and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour must acknowledge, that the conversion of the North imputed many temporal benefits both to the old and the new Christians. The rage of war, inherent to the human species, could not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace, and the ambition of Catholic princes was renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions.¹ The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy, and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks, to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely

copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom, and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslava. It should appear that Russia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connection with the church and state of Constantinople, which in that age so justly despised the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was servile, solitary, and verging to a hasty decline after the fall of Kiow, the navigation of the Borysthenes was forgotten, the great princes of Volodimir and Moscow were separated from the sea and Christendom, and the divided monarchy was oppressed by the ignominy and blindness of Tartar servitude.² The Slavonic and Scandinavian kingdoms, which had been converted by the Latin missionaries, were exposed, it is true, to the spiritual jurisdiction and temporal claims of the popes,³ but they were united, in language and religious worship, with each other, and with Rome, they imbibed the free and generous spirit of the European republic, and gradually shared the light of knowledge which arose on the western world.

¹ Listen to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A. p. 1089) of which the substance is applicable to truth: *Ecce omnia christianissima Danorum, &c., natione jam dudum novit in Dei laudibus Altilius resonare. Ecce populus ille paratissimus suis nunc fribus contentus est. Ecce patria horribilis semper antea propter cultum idolorum preclarescens veritas ubique certatim admittit, &c., &c.* (de S. S. David, &c., p. 40 41, ed. Fleury) a curious and original prospect of the north of Europe, and the introduction of Christianity.

² The great prince removed in 1156 from Kiow which was ruined by the Tatars in 1240. Moscow became the seat of empire in the fourteenth century. See the first and second volumes of Laveque's History, and Mr. Cox's Travels into the North, tom. i. p. 141, &c.

³ The ambassadors of St. Stephen had used the reverential expressions of *regnum obtulim, debemus obediunt, &c.*, which were most rigorously interpreted by Gregory VII. and the Hungarian Catholics are still so sensible to the sanctity of the pope and the independence of the crown (K. dom. Hist. Critica, tom. i. p. 202, 203, tom. ii. p. 205 246, 260, &c.).

CHAPTER LVI.

THE SARACENS, FRANKS, AND GREEKS, IN ITALY—FIRST ADVENTURES AND SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS—CHARACTER AND CONQUEST OF ROBERT GUISCARD, DUKE OF APULIA—DELIVERANCE OF SICILY BY HIS BROTHER ROGER—VICTORIES OF ROBERT OVER THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST—ROGER, KING OF SICILY, INVADS AFRICA AND GREECE—THE EMPEROR MANUEL COMPELLED—WARS OF THE GREEKS AND NORMANS—EXTINCTION OF THE NORMANS

THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy. The

northern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject, for the most part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum, so powerful in war, that they checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne, so liberal in peace, that they maintained in their capital an academy of thirty-two philosophers and grammarians. The division of this flourishing state produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, and the thoughtless ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of two hundred years, Italy was exposed to a

For the general history of Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries, I may properly refer to the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of Sigebert de Gemblours (in the second volume of his works, Milan 1749), the Annals of Pagi, with the criticism of Pagi, the seventh and eighth book of the Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli di Muratori, the sixth and eighth volumes (the octavo edition) of the Annali d'Italia di Muratori, and the second volume of the Abrégé chronologique de M. de St. Mars, a work, which, under a superficial title, contains much genuine learning and industry, but my long-accustomed reader will give me credit for saying, that I myself have ascended to the fountain head, as often as such ascent could be either profitable or possible, and that I have diligently turned over the originals in the first volumes of Muratori's great collection of the *Sacrorum Principum Italorum*.

Giulio Pollicarino, a learned Capuan of the thirteenth century, has illustrated the history of the duchy of Beneventum in his two books, *Italia Principum Longobolorum*, in the appendix of Muratori's *Annali* p. 221, and in the *Vol. 1. p. 111*.

repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conquest. Their frequent and almost annual squadrons issued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the Christians of Naples, the most formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast; and even the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist or oppose the Moslems of an adverse sect. In the revolution of human events, a new imbucade was concerted in the Calabrian forks, the fields of Cannae were bedewed a second time with the blood of the Africans, and the sovereignty of Rome again attacked or defended the walls of Capua and Tarentum. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic Gulf, and their impartial depredations provoked the resentment and consolidated the union, of the two emperors. An offensive alliance was concluded between Basil the Macedonian, the first of his race, and Lewis the great grandson of Charlemagne, and each party supplied the deficiencies of his associate. It would have been imprudent in the Byzantine monarch to transport his stationary troops of Asia to an Italian campaign, and the Latin arms would have been insufficient if his superior navy had not occluded the mouth of the gulf. The fortress of Bari was invested by the intimacy of the Franks, and by the cavalry and galleys of the Greeks, and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian empire

See Constantine Porphyrogen de Thematicis, lib. 1. c. 31. in Vit. Basil. c. 30, p. 181.

submitted to the clemency of Lewis, son of the emperor Basil, who commanded in person the operations of the siege. This important conquest had been achieved by the concord of the East and West, but their recent amity was soon embittered by the mutual complaints of jealousy and pride. The Greeks assumed as their own the merit of the conquest and the pomp of the triumph, extolled the greatness of their power, and affected to denude the intemperance and sloth of the handful of barbarians who appeared under the banners of the Carlovingian prince. His reply is expressed with the eloquence of indignation and truth. "We confess the magnitude of your preparations," says the great grandson of Charlemagne. "Your armies were indeed as numerous as a cloud of summer locusts, who darken the day, flap their wings, and, after a short flight, tumble weedy and breathless to the ground. Like them, ye sunk after a futile effort, ye were vanquished by your own cowardice, and withdrew from the scene of action to injure and despoil our Christian subjects of the Salernitan coast. We were few in number, and why were we few? because, after a tedious expectation of your arrival, I had dismissed my host, and returned only a chosen band of warriors to continue the blockade of the city. If they indulged their hospitable toasts in the face of danger and death, did these feasts abate the vigour of their enterprise? Is it by your fasting that the walls of Bari have been overturned? Did not these valiant Franks, diminished as they were by languor and fatigue, intercept and vanquish the three most powerful emirs of the Saracens? and did not their defeat precipitate the fall of the city? Bari is now fallen; Tarentum trembles, Calabria will be delivered, and, if we command the sea, the island of Sicily may be rescued from the hands of the infidels. My brother (I name most offensive to the vanity of the Greek), accelerate your rival succours, respect your allies, and distrust your flatterers."

¹ The original epistle of the emperor Lewis II. to the emperor Basil, a curious record of

These lofty hopes were soon extinguished by the death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carlovingian house; and whoever might de-

serve the honour, the Greek emperors, Basil, and his son Leo, secured the advantage, of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from Mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno leaves the full greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the Eastern empire. Beyond that line, the dukes or republics of Amalfi and Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful sovereign, and Amalfi was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capri, were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth, as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy, the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of *Catapan*,³ was assigned to the supreme

the age, was first published by Patonius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 871, No. 61.71) from the Vatican MS. of Frehemert, or rather of the anonymous historian of Salerno.

² See an excellent dissertation de Republica Amalphitana, in the Appendix (p. 142) of Henry Brucman's Historia Pandectarum (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to).

³ Your master, says Nicophorus, has given aid and protection principibus Capuano et Beneventano, sedis vices quos occupant infidelis possunt. Nova (potius nota) res est quod eorum patres et vici impetrantibus dederunt (Lutprand, in Let. p. 481). Salerno is not mentioned yet the prince changed his party about the same time, and Camillo Pellegrino (Script. Aer. Ital. tom. ii. p. 261) has more discerned this change in the story of the anonymous Chronicle. On the rational ground of History and Language, Lutprand (p. 141) has asserted the distinction to Apulia and Calabria.

⁴ See the Greek and Latin histories of the Cange *Katapanos, catapanus* and his notes on the Alexiad (p. 27). Against the contemporary notion, which derives it from *Kata pan*, in *latine*, he treats it as a corruption of the Latin *capitaneus*. Yet M. de St. Marc has accurately observed (Abrégé Chronologique, tom.

New province of the Greeks in Italy
A.D. 890

governor; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Constantinople. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse, and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany, which descended from the Alps under the Imperial standard of the Othos. The first and greatest of these Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotone. On that day the scale of war

Defeat of
Otho III.
A.D. 963

was turned against the
Franks by the valour of
the Saracens.¹ These coi-

sairs had indeed been driven by the Byzantine fleets from the fortresses and coasts of Italy; but a sense of interest was more prevalent than superstition or resentment, and the caliph of Egypt had transported forty thousand Muslims to the aid of his Christian ally. The successors of Basil amused themselves with the belief that the conquest of Lombardy had been achieved, and was still preserved, by the justice of their laws, the virtues of their ministers, and the gratitude of a people whom they had rescued from anarchy and oppression. A series of rebellions might dart a ray of truth into the palace of Constantinople, and the illusions of flattery were dispelled by the easy and rapid success of the Norman adventurers.

The revolution of human affairs had produced in Apulia and Calabria a melancholy contrast between the age of Pythagoras

ii p. 924) that in this age the *apianci* were not *aristoi*, but only nobles of the first rank, the great valuations of Italy

¹ Οὐ μόνον διὰ πολέμων ἀκρίβειαν, τιταγμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν (the Lombards), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγχοῖα χρεομαίνοντες, καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ χρηστότητα ἐπισκεύειν τοῖς προσερχομένοις προσφύγοις, καὶ τὴν ἰλιθυρίαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάσσειν τι δουλείας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φορολογίων χρεομαίνοντες (Leon Tact. c. x. p. 741.) The little Chronicle of Beneventum (tom. ii. pars. i. p. 280) gives a far different character of the Greeks during the five years (A.D. 961-966) that Leo was master of the city.

and the tenth century of the Christian era. At the former period, the coast of Great Greece (as it was then styled) was planted with free and opulent cities; these cities were peopled with soldiers, artists, and philosophers, and the military strength of Tarantum, Sybaris, or Crotone, was not inferior to that of a powerful kingdom. At the second era, these once flourishing provinces were clouded with ignorance, impoverished by tyranny, and depopulated by barbarian war, nor can we severely accuse the exaggeration of a contemporary, that a fun and ample district was reduced to the same desolation which had covered the earth after the general deluge.² Among the hostilities of the Arabs, the Franks, and the Greeks, in the southern Italy, I shall select two or three anecdotes expressive of their national manners. 1. It was the amusement of the Saracens to profane, as well as to pillage, the monasteries and churches. At the siege of Salerno, a Mussulman chief spread his couch on the communion-table, and on that altar sacrificed each night the virginity of a Christian nun. As he wrestled with a reluctant maid, a beam in the roof was accidentally or dexterously thrown down on his head, and the death of the lustful emir was imputed to the wrath of Christ, which was at length awakened to the defence of his faithful spouse. 2. The Saracens besieged the cities of Beneventum and Capua after a vain appeal to the successors of Charlemagne, the Lom-

¹ Calabria aducent, eamque inter se diuisam reperientes funditus depopulati sunt (or depopularunt), ita ut deserta sit velut in diluvio. Such is the text of Hieronymus, or Erchempert, according to the two editions of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. i. p. 24) and of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars. i. p. 249). Both were extremely scarce, when they were reprinted by Muratori.

² Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 874, No. 2) has drawn this story from a MS. of Erchempert, who died at Capua only fifteen years after the event. But the cardinal was deceived by a false title, and we can only quote the anonymous Chronicle of Salerno (Parallomena, c. 110), composed towards the end of the tenth century, and published in the second volume of Muratori's collection. See the Dissertations of Camillo Pellegrino, tom. ii. pars. i. p. 321, 324.

bards implored the clemency and aid of the Greek emperor.¹ A fearless citizen dropped from the walls, passed the entrenchments, accomplished his commission, and fell into the hands of the barbarians, as he was returning with the welcome news. They commanded him to assist their enterprise, and deceive his countrymen, with the assurance that wealth and honours should be the reward of his falsehood, and that his sincerity would be punished with immediate death. He affected to yield, but as soon as he was conducted within the hearing of the Christians on the rampart, "Friends and brethren," he cried with a loud voice, "be bold and patient, maintain the city, your sovereign is informed of your distress, and your deliverers are at hand. I know my doom, and commit my wife and children to your gratitude." The rage of the Arabs confirmed his evidence, and the self-devoted patriot was thus pierced with a hundred spears. He deserves to live in the memory of the virtuous, but the repetition of the same story in ancient and modern times, may sprinkle some doubts on the reality of this generous deed.² 3 The recital of a third incident may provoke a smile amidst the horrors of war. Theobald, marquis of Camerino and Spoleto,³ sup-

¹ Constantino Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 58, p. 165) is the original author of this story. He places it under the reigns of Basil and Lewis II, yet the reduction of Beneventum by the Greeks is dated A.D. 891, after the decease of both of those princes.

² In the year 883, the same tragedy is described by Paul the Deacon (Hist. Langob. l. v. c. 7, 8, p. 570, 571, edit. Grot.), under the walls of the same city of Beneventum. But the actors are different, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themselves, which in the Byzantine edition is applied to the Saracens. In the late war in Germany, M. D'Assas, a French officer of the regiment of Auvergne, is said to have devoted himself in a similar manner. His behaviour is the more heroic, as much silence was required by the enemy who had made him prisoner. (Vulture, Nicolo de Louis. X. V. c. 33, tom. ix. p. 173.)

³ Theobald, who is styled *heros* by Liutprand, was properly duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino, from the year 926 to 936. The title and office of marquis (commander of the march or frontier) was introduced into Italy by the French emperors (A. Grego. Chronologie, tom. 4. p. 61, 752, &c.).

ported the rebels of Beneventum, and his wanton cruelty was not incompatible in that age with the character of a hero. His captives of the Greek nation or party were castrated without mercy, and the outrage was aggravated by a cruel jest, that he wished to present the emperor with a supply of eunuchs, the most precious ornaments of the Byzantine court. The garrison of a castle had been defeated in a sally, and the prisoners were sentenced to the customary operation. But the sacrifice was disturbed by the intrusion of a fugitive female, who, with bleeding cheeks, dishevelled hair, and unfortuniate clamours, impelled the marquis to listen to her complaint. "Is it thus," she cried, "ye magnanimous heroes, that ye wage war against women, against women who have never injured ye, and whose only arms are the distaff and the loom?" Theobald denied the charge, and protested, that, since the Amazons, he had never heard of a female war. "And how," she furiously exclaimed, "can you attack us more directly, how can you wound us in a more vital part, than by robbing our husbands of what we most dearly cherish, the source of our joys, and the hope of our posterity?" The plunder of our flocks and herds I have endured without a murmur, but this fatal injury, this irreparable loss, subdues my patience, and calls aloud on the justice of heaven and earth." A general laugh applauded her eloquence, the savage Franks, inaccessible to pity, were moved by her ridiculous, yet rational, despair, and with the deliverance of the captives, she obtained the restitution of her effects. As she returned in triumph to the castle, she was overtaken by a messenger, to inquire, in the name of Theobald, what punishment should be inflicted on her husband, who he again told her name. "Should she answer without hesitation," he his guilt and misfortune, he has eyes, and a nose, and hands, and feet. These are his own, and these he may deserve to forfeit by his personal offences. But let my lord be pleased to spare what his little handmaid possesses to

claim as her peculiar and lawful property."

• The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily¹ is an event most romantic in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the Eastern empire.

The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory² accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France they renounced their gods for the God of the Christians,³ and the dukes of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The savage heroism which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate, the companions of

Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives, they imbibed the manners, language,⁴ and gallantry of the French nation, and, in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land.⁵ In this active devotion, their minds and bodies were invigorated by exercise; danger was the incentive, novelty the recompense; and the prospect of the world was decorated by wonder, erudition, and ambitious hope. They confederated for their mutual defence, and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the gab of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of Mount Gauguin in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael,⁶ they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a religious fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo, a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful

¹ Hlutprand, Hist. l. iv. c. iv. in the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptum* tom. i. pars. i. p. 453, 454. Should the licentiousness of the tale be questioned, I may exclaim, with poor Sterne, that it is lived if I may not transcribe with caution, what a bishop could write without scruple. What if I had translated, ut viris certis testimoniis amputatis, in quibus nostri corporis refocillatio, &c.

² The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the fifth volume of Muratori, and among these we may distinguish the poem of William Appulus (p. 24-274) and the history of Gualfridus (*J. Frey*) Malaterra (p. 537-607). Both were natives of France, but they wrote on the spot, in the age of the first conquerors (before A.D. 1100), and with the spirit of freemen. It is needless to recapitulate the compilers and critics of Italian history, Sigonius, Baronius, Pagi, Ganganoni, Muratori, St. Marc, &c., whom I have always consulted, and never copied.

³ Some of the first converts were baptized ten or twelve times, for the sake of the white garment usually given at this ceremony. At the funeral of Rollo, the gifts to monasteries for the repose of his soul were accompanied by a sacrifice of one hundred captives. But in a generation or two the national change was pure and general.

⁴ M. Goutier d'Arc has discovered a translation of the Chronicle of Aimé, monk of Mont Cassino, a contemporary of the first Norman in Italy. He has made use of it in his *Histoire des Conquêtes des Normands*, and added a summary of its contents. This work was copied by later writers, but was supposed to have been entirely lost.—M.

⁵ The Danish language was still spoken by the Normans of Sicily on the southeast, at a time (A.D. 910) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, in the court and capital. Queri (Richard I.) confestim pater Rainerius militum Botoni militis sue principis nuntium transivit, ut, ibi (scilicet) eruditus Danus, suis ex terique hominibus sciret quarto dare responsum (Wilhelm Gemeticensis de Ducibus Normannis, l. iii. c. 8, p. 623, edit. Camden). Of the vernacular and favourite idiom of William the Conqueror (A.D. 1035), Selden (*Opera*, tom. ii. p. 1640-1646) has given a specimen, obsolete and obscure even to antiquarians and lawyers.

⁶ See Leandro (Alberti *Disquisitiones* d. l. d. ii. p. 250) and Baronius (A.D. 494, No. 45). If the archangel inhabited the temple and oracle, perhaps the cavern of old Calchas the soothsayer (Strab. *Geograph.* l. vi. p. 474, 476), the Catholics (on this occasion) have surpassed the Greeks in the elegance of their superstition.

⁷ A band of Normans returning from the Holy Land had rescued the city of Salerno from the attack of a numerous fleet of Saracens. Galmar, the Lombard prince of Salerno, wished to retain them in his service, and take them into his pay. They answered, "We fight for our religion, and not for money." Galmar then treated them to send some Norman knights to his court. This seems to have been the origin of the coarction of the Normans with Italy. See *Histoire des Conquêtes des Normands* par Goutier d'Arc, l. i. c. i. Paris 1830.—M.

ful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises, of the patriot. The assurance of wealth demonstrated the justice of his cause, and they viewed, as the inheritance of the brave, the fruitful land which was oppressed by eliminate tyrants. On their return to Normandy, they kindled a spark of enterprise, and a small but intrepid band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia. They passed the Alps by separate roads, and in the disguise of pilgrims, but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were saluted by the chief of Bari, who supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict, their valour prevailed, but in the second engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy.* The unfortunate Melo ended his life, a suppliant at the court of Germany. His Norman followers, excluded from their native and their promised land, wandered among the hills and valleys of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. To that formidable sword the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples, alternately appealed in their domestic quarrels, the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused, and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, lest the preponderance of any rival state should render their aid less important and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania; but they were soon endowed by the liberality of the Duke of Naples with a more

plentiful and permanent
Foundation of
Aversa
A.D. 1026,
 scat Eight miles from
 his residence, as a bul-
 work against Capua, the town of

Aversa was built, and fortified for their use, and they enjoyed as their own, the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district. The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers: the poor were urged by necessity, the rich were excited by hope, and the brave and active spirits of Normandy were impatient of ease and ambitious of renown. The independent standard of Aversa afforded shelter and encouragement to the outlaws of the province, to every fugitive who had escaped from the injustice or justice of his superiors, and these foreign associates were quickly assimilated in manners and language to the Gallic colony. The first leader of the Normans was Count Raimulf; and, in the origin of society, pre-eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.*

Since the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable possession; but their efforts, however

¹ See the first book of William Appulus. His words are applicable to every swarm of barbarians and freebooters
Si vicinorum quis permittitur ad illos
(confugiebat eum gratanter suscipiant
Moribus et lingua quocumque venire videbant
Informant propria, gens ciliatur ut una
 And elsewhere, of the native adventurers of Normandy

Pars parat exiguae vel opes aderant quin nullae
Pars, quia de magis majore subire volebant.

* This account is not accurate. After the retreat of the Emperor Henry the Second, the Normans, united under the command of Raimulf, had taken possession of Aversa, then a small castle in the duchy of Naples. They had been masters of it a few years, when Landulph the Fourth, prince of Capua, found means to take Naples by surprise. Sergius, master of the soldiers, and head of the republic, with the principal citizens, abandoned a city in which he could not behold, without horror, the establishment of a foreign dominion: he retired to Aversa, and when, with the assistance of the Greeks, and that of the citizens faithful to their country, he had collected money enough to satisfy the rapacity of the Norman adventurers, he advanced at their head to attack the garrison of the prince of Capua, defeated it, and re-entered Naples. It was then that he confirmed the Normans in the possession of Aversa and its territory, which he raised into a count's fief, and granted the investiture to Raimulf. Hist. des Rep. Ital. tom. i. p. 207. —G.

* Nine out of ten perished in the field
Chronique d'Alain, tom. i. p. 21, quoted by M
Goutier d'Arc, p. 43. —M

strenuous, had been opposed by the distance and the sea. Their costly armaments, after a gleam of success, added new pages of calamity and disgrace to the Byzantine annals: twenty thousand of their best troops were lost in a single expedition, and the victorious Moslems denied the policy of a nation which intrusted eunuchs not only with the custody of their women, but with the command of their men.¹ After a reign of two hundred years, the Saracens were ruined by their divisions.² The emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis, the people rose against the emir, the cities were usurped by the chiefs, each meaner rebel was independent in his village or castle, and the weaker of two rival brothers explored the friendship of the Christians. In every service of danger the Normans were prompt and useful, and five hundred knights, or warriors on horseback, were enrolled by Arduin, the agent and interpreter of the Greeks, under the standard of Maniaces, governor of Lombardy. Before their landing, the brothers were reconciled, the union of Sicily and Africa was restored, and the island was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Messina felt the valour of an untried foe. In a second action, the emir of Syracuse was unhorsed and transpierced by the iron arm of William of Hauteville. In a third engagement, his intrepid companions discomfited the host of sixty thousand Saracens, and left the Greeks no more than the labour of the pursuit: a splendid victory, but of which the pen of the historian may divide the merit with the lance of the Normans. It is, however, true, that they essentially promoted the success of Maniaces, who reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the division of the spoil, the deserts

The Normans
conquer Sicily
A.D. 1085

of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten; and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. They complained, by the mouth of their interpreter, their complaint was disregarded, their interpreter was scourged, the sufferings were his, the insult and resentment belonged to those whose sentiments he had delivered. Yet they dissembled till they had obtained, or stolen, a safe passage to the Italian continent, their brethren of Aversa sympathised in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt.³

Their conquest
of Apulia
A.D. 1040-1043

Above twenty years after the first emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than a hundred horse and five hundred foot, and after the recall of the Byzantine legions⁴ from the Sicilian war, their numbers are magnified to the amount of three score thousand men. Their herald proposed the option of battle or retreat; "of battle," was the unanimous cry of the Normans, and one of their stoutest warriors, with a stroke of his fist, felled to the ground the horse of the Greek messenger. He was dismissed with a fresh horse, the insult was concealed from the imperial troops, but in two successive battles they were more fatally instructed of the prowess of their adversaries. In the plains of Cannæ, the Asiatics fled before the adventurers of France, the Duke of Lombardy was made prisoner, the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion, and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundisium, and Tarentum, were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this era we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of

¹ Luitprand in Legatione, p. 485. Pagi has illustrated this event from the MS. history of the deacon Leo (tom. iv. A.D. 965, No. 17, 19).

² See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. i. p. 263.

³ Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conquest of Apulia (l. i. c. 7, 4, 9, 19). The same events are described by Ceironus (tom. ii. p. 741, 743, 755, 756) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 237, 238), and the Greeks are so hardened to disgrace, that their narratives are impartial enough.

⁴ Cedrenus specifies the *αἰγῶν* of the Obsequium (Phrygia), and the *μυσοί* of the Thracians (Lydia), consult Constantine de Thematibus, l. 2, 4, with Bellisle's map, and afterwards names the Persians and Lycosians with the federati.

Aversa, Twelve counts¹ were chosen by the popular suffrage, and age, birth, and merit, were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use, and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province, the common habitation of Melfi was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; an house and separate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts and the national concerns were regulated by this military senate. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled count of Apulia, and this dignity was conferred on William of the iron arm, who, in the language of the age, is styled a lion in battle, a lamb in society, and an angel in council.² The manners of his countrymen are fairly delineated by a contemporary and national historian³ "The Normans," says Malaterra, "are

a cunning and revengeful people, eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities they can stoop to flatter, but unless they are curbed by the re-

*Omnis conveniunt, et bis sex nobiliores,
Quos genus et gravitas morum decorat etetas,
Fingere duces Proverbia ad comitatum
His sibi parent Comitatus nomen honoris
Qui donantur erat. Illi totas undique terras
Dividere sibi, nisi sibi inimicos repugnet,
Singula proponunt loca que contingere sorte
Cuique duci debent, et queque tributis locorum
And after speaking of Melfi, William Ap-
pulus adds,*

*Pro numero comitum bis sex statuere plateas,
Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe*

Leo Ostiensis (l. ii. c. 67) enumerates the divisions of the Apulian cities, which it is needless to repeat.

¹ Guillem Apulius, l. ii. c. 12, according to the reference of Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 31), which I cannot verify in the original. The Apulian praises indeed his *audaces vires, probitas animi, and virida virtus* and declares that, had he lived, no poet could have equalled his merits (l. i. p. 258, l. ii. p. 259). He was bewailed by the Normans, quippe qui tanti consili virum (says Malaterra, l. i. c. 12, p. 552), tam armis strenuum, tam sibi munificum, afflicti, mortuorum, ultorius se habere diffidebant.

² The gens astutissima, infortunum ultrix, adulari solens, eloquentis inserviens, of Malaterra (l. i. c. 8, p. 550), are expressive of the popular and proverbial character of the Normans.

strait of law, the indulgence the licentiousness of nature and passion. Their princes affect the praise of popular munificence, the people observe the medium, or rather blend the extremes, of avarice and prodigality, and in their eager thirst of wealth and dominion, they despise whatever they possess, and hope whatever they desire. Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hunting and hawking,¹ are the delight of the Normans, but on pressing occasions, they can endure with incredible patience, the inclemency of every climate, and the toil and abstinence of a military life.²

The Normans of Apulia were seated on the verge of the two empires, and according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany or Constantinople. But the firmest title of these adventurers was the right of conquest they neither loved nor trusted, they were neither trusted nor beloved the contempt of the prince was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and resentment. Every object of desire, a horse, a woman, a garden, tempted and gratified the rapaciousness of the strangers,³ and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more specious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice in their domestic quarrels they disputed the spoils of the people the virtues of William were buried in his grave, and

¹ The hunting and hawking more properly belong to the *degenerata* of the Norwegian sailors, though they might import from Norway and Iceland the finest casts of falcons.

² We may compare this portrait with that of William of Malmesbury (de Gestis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 101, 102), who appreciates, like a philosophic historian, the vices and virtues of the Saxons and Normans. England was assuredly a gainer by the conquest.

³ The biographer of St. Leo IX. pours his holy venom on the Normans. Videns indisciplinatum et alienam gentem Normannorum, crudeli et inaudita rabe, et plurimum pagana impletate, adversus ecclesiam Dei insurgere, passim Christianos trucidare, &c. (Wibert, c. 6). The honest Apulian (l. ii. p. 256) says calmly of their accuser, Veris commissis fallacia.

Oppression of
Apulia,
A.D. 1054, &c.

Drogo, his brother and successor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Constantine Moumachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court, attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent mischief, more grievous than flight of barbarians;¹ and Argyrus, the son of Melo, was invested for this purpose with the most lofty titles² and the most ample commission. The memory of his father might recommend him to the Normans, and he had already engaged their voluntary service to quell the revolt of Maniaces, and to avenge their own and the public injury. It was the design of Constantine to transplant this warlike colony from the Italian provinces to the Persian war, and the son of Melo distributed among the chiefs the gold and manufactures of Greece, as the first fruits of the Imperial bounty. But his arts were baffled by the sense and spirit of the conquerors of Apulia; his gifts, or at least his proposals, were rejected, and they unanimously refused to relinquish their possessions and their hopes for the distant prospect of Asiatic fortune. After the means of persuasion had

League of the
pope and the
two empires.
A.D. 1053-1064

failed, Argyrus resolved to compel or to destroy the Latin powers were solicited against the common enemy, and an offensive alliance was formed of the pope and the two emperors of the East and West. The throne of St. Peter was occupied by Leo the Ninth, a simple saint,³ of a

¹ The policy of the Greeks, revolt of Maniaces, &c. must be collected from Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 714, 715). William Appulus (l. i. p. 257, 258, l. ii. p. 250), and the two Chronicles of Bari, by Lupus Protospatha (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 4244), and an anonymous writer (Antiquitat. Italicae medii ævi, tom. i. p. 313-3). The last is a fragment of some value.

Argyrus received, says the anonymous Chronicle of Bari, Imperial letters, *Federatus et Patriarchatus, et Catepanatus et Vestatus*. In his Annals, Muratori (tom. viii. p. 420) very probably reads, or interprets, *Sequestatus*, the title of Sebastos or Augustus. But in his Antiquities, he was taught by Ducange to make it a palatine office, master of the wardrobe.

² A Life of St. Leo IX., deeply tinged with the passions and prejudices of the age, has been composed by Wibert, printed at Paris 1615, in

temper most apt to deceive himself and the world, and whose venerable character would consecrate with the name of piety the measures least compatible with the practice of religion. His humanity was affected by the complaints, perhaps the calumnies, of an injured people: the impious Normans had interrupted the payment of tithes, and the temporal sword might be lawfully unsheathed against the sacrilegious robbers, who were deaf to the censures of the church. As a German of noble birth and royal kindred, Leo had free access to the court and confidence of the emperor Henry the Third, and in search of arms and allies, his ardent zeal transported him from Apulia to Saxony, from the Elbe to the Tiber. During these hostile preparations, Argyrus indulged himself in the use of secret and guilty weapons: a crowd of Normans became the victims of public or private revenge; and the valiant Drogo was murdered in a church. But his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. The assassins were chastised, and the son of Melo, overthrown and wounded, was driven from the field to hide his shame behind the walls of Bari, and to await the tardy succour of his allies.

But the power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war, the mind of Henry was feeble and irresolute, and the pope, instead of repassing the Alps with a German army, was accompanied only by a guard of seven hundred Swabians and some volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum, a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard: the priest and the robber slept in the same tent, the pikes and crosses were intermingled in the front.

Expedition of
Pope Leo IX.
against the

A.D. 1053

octavo and since inserted in the Collections of the Bollandists, or Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private history of that pope is diligently treated by M. de St. Marc (Abregé, tom. ii. p. 140-210, and p. 259, second column).

³ See the Expedition of Leo IX. against the Normans. See William Appulus (l. ii. p. 259-261) and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 15-18, p. 268). They are impartial, as the national, or counterbalanced by the clerical, prejudices

and the martial saint repeated the lessons of his youth in the order of march, of encampment, and of combat. The Normans of Apulia could muster in the field no more than three thousand horse, with a handful of infantry. the detection of the natives intercepted their provisions and retreat, and then spirit, incapable of fear, was chilled for a moment by superstitious awe. On the hostile approach of Leo, they knelt without disgrace or reluctance before their spiritual father. But the pope was inexorable, his lofty Germans affected to deride the diminutive stature of their adversaries, and the Normans were informed that death or exile was their only alternative. Flight they disdained, and, as many of them had been three days without tasting food, they embraced the assurance of a more easy and honourable death. They climbed the hill of Civitella, descended into the plain, and charged in three divisions the army of the pope. On the left, and in the centre, Richard count of Aversa, and Robert the famous Guiscard, attacked, broke, routed, and pursued the Italian multitudes, who fought without discipline, and fled without shame. A harder trial was

reserved for the valour of his defeat and captivity
count Humphrey, who led the cavalry of the right wing. The Germans have been described as unskilful in the management of the horse and lance, but on foot they formed a strong and impenetrable phalanx, and neither man, nor steed, nor armour, could resist the weight of their long and two-handed swords. After a severe conflict, they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit, and died in their ranks with the esteem of their foes, and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors,

*Tutonici, quia cæsaries et forma decoros
Fecerat egregie proceri corporis illos,
Corpora derident Normannica quæ breviora
Esse videbantur*

The verses of the Apulian are commonly in this strain, though he heats himself a little in the battle. Two of his similes from hawking and sorcery are descriptive of manners

who kissed his feet, to implore his blessing and the absolution of their sinful victory. The soldiers beheld, as their enemy and captive the vicar of Christ; and, though we may suppose the policy of the chiefs, it is probable that they were infected by the popular superstition. In the calm of retirement, the well-meaning pope deplores the effusion of Christian blood, which must be imputed to his account. He felt that he had been the author of sin and scandal, and as his undertaking had failed, the indigency of his military character was universally condemned.¹ With these dispositions, he listened to the offers of a beneficial treaty, dissolved an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God; and ratified the past and future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been usurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Constantine and the patrimony of St. Peter the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms, a tribute or quit-rent of twelve pence was afterwards stipulated for every plough-land, and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the Holy See.²

Origin of the
papal investitures to the
Normans.

The pedigree of Robert Guiscard³ is

¹ Several respectable censures or complaints are produced by M. de St. Marc (tom. ii. p. 200, 204). As Peter Damianus, the oracle of the times, had denied the pope the right of making war, the hermit (Jugens crevit incola) is assigned by the cardinal and Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1063, No. 10, 17) most strenuously asserts the two swords of St. Peter.

² The origin and nature of the papal investitures are ably discussed by Giamanno (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 374-69, 744) as a lawyer and antiquarian. Yet he vainly strives to reconcile the duties of patriot and catholic, adopts an empty distinction of "Ecclesia Romana non dedit sed accepit," and shrinks from an honest but dangerous confession of the truth.

³ The birth, character, and first actions of Robert Guiscard may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (l. i. c. 3, 4, 11, 16, 17, 18, 38, 39, 40), William Appulus (l. ii. p. 200, 202), William Gemeticensis or of Jumloges (l. xi. c. 30, p. 663, 664, edit. Camden) and Anna Comnena (Alexiad.

variously deduced from the peasants and the dukes of Normandy: from the peasants, by the pride and ignorance of a Grecian princess; from the dukes, by the ignorance and flattery of the Italian subjects. His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of primitive nobility.³ He sprang from a race of *salassoni* or *banuiceti*, of the diocese of Coutances, in the Lower Normandy. the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke, and his military service was furnished by ten soldiers or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father twelve sons, who were educated homo by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny; they saw around the neighbourhood the mischiefs of poverty and discord, and resolved to seek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to per-

petuate the race and cherish their father's age their ten brothers, as they successively attained the age of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The eldest were prompted by native spirit, their success encouraged their younger brethren, and the three first in seniority, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage, and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness; and to the decline of life, he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. In the rude ages of chivalry, such qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or historian: they may observe that Robert, at once, and with equal dexterity, could wield in the right hand his sword, his lance in the left, that in the battle of Civitella he was thrice unhorsed, and that in the close of that memorable day he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies.⁴ His boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth in the pursuit of greatness, he was never checked by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved

³ I shall quote with pleasure some of the best lines of the Apulian (l. ii. p. 270)
Pugnat utraque manu, nec laeva cassis, nec

quocumque manu ducere velit
Ter de pectus equi ter vultu ipse manuque
Major in armis et stimulos prior ipse manu
strat
Ut leo cum tendens

Nullus in hoc bello scuti post bella probatus
est
Victor vel victus, tam magnos edidit ictus

l. i. p. 23-27, l. vi. p. 165, 166), with the annotations of Ducange (Not. in Alxiad. p. 230-232, 239) who has swept all the French and Latin chronicles for supplemental intelligence.

⁴ O δὲ Ποσειδώνος (a Greek corruption) ὄφρος Νερμάνος το γένος, τῆς Τυχῆς ἀσπασίας. Again ἐξ ἀφανῶν παρὶ Τύχης περιφανῶν. And elsewhere (l. ii. p. 81), ἀπὸ Τύχης, ἀσπασίας καὶ Τύχης ἀφανῶν. Anna Comnena was born in the purple, yet her father was no more than a private though illustrious subject, who raised himself to the empire.

Chimene (tom. ii. p. 2) forgets all his original authority, and sets this princely descent on the credit of Invoiges, an Augustine monk of Phileno in the last century. They continued the succession of dukes from Rollo to William II. the Bastard or Conqueror, whom they I did (commemorate si tuus) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville, a most strange and capricious blunder. The sons of Tancred, who died in Apulia before William I. was three years old (l. ii. p. 104).

The judgment of Livy is just and moderate. Certe humilis fuit et tenuis Roberti familia sed in eis et regum spectemus speciem, et quoniam postea pervenit, qui honesta tamen et perit nobilitatem vulgarem statum et conditionem illustria habita est, "quo nec humilior nec altum quid timeret" (William Minishur de Gestis Anglorum, l. iii. p. 107. Not. in Alxiad. p. 230).

by the feelings of humanity: though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guscard*¹ was applied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit, and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet these arts were disguised by an appearance of military frankness. In his highest fortune, he was accessible and courteous to his fellow soldiers, and while he indulged the prejudices of his new subjects, he affected in his dress and manners to maintain the ancient fashion of his country. He grasped with a rapacious, that he might distribute with a liberal, hand his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality, the gain of a merchant was not below his attention, and his prisoners were tortured with slow and unfeeling cruelty, to force a discovery of their secret treasure. According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy with only five followers on horseback and thirty on foot, yet even this allowance appears too bountiful: the sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville passed the Alps as a pilgrim, and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia, but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice, the aspiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his first exploits against the Greeks and the natives, it is not easy to discriminate the hero from the robber. To surprise a castle or a convent, to ensnare a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for necessary food, were the obscure labours which formed and exercised the powers of his mind

and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his standard; and, under his command, the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans.

As the genius of Robert expanded with his fortune, he awakened the jealousy of his older brother, by whom, ^{His ambition and success.} A.D. 1054-1080

in a transient quarrel, his life was threatened and his liberty restrained. After the death of Humphrey, the tender age of his sons excluded them from the command, they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle, and Guscard was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him for ever above the heads of his equals. By some acts of rapine or sacrilege, he had incurred a papal excommunication, but Nicholas the Second was easily persuaded, that the division of friends could terminate only in their mutual prejudice, that the Normans were the faithful champions of the Holy See, and it was safe to trust the alliance of a prince than the caprice of an aristocracy. A synod of one hundred bishops was convened at Melfi, and the count interrupted an important enterprise to guard the person and execute the decrees of the Roman pontiff. His gratitude and policy conferred on Robert and his posterity the ducal title,² with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens.³ This apos-

¹ The acquisition of the ducal title by Robert Guscard is a nice and obscure business. With the good advice of Ursinione, Muratori, and St. Marc, I have endeavoured to form a consistent and probable narrative.

² Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 1059, No. 60) has published the original act. He professes to have copied it from the *Liber Consuum*, a Vatican MS. Yet a *Liber Consuum* of the twelfth century has been printed by Muratori (*Antiquit. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 551, 908) and the names of Vatican and Cardinal are added the sentences of a Protestant and even of a publicist.

³ The Norman writers and editors most conversant with their own idiom interpret *Guscard* or *Guscard*, by *tail* *his*, a cunning man. The root (*gus*) is familiar to our ear, and in the old word *Guiscard*, I can discern something of a similar sense and termination. The *ψυχαν* *ψυχαν* *ψυχαν*, I, no bad translation of the surname and character of Robert.

to the sanction might justify his arms: but the obedience of a free and victorious people could not be transferred without their consent; and Guiscard dissented his elevation till the ensuing campaign had been illustrated by the conquest of Consenza and Reggio. In the hour of triumph, he assembled his bishops, and solicited the Normans to confirm by their suffrage the judgment of the vicar of Christ, the soldiers

duke of Apulia hailed with joyful acclamations their valiant duke, and the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity, with hollow smiles and secret indignation. After this inauguration, Robert styled himself, "By the grace of God and St Peter, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily," and it was the labour of twenty years to possessive and realise these lofty appellations. Such tardy progress, in a narrow space, may seem unworthy of the abilities of the chief and the spirit of the nation; but the Normans were few in number, their resources were scanty, their service was voluntary and precarious. The bravest designs of duke were sometimes opposed the free voice of his parliament barons: the twelve counts of popular election conspired against his authority, and against their perfidious uncle, the sons of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge. By his policy

vigour, Guiscard discovered their plots, suppressed their rebellions, and punished the guilty with death or exile. In these domestic feuds, his years, and the national strength, were unprofitably consumed. After the defeat of his foreign enemies, the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, their broken forces retreated to the strong and populous cities of the sea coast. They excelled in the arts of fortification and defence, the Normans were accustomed to serve on horseback in the field, and their rude attempts could only succeed by the efforts of persevering courage. The resistance of Salerno was maintained above eight months: the siege or blockade of Bari lasted near four years. In these actions the Norman

duke was the foremost in every danger; in every fatigue the last and most patient. As he pressed the citadel of Salerno, a huge stone from the rampart shattered one of his military engines, and by a splinter he was wounded in the breast. Before the gates of Bari, he lodged in a miserable hut or barrack, composed of dry branches, and thatched with straw, a perilous station, on all sides open to the inclemency of the weather and the spears of the enemy.¹

The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples, and the counties united by his arms have not been dismembered by the revolutions of seven hundred years.² The monarchy has been composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalfi, and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient duchy of Benevento. Three districts only were exempted from the common law of subjection, the first for ever, and the two last till the middle of the succeeding century. The city and immediate territory of Benevento had been transferred, by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff, and although this holy land was sometimes invaded, the name of St Peter was finally more potent than the sword of the Normans. Their first colony of Avella subdued and held the state of Capua, and her princes were reduced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, maintained the popular freedom, under the shadow of the Byzantine empire. Among the new acquisitions of Guiscard, the county of Salerno,³ and the

¹ Read the life of Guiscard in the second and third books of the Apulian, and the first and second books of Malaterra.

² The conquests of Robert Guiscard and Roger I. the exemption of Benevento and the twelve provinces of the kingdom are fairly exposed by Malaterra in the 1st volume of his *Historia Civilis* lib. 2, xi and lxxv. p. 460-470. This exemption was not established before the time of Frederick II.

³ Guiscard (1091-1101) p. 119-127, M. Rostk (Antiquit. med. æv.) tom. iii. disc. xlv. p. 933, 1190, and Triboschi (Historia della

trade of Amalphi,² may detain for a moment the curiosity of the reader.

I. Of the learned faculties, jurisprudence implies the previous establishment of laws and property; and theology may perhaps be superseded by the full light of religion and reason. But the savage and the sage must alike implore the assistance of physic, and, if our diseases are inflamed by luxury, the mischiefs of blows and wounds may be more frequent in the ruder ages of society. The treasures of Grecian medicine had been communicated to the Arabian colonies of Africa, Spain, and Sicily, and in the intercourse of peace and war, a spark of knowledge had been kindled and cherished at Salerno, an illustrious city, in which the men were honest and the women beautiful.³ A school, the first that arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art: the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative profession, and a crowd of patients, of the most eminent rank, and most distant climates, invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors, and Giscard, though blind in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Constantine, an African Christian, returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians, and Salerno was enriched by the practice.

Letteratura Italiana) have given an historical account of these physicians, their medical knowledge and practice must be left to our physicians.

¹ At the end of the History Pandectarum of Henry Brunckman (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to) the indefatigable author has inserted two dissertations, de Republica Amalphitana, and de Amalphi & Plesina scriptis, which are built on the testimonies of one hundred and forty writers. Yet he has forgotten two most important passages of the embassy of Iuliprud (A.D. 993), which compare the constitution of Amalphi with that of Venice.

² Urbs latil non est lucidior for urbe,

Fructibus arboribus, vinis re redundat, et

Non tibi pulchra, nec non pulchra palatia

Non spectes muliebris abas? probitasque

virorum

(Guilhelmus Appulus, l. iii p. 267)

tice, the lessons and the writings, of the pupil of Avicenna. The school of medicine has long slept in the name of university, but her precepts are enshrined in a string of aphorisms, bound together in the Leonine verses, or Latin rhymes, of the twelfth century.⁴ II Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalphi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent, but the sea was accessible and open, the inhabitants first assumed the office of supplying the western world with the manufactures and productions of the East, and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular, under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalphi; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy, and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coasts, or at least to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia, and India, and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies.⁵

¹ Muratori carries their antiquity above the year (1046) of the death of Edward the Confessor the rex Anglorum to whom they are addressed. Nor is this date affected by the opinion, or rather mistake, of Pasquier (Mémoires de la France, l. vii c. 2) and Ducange (Glossar Latin). The practice of rhyming, as early as the seventh century, was borrowed from the languages of the North and East (Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. ii dissert. xl p. 688-708).

² The description of Amalphi, by William the Apuan (l. iii p. 57) contains much truth and some poetry, and the third line may be applied to the sailor's compass.

Nulla in igitur apud reges, vestibus, arto
Partibus inuicem hic plurimum urbe mo-
ratur

Nautæ mores colligunt aperire portus
Hic et Alexia dei diversa scriunt ab urbe
Iugis, et Antiochi Gens hæc freta plurima
transit

After three hundred years of prosperity Amalfi was oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa but the poverty of one thousand * fishermen is yet dignified by the remains of an arsenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants

Roger, the twelfth and last of the
 sons of Tancred, had been
 long detained in Nor-
 mandy by his own and

cepted the welcome summons, hastened to the Apulian camp; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Then valour and ambition were equal, but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger, engaged the disinterested love of the soldiers and people. So scanty was his allowance, for himself and forty followers, that he descended from conquest to robbery, and from robbery to domestic theft; and so loose were the notions of property, that by his own historian, at his special command, he is wended of stealing horses from a stable at Mclphi. His spirit emerged from poverty and disgrace to the merit and glory of a holy war; and the invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. After the retreat of the Greeks, the idolatry, a most audacious reproach of the Catholics, had retrieved their losses and possessions.

His Arabes, Indi, Scythi nascuntur et Afri
 Ille gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
 Ut mercando serens, et amans meriti referre

1. *Scotodinus* *Scutigerorum* sacrum in multis
surgitabatur, quod quidem ad iusignitum
sunt delinens, ad iusignitum precipiente allicunt
ad repugnantiis, ad iusignitum sunt
pluribus pascunt, quod iusignitum
quanta angustia a profundis pascunt
sumum culmen iusignitum vel honoris
attingit. Sicut in theatro de Valaterra (I
I c. 25) to the horse stalling. From the
moment (I I c. 19) that he has mentioned his
yatron Kogir, the elder brother sinks into the
second character. Something similar in Vol
luna Paternulus may be observed of Augustus
and Tiberius.

* Annals had only one thousand inhabitants at the commencement of the eighteenth century, when it was visited by Brunckmann (Brunckmann de Rep. Amalph. Diss. l. c. 23) At present it has six or eight thousand Hist. des Rep. Ital. tom. i. p. 304—(f)

but the deliverance of the island, so vainly undertaken by the forces of the Eastern empire, was achieved by a small and private band of adventurers. In the first attempt, Roger braved, in an open boat, the real and fabulous dangers of Scylla and Charybdis; landed with only sixty soldiers on a hostile shore, drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina, and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortress of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conspicuous. In his old age he related with pleasure, that by the distress of the siege, himself, and the countess his wife, had been reduced to a single cloak or mantle, which they wore alternately, that in a sally his horse had been slain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens, but that he owed his rescue to his good sword, and had retreated with his saddle on his back, lest the meanest trophy might be left in the hands of the miscreants. In the siege of Trani, three hundred Normans withstood and repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Cummo, fifty thousand horse and foot were overthrown by one hundred and thirty six Christian soldiers, without reckoning St George, who fought on horseback in the foremost ranks. The captive banuets, with four camels, were reserved for the successor of St Peter, and had these barbaric spoils been exposed, not in the Vatican, but in the Capitol, they might have revived the memory of the Punic triumphs. These multitudinous numbers of the Normans most probably denote their knights, the soldiers of honourable and equestrian rank, each of whom was attended by five or six followers in the field; yet with the aid of this interpretation, and after every fair allowance on the side of valour, arms, and reputation, the discomfiture of so many myriads will reduce the prudent reader to the

¹ Duo sibi proficua deputans animo scilicet et corporis al terram Idolis deditam ad cultum divinum revocaret (G. Alfred Mal'terra, l. II c. 1) The conquest of Sicily is related in the three last books, and he himself has given an accurate summary of the chapters (v. 644-646)

² See the word *infinites*, in the Latin Glossary
— Ducange

alternative of a miracle or a fable. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent and powerful succour from their countrymen of Africa. In the siege of Palermo, the Norman cavalry was assisted by the galleys of Pisa, and in the hour of action, the envy of the two brothers was sublimed to a generous and invincible emulation. After a war of thirty years,¹ Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean; and his administration displays a liberal and enlightened mind above the limits of his age and education. The Moslems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property;² a philosopher and physician of Mazara, of the race of Mithomet, harangued the conqueror, and was invited to court; his geography of the seven climates was translated into Latin; and Roger, after a diligent perusal, preferred the work of the Arabian to the writings of the Grecian Ptolemy.³ A remnant of Christian natives had promoted the success of the Normans: they were rewarded by the triumph of the cross. The island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, new bishops were planted in the principal cities, and the

clergy were satisfied by a liberal endowment of churches and monasteries. Yet the Catholic hero asserted the rights of the civil magistrate. Instead of resigning the investiture of benefices, he dexterously applied to his own profit the papal claims: the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged by the singular bull which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the Holy See.⁴

To Robert Guiscard, the conquest of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial. The possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition, and he resolved to embrace or create the first occasion of invading, perhaps of subduing, the Roman Empire of the East.⁵ From his first wife, the partner of his humble fortunes, he had been divorced under the pretence of consanguinity, and her son Bohemond was destined to imitate, rather than to succeed, his illustrious father. The second wife of Guiscard was the daughter of the prince of Salerno, the Lombards acquiesced in the lineal succession of their son Roger, their five daughters were given in honourable nuptials,⁶ and one of them was betrothed, in a tender age, to Constantine, a beautiful youth, the son and heir of the Emperor Michael.⁷ But the

Robert invades
the Eastern
Empire
A.D. 1081.

¹ Of odd particulars, I learn from Malaterra, that the Arabs had introduced into Sicily the use of camels (l. i. c. 33) and of carrier pigeons (c. 42), and that the bite of the tarantula provokes a windy disposition, quæ per animum inhoneste crepidando emergit, a symptom most ridiculously felt by the whole Norman army in their camp near Palermo (c. 30). I shall add an etymology not unworthy of the eleventh century. *Messana* is derived from *Mæna*, the place from whence the harvests of the Isle were sent in tribute to Rome (l. ii. c. 1).

² See the capitulation of Palermo in Malaterra, l. ii. c. 45, and Giamnone, who remarks the general toleration of the Saracens (tom. ii. p. 72).

³ John Leo Africæ, de Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus, c. 14, apud Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. xlii. p. 275, 279. This philosopher is named Isacroph Escichilli, and he died in Africa, A.D. 516, A.D. 1112. Yet this story bears a strange resemblance to the story of Averroës, who presented his book (Geographiæ Tabulæ, see preface, p. 88, 90, 170) to Roger King of Sicily, A.D. 1158 (Biblioth. Biblothèque Orientale, p. 760. Fréaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 158. Petit de la Croix, Hist. de Gengiscan, p. 55, 530. Casiri, Biblioth. Arab. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 9-13), and I am afraid of some mistake.

⁴ Malaterra remarks the foundation of the bishoprics (l. iv. c. 7), and produces the original of the bull (l. iv. c. 20). Giamnone gives a rational idea of this privilege, and the origin of the monarchy of Sicily (tom. ii. p. 105, 107), and St. Marc (Abregé, t. iii. in c. 217, 218, or l. column) labours the case with the diligence of a secular lawyer.

⁵ In the first expedition of Robert against the Greeks, I follow Anna Comnena (the first, third, fourth, and fifth books of the Alexiad), William Appulus (l. fourth and fifth, p. 270, 73) and Jeffrey Malitour (l. iii. c. 14, 15, 16, 17). The information is contemporary and authentic, but none of them were eye witnesses of the war.

⁶ One of them was married to Hugh, the son of Azzo, or Azo, a marquis of Lombardy, rich, powerful, and noble (William Appul. l. iii. p. 267) in the eleventh century, and whose ancestors in the tenth and ninth are explored by the critical industry of Luitpold and Muratori from the two elder sons of the marquis Azzo, are derived the illustrious lines of Brunswick and Este. See Muratori Antichità Estense.

⁷ Anna Comnena, somewhat too wantonly, praises and bewails that handsome boy, who

throne of Constantinople was shaken by a revolution; the Imperial family of Isaac was confined to the palace or the cloister, and Robert deplored, and resented, the disgrace of his daughter and the expulsion of his ally. A Greek, who styled himself the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno, and related the adventures of his fall and flight. That unfortunate friend was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of Imperial dignity, in his triumphal progress through Apulia and Calabria, Michael was saluted with the tears and acclamations of the people, and pope Gregory the Seventh exhorted the bishops to preach, and the Catholics to fight, in the pious work of his restoration. His conversations with Robert were frequent and familiar; and their mutual promises were justified by the valour of the Normans and the treasures of the East. Yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and an impostor, a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard, and he trusted, that after this pretender had given a decent colour to his arms he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. But victory was the only argument that could determine the belief of the Greeks, and the ardour of the Latins was much inferior to their credulity. The Norman veterans wished to enjoy the harvest of their toils, and the unwarlike Italians trembled at the known and unknown dangers of a transmarine expedition.

after the rupture of his barbaric nuptials (l. 102), was betrothed as his husband, he was
 ἄγλαμα φουσας ἑσθ' ἄλλω φιλίᾳ

μνημε . . . ο χρυσῶν γ' οὖν, ἀποφρῶν, &c. (p. 7) elsewhere, she describes the red and white of his skin, his hawk's eyes, &c., l. 11 p. 71

¹ Anna Comnena, I, p. 28, 29. (Cuthbert Appul 1 iv p. 271, (Alfred Malaterra, I iii c. 13 p. 579, 580. Malaterra is more cautious in his style, but the Apulian is bold and positive.

—Mentatus as Michaeleni

Venerat a Danais quidam seductor et illum
As Gregory VII had believed, Baronius,
almost alone, recognizes the Emperor Michael
(A.D. 1080, No. 44).

In his new levies, Robert exerted the influence of gifts and promises, the terrors of civil and ecclesiastical authority, and some acts of violence might justify the reproach, that age and infancy were pressed without distinction into the service of their unrelenting prince. After two years' incessant preparations, the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto, at the heel, or extreme promontory, of Italy, and Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the representative of the Emperor Michael. Thirteen hundred knights of Norman race or discipline, formed the sinews of the army, which might be swelled to thirty thousand followers of every denomination. The men, the horses, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers, covered with raw hides, were embarked on board one hundred and fifty vessels; the transports had been built in the ports of Italy, and the galleys were supplied by the alliance of the republic of Ragusa.

At the mouth of the Adriatic Gulf, the shores of Italy and ^{Siege of Durazzo} Epirus incline towards ^{A.D. 1081} each other. The space between Brundisium and Durazzo, the Roman passage, is no more than one hundred miles, 'at the last station of Otranto, it is contracted to fifty,' and thus

I tpsse armati militis non plusquam milia
milia secum habuisse, ab isque eidem negotio
interfuerunt attestatur (M dat 17a, l iii
p 283) these are the same whom the Apo
l i v p 273) tyles the equestris gens du
quintus de jent duc

² *Ἡς Τριακοντα χιλιάδας, says*
nema (Athena, l. i p. 57), and her account
tallies with the number and listing of the
ships Ivt in Dyraculum cum xy milibus
hominum, says the Chronicon Eusei Nor-
mannicum (Muratori, Scriptores, l. iii c. p.
278) I have endeavoured to reconcile the
reckonings

reckoning. The Itinerary of Jerusalem (p. 109, edit. Wesseling) gives a true and reasonable statement of a thousand stadia, or one hundred miles, which is strangely doubled by Strabo (l. vi p. 431) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. lib. 16).

4 Pliny (Hist.Nat lib 6, 16) allows *gairgargina* nullis for this brevissimus crinus, and agrees with the real distance from Ural to La Vahour, or Aulon (D Anville Analyse de la Carte des Côtes de la Grèce, &c. p. 36) Hermolaus Barbarus, who substitutes *crinum*

narrow distance had suggested to Pyrrhus and Pompey the sublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke despatched Bohemond with fifteen galleys to seize or threaten the Isle of Corfu, to survey the opposite coast, and to secure a harbour in the neighbourhood of Vallona for the landing of the troops. They passed and landed without perceiving an enemy; and this successful experiment displayed the neglect and decay of the naval power of the Greeks. The islands of Epirus and the maritime towns were subdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I use the modern appellation) to the siege of Durazzo. That city, the western key of the empire, was guarded by ancient renown, and recent fortifications, by George Palæologus, a patrician, victorious in the Oriental wars, and a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of soldiers. In the prosecution of his enterprise, the courage of this city was assailed by every form of danger and mischance. In the most propitious season of the year, as his fleet passed along the coast, a storm of wind and snow unexpectedly arose; the Adriatic was swelled by the raging blast of the south, and a new shipwreck confirmed the old infamy of the Acroceraunian rocks. The sails, the masts, and the oars, were shattered or torn away, the sea and shore were covered with the fragments of vessels, with arms and dead bodies, and the greatest part of the provisions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laboriously rescued from the waves, and Robert halted seven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loss, and revive the droop-

ing spirits of his soldiers. The Normans were no longer the bold and experienced mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to Mount Atlas, and who smiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempest; they were alarmed by the hostile approach of the Venetians, who had been solicited by the prayers and promises of the Byzantine court. The first day's action was not disadvantageous to Bohemond, a headless youth, who led the naval powers of his father. All night the galleys of the republic lay on their anchors in the form of a crescent, and the victory of the second day was decided by the dexterity of their evolutions, the station of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Ragusan vessels fled to the shore, several were cut from their cables and dragged away by the conqueror; and a sally from the town carried slaughter and dismay to the tents of the Norman duke. A seasonable relief was poured into Durazzo, and as soon as the besiegers had lost the command of the sea, the islands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the supply of tribute and provision. That camp was soon afflicted with a pestilential disease, five hundred knights perished by an inglorious death, and the list of burials (if all could obtain a decent burial) amounted to ten thousand persons. Under these calamities, the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible, and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he battered, or scaled, or snatched, the walls of Durazzo. But his industry and valour were encountered by equal valour and more perfect industry. A movable turret, of a size and capacity to contain five hundred soldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the descent of the door or drawbridge was checked by an enor-

(Harduin, Not. lxxi in Pila I iii), might have been corrected by every Venetian pilot who had sailed out of the gulf.

¹ *Infantis scopulos Acroceraunia, Horat. carm. l. 3* The præcipitem Apicem desertantem Aquilonibus, et rabiem Notæ, and the monstra nautica of the Adriatic, are some what enlarged, but Horace trembling for the life of Virgil, is an interesting moment in the history of poetry and friendship.

τῷ δὲ τῇ τῶν πύργων αὐτοῦ ἐκβυσσίσαντος (Alexiad, l. iv p. 100). Yet the Normans shaved, and the Venetians waxed, their beards; they must have derided the no beard of Bohemond, a harsh interpretation! (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad. p. 283).

mous beam, and the wooden structure was instantly consumed by artificial flames

While the Roman empire was attacked by the Turks in the East, and the Normans in the West, the aged successor of Michael surrendered the empire to the hands of Alexius, an illustrious captain, and the founder of the Comnenian dynasty. The princess Anne, his daughter and historian, observes, in her affected style, that even Hercules was unequal to a double combat, and, on this principle, she approves a hasty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to undertake in person the relief of Jerusalem. On his accession, Alexius found the empire without soldiers, and the treasury without money, yet such were the vigour and activity of his measures that in six months he assembled an army of seventy thousand men,¹ and performed a march of five hundred miles.² His troops were levied in Europe and Asia, from Paphlagonia to the Black Sea, his majesty was displayed in the silver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horseguards, and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, some of whom, in rapid succession, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged by the lenity of the times in a life of alliance and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude, but their love of pleasure and contempt of subordination were pregnant with disorder and mischief, and their importunate clamours for speedy and decisive action disconcerted the prudence of Alexius, who might have surrounded and starved the besieging army. The enumeration of provinces recalls a sad comparison of

¹ Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 136, 137) observes, that some authors (Cicero, Dionysius, Chron. Caesari) compose the Greek army of 170,000 men, but that the *hundred* may be struck off, and that Malaterra reckons only 70,000, a slight inattention. The passage to which he alludes, is in the *Chronicle of Lupus Protospatha* (Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 45). Malaterra (l. iv. c. 27) speaks in high, but indefinite, terms of the emperor, cum copijs innumereballibus like the Apulian poet (l. iv. p. 272)

Mora lucustarum montes et plana teguntur

the past and present limits of the Roman world. the raw levies were drawn together in haste and terror; and the garrisons of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, had been purchased by the evacuation of the cities which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The strength of the Greek army consisted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whose numbers were recently augmented by a colony of exiles and volunteers from the British island of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and English were oppressed and united. a band of adventurous youths resolved to desert a land of slavery, the sea was open to their escape, and, in their long pilgrimage, they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were enlisted in the service of the Greek emperor, and their first station was in a new city on the Asiatic shore, but Alexius soon recalled them to the defence of his person and palace, and bequeathed to his successors the inheritance of their faith and valour. The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs: they marched with alacrity against the national foe, and painted to regain in Epirus the glory which they had lost in the battle of Hastings. The Varangians were supported by some companies of Franks or Latins, and the rebels, who had fled to Constantinople from the tyranny of Guiscard, were eager to signalise their zeal and gratify their revenge. In this emergency, the emperor had not disdained the impure aid of the Paphlagonians or Manichaeans of Thrace and Bulgaria, and these heretics united with the pretence of martyrdom the spirit and discipline of active valour. The treaty with the sultan had procured a supply of some thousand Turks, and the

¹ See William of Malmesbury de Gestis Anglorum, l. ii. p. 92. Alexius fidem Anglorum auxilium praecipue familiaritatis suis eos applicabat, amoris eorum illo transcribens Odoericus Vitalis (Hist. Eccles. l. iv. p. 608, l. vii. p. 641) relates their emigration from England, and the service in Greece.

² See the Apulian (l. i. p. 260). The character and story of these Manichaeans have been the subject of the fifty fourth chapter

arrows of the Scythian horse were opposed to the lances of the Norman cavalry. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger: it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms and standards, and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obdurance and union are our only safety, and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader." The vote and acclamation, ever of his secret wishes, rescued him, in that perilous moment, of their station and confidence, and the duke thus continued: "Let us trust in the reward of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The resolution was unanimously approved, and, without continuing himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river, his right wing extended to the sea, his left to the hills: nor was he conscious, perhaps, that on the same ground Cæsar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world.

Against the advice of his wisest captains, Alexis resolved to risk the event of a general action, and exhorted the garrison of Durazzo to assist their own deliverance by a well timed sally from the town. He marched in two columns to surprise the Normans before daybreak on two different sides: his light cavalry was scattered over the plain, the archers formed the second line, and the Varangians claimed the honours of the vanguard. In the first onset, the battle axes of the strangers made a deep and bloody impression on the army of Guiscard, which was now

reduced to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiously turned their backs, they fled towards the river and the sea, but the bridge had been broken down to check the sally of the garrison, and the coast was lined with the Venetian galleys, who played their engines among the disorderly throng. On the verge of ruin they were saved by the spirit and conduct of their chiefs. Gata, the wife of Robert, is painted by the Greeks as a white Amazon, a second Pallas, less skilful in arts, but not less terrible in arms, than the Athenian goddess; though wounded by an arrow, she stood her ground, and drove, by her exhortation and example, to rally the flying troops. Her female voice was seconded by the more powerful voice and arm of the Norman duke, as calm in action as he was magnanimous in council. "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do ye fly? Your enemy is implacable, and death is less grievous than servitude." The moment was decisive, as the Varangians advanced before the line, they discovered the nakedness of their flanks: the main battle of the duke, of eight hundred knights, stood firm and calm, they couched their lance, and the Greeks deplored the furious and irresistible shock of the French cavalry. Alexis was not de-

¹ Παράλας ἄλλα καὶ μὴ Ἀθήνη, which is very properly translated by the President Cousin (Hist. de Constantinople, tom. iv. p. 111), comme une . . . savante que . . . composée de deux discordant characters, of Neith, the workwoman of Isis in Egypt, and of a virgin Amazon of the Tritonian lake (Métis) (Bunier, Mythologie, tom. iv. p. 131, in 12mo). - Anna Comnenæ (i. iv. p. 116) describes, with some degree of terror, her masculine virtues. They were more familiar to the Latins, and though the Apulian (i. iv. p. 273) mentions her presence and her wound, he represents her as far less intrepid.

Uxor in hoc bello Roberti forte virgini
Quidam laus fuit quo vulnere ferri nullam
Dum sperabat opem, se pueri subierat hosti.
The last is an unlucky word for a female prisoner.

² Ἄνε τῆς τοῦ Ῥομανοῦ τροχισμαίνης μάχης, γινώσκου τὴν πρώτην κατὰ τὴν ἱαντικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Κελτῶν ἀνέσεις (Anna. i. v. p. 133), and elsewhere καὶ γὰρ Κέλτες

¹ See the simple and masterly narrative of Cæsar himself (Comment. de Bell. Civil. iii. 41-75). It is a pity that Quintus Ictius (M. Guiscard) did not live to analyse these operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

ficient in the duties of a soldier or a general, but he no sooner beheld the slaughter of the Varangians, and the flight of the Turks, than he despised his subjects, and despised of his fortune. The pinnace Anna, who drops a tear on this melancholy event, is ordered to praise the strength and swiftness of her father's horse, and his vigorous struggle when he was almost overthrown by the stroke of a lance, which had shivered the Imperial helmet. His desperate valour broke through a squadron of Franks who opposed his flight; and after wandering two days and as many nights in the mountains, he found some repose, of holy, though not of mind, in the walls of Lychmides. The victorious Robert reproached the tardy and feeble pursuit which had suffered the escape of so illustrious a prize, but he consoled his disappointment by the trophies and standards of the field, the wealth and luxury of the Byzantine camp, and the glory of defeating an army five times more numerous than his own. A multitude of Italians had been the victims of their own fear, but only thirty of his knights were slain in this memorable day. In the Roman host, the loss of Greeks, Turks, and English, amounted to five or six thousand. The plain of Durazzo was stained with noble and royal blood, and the end of the impostor Michael was more honourable than his life.

It is more than probable that this Durazzo taken, curd was not alluded to by AD 1082 the loss of a costly pageant, which had merited only the contempt and derision of the Greeks. After their defeat, they still persevered in the defence of Durazzo, and a Venetian commander supplied the place of

αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἰσχυρότατος πᾶς ἀντιστάτης τῆς ἑπῆρας, καὶ τῆς Διὰς ἑσπέρης (p. 140). The pedantry of the princess in the choice of classic appellations encouraged Ducangue to apply to his countrymen the characters of the ancient Gauls.

¹ Upon Protospata (tom. iii. p. 45) says (xxxv), William the Apulian more than 6000 (l. iv. p. 273). Their industry is singular and laudable: they might with so little trouble have slain two or three myriads of schismatics and infidels!

George Paleologus, who had been imprudently called away from his station. The tents of the besiegers were converted into barracks, to sustain the inclemency of the winter, and in answer to the defiance of the garrison, Robert insinuated that his patience was at least equal to their obstinacy. Perhaps he already trusted to his secret correspondence with a Venetian noble, who sold the city for a rich and honourable marriage. At the dead of night several rope ladders were dropped from the walls, the light Cimbrians ascended in silence, and the Greeks were weakened by the arms and trumpets of the conqueror. Yet they defended the streets three days against an enemy already master of the rampart, and near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo, the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania, traversed the first mountains of Thessaly, surprised three hundred English in the city of Castoria, approached Thessalonica, and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers, and instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed, by plaintive epistles, of the mischiefs and damage which had been produced by his absence: the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia, the distress of the pope, and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Highly presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he passed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemond to respect the freedom of his peers, and the counts to

Return of Robert, and actions of Bohemond

¹ The Romans had changed the inauspicious name of *Epi damnus* to *Dyrachium* (Plin. iii. 26), and the vulgar corruption of *Duracium* (see Malaterra) bore some affinity to *hardiness*. One of Robert's names was *Durand*, a *durando* poor wit! (Alberic Monach. in Chron. apud Muratori, Annal. d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 137).

obey the authority of their leader. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father, and the two destroyers are compared, by the Greeks, to the caterpillar and the locust, the last of whom devours whatever has escaped the teeth of the former.¹ After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, the fabulous realm of Achilles,² which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. Yet a just praise must not be refused to the fortitude and prudence of Alexius, who bravely struggled with the calamities of the times. In the poverty of the state, he presumed to borrow the superfluous ornaments of the churches: the description of the Manichæans was supplied by some tribes of Moldavia: a reinforcement of seven thousand Turks replaced and revenged the loss of their brethren, and the Greek soldiers were exercised to ride, to draw the bow, and to the daily practice of ambuscades and evolutions. Alexius had been taught by experience, that the formidable cavalry of the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almost incapable of motion,³ his archers were directed to aim their arrows at the horse rather than the man, and a variety of spikes and snares was scattered over the ground on which he might expect an attack. In the neighbourhood of Larissa the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of

Bohemond was always conspicuous, and often successful, but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable, and the cruel or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage, rather than the honour, of victory. After evacuating the conquests which he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who esteemed his merit, and sympathised in his misfortune.

Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of

The Emperor
Henry III.
Invited by the
Greeks.
A.D. 1081

and powerful was Henry the third or fourth, king of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the West. The epistle of the Greek monarch to his brother is filled with the warmest professions of friendship, and the most lively desire of strengthening their alliance by every public and private tie. He congratulates Henry on his success in a just and pious war, and complains that the prosperity of his own empire is disturbed by the audacious enterprises of the Norman Robert. The list of his presents expresses the manners of the age, a radiated crown of gold, a cross set with pearls to hang on the breast, a case of relics, with the names and titles of the saints, a vase of crystal, a vase of sardonyx, some balm, most probably of Mecca, and one hundred pieces of purple. To these he added a more solid present, of one hundred and forty-four thousand Byzantines of gold, with a farther assurance of two hundred and sixteen thousand, so soon as Henry should have entered in arms the Apulian territories, and confirmed by an oath the league against the common enemy.

¹ Βροχούς καὶ ἀκρίδας εἶπεν ἂν τις αὐτοὺς πατέρα καὶ υἱόν (Anna, l. i. p. 35.). By these similes, so different from those of Homer, she wishes to inspire contempt as well as horror for the little noxious animal, a conqueror. Most unfortunately, the common sense, or common nonsense, of mankind, reads her laudable design.

² Προδὶτὶς ἡσὺς ἀνὰ Τροίην κελιδίς Achilles. The supposition of the Apulian (l. v. p. 27) may be excused by the more classic poetry of Virgil (Æneid II. 197), Larissæus Achilles, but it is not justified by the geography of Homer.

³ Τοὺς πάντας ἀνδράς ἀνέστησαν, which in cumbered the knights on foot, have been ignorantly translated spurs (Anna Comnena, Alexias, l. v. p. 140). Ducange has explained the true sense by a ridiculous and inconvenient fashion, which lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. These spurs, in the form of a scorpium, were sometimes two feet, and fastened to the knee with a silver chain.

¹ The epistle itself (Alexias, l. iii. p. 93, 94, 95) well deserves to be read. There is one expression, ἀσπρσίλευρος δειράμιος μετὰ χρυσίου, which Ducange does not understand. I have endeavoured to grope out a tolerable meaning. Χρυσόφειος, is a golden crown, ἀσπρσίλευρος, is explained by Simon Porcius (in Lexico Græco Barbaro), by κεραυνός, ἀστραπή, a flash of lightning.

The German, who was already in Lombardy at the head of an army and a faction, accepted these liberal offers, and marched towards the south his speed was checked by the sound of the battle of Durazzo, but the influence of his arms, or name, in the hasty return of Robert, was a full equivalent for the Grecian bribe. Henry was the severe adversary of the Normans, the allies and vassals of Gregory the Seventh, his implacable foe. The long quarrel of the throne and mitre had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty priest: the king and the pope had degraded each other, and each had seated a rival on the temporal or spiritual throne of his antagonist. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry descended into Italy, to assume the Imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church. But the

Restored Rome.
A.D. 1081-1084.

Roman people adhered to the cause of Gregory. His resolution was fortified by supplies of men and money from Apulia, and

¹ For those general events I must refer to the general historians Sigonius, Baronius, Muratori, Mosheim, St. Marc, &c.

² The lives of Gregory VII are either legends or invectives (St. Marc, Abrégé, tom. iii. p. 251, &c.) and his miraculous or magical performances are alike incredible to a modern reader. He will, as usual, find some instruction in *Le Clerc* (*Vie de Hildebrand, Biblioth. ancienne et moderne, tom. viii.*), and much amusement in Bayle (*Dictionnaire critique, Gregorius VII.*). That pope was undoubtedly a great man, a second Athanasius, in a more fortunate age of the church. May I presume to add, that the portrait of Athanasius is one of the passages of my history (vol. i. p. 535, &c.) with which I am the least dissatisfied?

³ Anna, with the rancour of a Greek schismatic, calls him *σαδρατρευος αβας Παπας* (l. i. p. 32), a pope, or priest, worthy to be spit upon, and accuses him of scourging, chaining, perhaps of castrating, the ambassadors of Henry (p. 31, 33). But this outrage is improbable and doubtful (see the sensible preface of Cousin).

⁴ There is a fair life of Gregory the Seventh by Voigt (Weimar, 1815), which has been translated into French. M. Villemain, it is understood, has devoted much time to the study of this remarkable character, to whom his eloquence may do justice. There is much valuable information on the subject in the accurate work of Stenzel, *Geschichte Deutschlands unter den Fränkischen Kaisern—the History of Germany under the Emperors of the Franconian Race*—M]

the city was thence ineffectually besieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year he corrupted, as it is said, with Byzantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whose estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages, were delivered into his hands, the anti-pope, Clement the Third, was consecrated in the Lateran, the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican; and the Emperor Henry fixed his residence in the Capitol, as the lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The ruins of the Septizonium were still defended by the nephew of Gregory: the pope himself was invested in the castle of St. Angelo, and his last hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Their friendship had been interrupted by some reciprocal injuries and complaints, but, on this pressing occasion, Guiscard was urged by the obligation of his oath, by his interest, more potent than oaths, by the love of fame, and his enmity to the two emperors. Unfolding the holy banner, he resolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apostles: the most numerous of his armies, six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, were instantly assembled, and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applause and the promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in sixty-six battles, trembled at his approach, recollected some indispensable affairs that required his presence in Lombardy, exhorted the Romans to persevere in their allegiance, and hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In less than three years, the son of Robert Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors of the East and West, to fly before his victorious arms. But the triumph of

¹ Sic uno tempore victi
Sunt terra Domini duo rex Alemannicus
iste,
Imperi rector Romani maximus ille.
Alter ad arma ruens armis superatur, et alter
Nominis auidit soll formidine cessat.

It is singular enough that, the Apulian, a Latin should distinguish the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire (l. iv. p. 274).

Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory, the walls had been perforated or scaled, but the Imperial faction was still powerful and active, on the third day, the people rose in a furious tumult, and a hasty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the signal of fire and pillage.¹ The Saracens of Sicily, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his brother, embraced this fair occasion of rising and profaning the holy city of the Christians: many thousands of the citizens, in the sight, and by the allies, of their spiritual father, were exposed to violation, captivity, or death, and a spacious quarter of the city, from the Lætan to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude.² From a city where he was now hated, and might be no longer feared, Gregory retired to end his days in the palace of Salerno. The artful pontiff might flatter the vanity of Guiscard, with the hope of a Roman or Imperial crown, but this dangerous measure, which would have inflamed the ambition of the Norman, must for ever have alienated the most faithful princes of Germany.

The deliverer and scourge of Rome might have indulged himself in a season of repose, but in the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his eastern conquests. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory had promised to his valour the kingdoms of Greece and Asia,³ his

Second expedition of Robert into Greece A.D. 1084.

¹ The narrative of Mal'terra (l. iii. c. 37, p. 547, 588) is authentic, circumstantial, and fair. *Dux ignem exclamans urbe incensa, &c.* The Apulian softens the mischief (*inde quibuscumque aedibus exustis*), which is again exaggerated in some partial chronicles (Muratori Annali, tom. ix. p. 147).

² After mentioning this devastation, the Jesuit Donatus (*de Româ veteri et novâ*, l. iv. c. 8, p. 489) prettily adds, *Duravit hodieque in Cæli monte, intorque ipsum et capitollum, miserabilis factis prostrata vrbis, nisi in horum victoriarumq; amonitamentis Roma revivisset, ut perpetua viriditate contingeret vulnere et ruinas suas.*

³ The royalty of Robert, either promised or bestowed by the pope (Anna, l. i. p. 32), is

troops were assembled in arms, flushed with success, and eager for action. Their numbers, in the language of Homer, are compared by Anna to a swarm of bees,⁴ yet the utmost and moderate limits of the powers of Guiscard have been already defined, they were contained on this second occasion in one hundred and twenty vessels, and as the season was far advanced, the harbour of Brundisium⁵ was perfited to the open road of Otranto. Alarms, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire, and obtained from the republic of Venice in important succour of thirty-six transports, fourteen galleys, and nine galleots or ships of extraordinary strength and magnitude. These services were liberally paid by the licence or monopoly of trade, a profitable gift of many shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a tribute to St Mark, the more acceptable, as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Ambrisi. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic was covered with a hostile fleet, but their own neglect, or the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the shelter of a mist, opened a free passage, and the Norman troops were safely disembarked on the coast of Epirus. With twenty strong and well-appointed galleys, their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy, and

sufficiently confirmed by the Apulian (l. iv. p. 270).

Romani regni sibi promissæ coronam
Papa forebatur

Nor can I understand why Gretser, and the other papal advocates, should be displeased with this new instance of apostolic jurisdiction.

⁴ See Homer, *Iliad* li. (I take this poetical mode of quotation by the letters of the Greek alphabet) 87, &c. His bees are the image of a disorderly crowd, their discipline and public works seem to be the ideas of a laboring (Virgil *Æneid* l. i.).

⁵ *Julien Appianus*, l. v. p. 276. The admiral's port of Brundisium was double, the outward harbour was a gulf covered by an island, and narrowing by degrees, till it communicated by a small gullet with the inner harbour, which embraced the city on both sides. Caesar and nature have laboured for its ruin, and against such agents, what are the feeble efforts of the Neapolitan government? (*Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies*, vol. i. p. 384, 390).

though more accustomed to fight on horseback, he trusted his own life, and the lives of his brother and two sons, to the event of a naval combat. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in sight of the isle of Corfu: in the two former, the skill and numbers of the allies were superior, but in the third, the Normans obtained a final and complete victory.¹ The light brigantines of the Greeks were scattered in ignominious flight; the nine castles of the Venetians maintained a more obstinate conflict, seven were sunk, two were taken; two thousand five hundred cavalry employed in vain the mercy of the victor, and the daughter of Alexius deprecates the loss of thirteen thousand of his subjects or allies. The want of experience had been supplied by the genius of Guiscard, and each evening, when he had sounded a retreat, he calmly explored the causes of his repulse, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defects, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter season suspended his progress with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople, but, instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay the labour, and where the land and sea forces might pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But, in the isle of Cephalonia, his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease. Robert himself, in the seventieth

His death. A.D. 1085. year of his age, expulsi in his tent, and a suspicion of poison was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor.² This premature death might

allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits, and the event sufficiently declares, that the Norman greatness was founded on his life.³ Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation, and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire rejoiced in his deliverance. The galley which transported the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore, but the duke's body was recovered in the night, and deposited in the sepulchre of Vennosa, more illustrious for the birth of him for the laurel of the Norman hero. Roger, his second and successor, immediately sunk to the humble station of a duke of Apulia; the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the East opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest.⁴

Of human life, the most glorious or humble prospects are alike and soon bounded by the sepulchre. The male line of Robert Guiscard was extinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch, ignorant of this crime, so apparent to our countrymen William of Malmshbury (l. iii. p. 107, and notes to the text (p. 710, in Script. post Bedam) and the latter can tell, how the just Alexius married, crowned, and burnt alive, his female accomplice. The English historian is misled so blind, that he ranks Robert Guiscard, or Viscard, among the knights of Henry I., who ascended the throne fifteen years after the duke of Apulia's death.

¹ The joyful Anna Comnena scatters some flowers over the grave of an enemy (Alexiad, l. v. p. 162, 163) and his best praise is the esteem and envy of William the Conqueror, the sovereign of his family. Græci (says M. Lettres) hostibus recedentibus libera Lata quævit. Apulia tota sive Calabria turbatur.

² Urbs Venusina nitet tantic decorata sepulchris.

is one of the last lines of the Apulian's poem (l. v. p. 278). William of Malmshbury (l. iii. p. 107), inserts an epitaph on Guiscard, which is not worth transcribing.

³ Yet Horace had few obligations to Vennosa; he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Serm. 1. 6), and his repeated allusions to the doubtful limits of Apulia and Lucania (Carm. iii. 4, Serm. ii. 1) are unworthy of his age and genius.

⁴ See Giannone (tor. ii. p. 88, 89), and the historians of the first crusade.

¹ William of Apulia (l. v. p. 270) describes the victory of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently recorded by Anna Comnena (l. vi. p. 150, 160, 161). In her turn, she invents or magnifies a fourth action, to give the Venetians revenge and rewards. Their own feelings were far different, since they deposed their dogs, propter excidium stoll (Mantulus in Chron in Muratori, Script. in ruin Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 249).

² The most authentic writers, William of Apulia (l. v. 277), Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 41, p. 680), and Romuald of Salerno (Chron. in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii.), are

in the second generation, but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings, and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit, of the first Roger.¹ The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily, and, at the age of only four years, succeeded to the sovereignty of the island, a lot which reason might envy could she indulge for a moment the visionary, though virtuous, wish of dominion. Had Roger been content with his fruitful patrimony, a happy and grateful people might have blessed their benefactor, and, if a wise administration could have restored the prosperous times of the Greek colonies, the opulence and power of Sicily alone might have equalled the widest scope that could be acquired and desolated by the sword of war. But the ambition of the great count was ignorant of these noble pursuits, it was gratified by the vulgar means of violence and artifice. He sought to obtain the undivided possession of Palermo, of which one moiety had been ceded to the elder branch, struggled to enlarge his Calabrian limits beyond the measure of former treaties, and impatiently watched the declining health of his cousin William of Apulia, the grandson of Robert. On the first intelligence of Duke of Apulia, his premature death, A.D. 1117, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven galleys, cast anchor in the bay of Salerno, received, after ten days' negotiation, an oath of fidelity

¹ The reign of Roger, and the Norman kings of Sicily, fills four books of the *Historia Civile* of Giannone (tom. ii. l. xi. xiv. p. 136-340), and is spread over the ninth and tenth volumes of the *Italian Annals* of Muratori. In the *Bibliothèque Italique* (tom. i. p. 175-222) I find a useful abstract of Capocciato, a modern Neapolitan, who has composed, in two volumes, the history of his country from Roger I. to Frederic II. inclusive.

² According to the testimony of Philistus and Diodorus, the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse could maintain a standing force of 10,000 horse, 100,000 foot, and 400 galleys. Compare Hume (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 268, 435) and his adversary Wallace (*Numbers of Mankind*, p. 306, 307). The ruins of Agrigentum are the theme of every traveller. D'Orville, Reidesel, Swinburne, &c.

from the Norman capital, commanded the submission of the barons, and extorted a legal investiture from the reluctant popes, who could not long endure either the friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal. The sacred spot of Benevento was respectfully spared, as the patrimony of St. Peter, but the reduction of Capua and Naples completed the design of his uncle (Guiscard); and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count, and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom³ which would only yield to the monarchies of France and England. The chiefs of the nation who attended his coronation at Palermo might doubtless pronounce under what name he should reign over them, but the example of a Greek tyrant or a Saracen emir were insufficient to justify his regal character, and the nine kings of the Latin world⁴ might disclaim their new associate, unless he were consecrated by the authority of the supreme pontiff. The pride of Anacletus was pleased to confer a title, which the pride of the Norman had stooped to solicit,⁵ but his own legitimacy was attacked by the

³ A contemporary historian of the acts of Roger from the year 1127 to 1135, founds his title on merit and power, the consent of the barons, and the ancient royalty of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing Pope Anacletus (Alexand. Caneobis Telesino Abbatis de Religiosis Regis Rogeri, lib. iv. in Muratori, *Script. Herum Ital.* tom. v. p. 607-645).

⁴ The kings of France, England, Scotland, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three first were more ancient than Charlemagne, the three next were created by their sword, the three last by their baptism, and of these the king of Hungary alone was honoured or debased by a papal crown.

⁵ Fasellus, and a crowd of Sicilians, had imagined a more early and independent coronation (A.D. 1130, May 1st), which Giannone unwillingly rejects (tom. ii. p. 137-144). This fiction is disproved by the silence of contemporaries, nor can it be restored by a spurious charter of Messina (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 240. Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iv. p. 467-468).

adverse election of Innocent the Second, and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the successful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron, and the sword of Lothaire the Second of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Pisa, and the zeal of St Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance, the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy. A new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor, each of whom held one end of the *gonfalon*, or flag-staff, as a token that they asserted their right, and suspended their quarrel. But such jealous friendship was of short and precarious duration: the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion; the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a conqueror, who seldom forgives either the dead or the living, like his predecessor Leo the Ninth, the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans, and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

As a penance for his unpius war against the successor of St Peter, that monarch might have promised to display the banner of the cross, and accomplished with ardour a vow so propitious to his interest and revenge. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a just retaliation on the heads of the Saracens: the Normans, whose blood had been mingled with so many subject streams, were encouraged to remember and emulate the naval trophies of their fathers, and in the maturity of their

strength they contended with the decline of an African power. When the Fatimite caliph departed for the conquest of Egypt, he rewarded the real merit and apparent fidelity of his servant Joseph, with a gift of his royal mantle, and forty Arabian horses, his palace, with its sumptuous furniture, and the government of the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers. The Zeirides,¹ the descendants of Joseph, forgot their allegiance and gratitude to a distant benefactor, grasped and abused the fruits of prosperity, and after running the little course of an Oriental dynasty, were now fainting in their own weakness. On the side of the land, they were pressed by the Almohades, the fanatic princes of Morocco, while the sea coast was open to the criticisms of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. By the last arms of Roger, the island or rock of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. Tripoli,² a strong and maritime city, was the next object of his attack, and the slaughter of the males, the captivity of the females, might be justified by the frequent practice of the Moslems themselves. The capital of the Zeirides was named Africa from the country, and Mahadia³ from the Arabian founder: it is strongly built on a neck of land, but the imperfection of the harbour is not compensated by the fertility of the adjacent plain. Mahadia was besieged by George the Sicilian

¹ See De Gulignes, *Hist. Generale des Huns* tom. 1 p. 369 373, and Carleone, *Hist. de l'Afrique, &c. sous la Domination des Arabes*, tom. 1 p. 70-111. Their common original appears to be Novairi.

² Tripoli (says the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Shari al Idrisi) *urbs fortis, munita muro valida, et prope litus maris hanc expugnavit Rogerius, qui mulieribus captivis ductis, viros premit*.

³ See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramusio, tom. 1 fol. 74, verso fol. 75, recto), and Shaw's *Travels* (p. 110), the seventh book of Thuanus, and the sixteenth of the Abbé de Vertot. The possession and defence of the place was offered by Charles V. and wisely declined by the knights of Malta.

¹ Roger corrupted the second person of Lothaire's army, who sounded, or rather cried, a retreat, for the Germans (says Cinnamus, lib. 1 c. 1 p. 51) are ignorant of the use of trumpets. Most ignorant himself!

² Cinnamus says nothing of their ignorance. The signal for retreat was *ὃ ἐδλαγγγες ἤχον*, ἢ γὰρ ἄλλο *τοιοῦτον*, ἀλλὰ βάββαρό, τις καὶ ἕξουιστο, τροπὸς --M

admiral, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys, amply provided with men and the instruments of mischief: the sovereign had fled, the Moorish governor refused to capitulate, declined the last and irresistible assault, and secretly escaping with the Moslem inhabitants, abandoned the place and its treasures to the rapacious Franks. In successive expeditions, the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capsia, Bona, and a long tract of the sea coast; the fortresses were garrisoned, the country was tributary, and a boast, that it held Africa in subjection, might be inscribed with some flattery on the sword of Roger.¹ After his death, that sword was broken, and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.² The triumphs of Scipio and Belisarius have proved, that the African continent is neither inaccessible nor invincible, yet the great princes and powers of Christendom have repeatedly failed in their armaments against the Moors, who may still glory in the easy conquest and long servitude of Spain.

Since the decease of Robert Guiscard, the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character. He demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of

the new monarch; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the laws of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people.³ With a fleet of seventy galleys, George the admiral of Sicily appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants, who had yet to learn that a siege is still more calamitous than a tribute. In this invasion, of some moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, was violated by rapine and cruelty. Of the wrongs of Athens no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompassed, without guarding, the opulence of Thebes, were scaled by the Latin Christians, but their sole use of the Gospel was to sanctify an oath, that the lawful owners had not secreted any relic of their inhumanity or industry. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of Corinth was evacuated; the Greeks retired to the citadel, which was seated on a lofty eminence, abundantly watered by the classic fountain of Pirene, an unpeignable fortress, if the want of courage could be balanced by any advantages of art or nature. As soon as the besiegers had surmounted the labour (their sole labour) of climbing the hill, their general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory, and testified his gratitude to heaven, by tearing from the altar the precious image of Theodoro the tutelary saint. The silk weavers of both sexes, whose George transported to Sicily, comprised the most valuable part of the spoil, and in comparing the skilful industry of the mechanic with the sloth and cowardice of the soldier, he was heard to exclaim that the distaff and loom were the only weapons which the Greeks were capable

¹ Papi has accurately marked the African conquests of Roger, and his criticism was supplied by his friend the Abbe de Longueville, with some Arabic memorials (A. D. 1147, No. 26, 27, A. D. 1148, No. 16, A. D. 1164, No. 10).

² *Apulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer*.

A proud inscription, which denotes, that the Norman conquerors were still discriminated from their Christian and Moslem subjects.

³ Hugo Falcandus (*Hist. Siculæ* in Muratori Script. tom. vii. p. 270, 271) ascribes these losses to the neglect or treachery of the admiral Majo.

¹ The silence of the Sicilian historians, who end too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by Otto of Friangen, a German (*de Gestis Frederici I.* l. i. c. 83, in Muratori Script. tom. vi. p. 608), the Venetian Andrew Dandulus (*Id. tom. xli. p. 282, 283*), and the Greek writers Cinnamus (*l. iii. c. 2-5*) and Nicetas (*In Manuel. l. iii. c. 1-6*).

of using. The progress of this naval armament was marked by two conspicuous events, the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. In his return by sea from an unfortunate crusade, Louis the Seventh was intercepted by the Greeks, who briefly violated the laws of honour and religion. The fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet delivered the royal captive; and after a free and honourable entertainment in the court of Sicily, Louis continued his journey to Rome and Paris.¹ In the absence of the emperor, Constantinople and the Hellespont were left without defence and without the suspicion of danger. The clergy and people, for the soldiers had followed the standard of Manuel, were astonished and dismayed at the hostile appearance of a line of galleys, which boldly cast anchor in the front of the Imperial city. The forces of the Sicilian admiral were inadequate to the siege or assault of an immense and populous metropolis; but George enjoyed the glory of humbling the Greek arrogance, and of marking the path of conquest to the navies of the West. He landed some soldiers to rifle the fruits of the royal gardens, and pointed with silver, or most probably with fire, the arrows which he discharged against the palace of the Cæsars. This playful outrage of the pirates of Sicily, who had surprised an unguarded moment, Manuel affected to despise, while his martial spirit, and the forces of the empire, were awakened to revenge. The Archbishops and John the Seer were covered with his squadrons and those of Venice, but I know not by what

The Emperor
Manuel repulses
the Normans
A.D. 1148, 1149

¹ To this imperfect capture and speedy release, I apply the *σπῆλαιον ἄλκι του Ἀλέξιου* of Cinnamus, (I. ii. c. 10, p. 49) Muratori, on tolerable evidence (*Annali d'Italia* tom. ix. p. 420, 421), laughs at the delicacy of the French, who maintain, *mirisque nullo impediti periculo ad regnum proprium reversum esse*, yet I observe that their advocate, Duclange, is less positive as the commentator on Cinnamus, than as the editor of Joinville.
² In *palatium ipsum sagittis igneis injectis*, says Laudulus, but Nicetas, I. ii. c. 8, p. 6,

favourable allowance of transports, victuallers, and pinnaces, our reason, or even our fancy, can be reconciled to the stupendous account of fifteen hundred vessels, which is proposed by a Byzantine historian. These operations were directed with prudence and energy. In his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his galleys, which were separated and taken after an obstinate defence, Corfu imploring the clemency of her lawful sovereign, nor could a ship, a soldier of the Norman prince, be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire. The prosperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining state, while he listened in his palace of Palermo to the messengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremost in every assault, was celebrated by the Greeks and Latins as the Alexander or the Hercules of the age.

A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the insolence of a barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the interest and glory, of Manuel to restore the ancient majesty of the empire, to recover the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chastise this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal. The natives of Calabria were still attached to the Greek language and worship, which had been inexorably proscribed by the Latin clergy after the loss of her dukes, Apulia was claimed as a servile appendage to the crown of Sicily, the founder of the monarchy had ruled by the sword, and his death had abated the fear, without healing the discontent, of his subjects: the feudal government was always

He reduces
Apulia and
Calabria
A.D. 1156

transforms them into *βίλα ἀρχιεπίσκοπου* *ἐκ-μακροῦς*, and adds, that Manuel styled this insult *σολύγιον*, and *γύλωμα* *λαστυνοῦ*. These arrows, by the compiler, Vincent de Beauvais, are again transmitted into gold.

³ For the invasion of Italy, which is almost overlooked by Nicetas, see the more polite history of Cinnamus (I. ii. c. 115, p. 78, 101), who introduces a diffuse narrative by a lofty profusion, *σπῆται Σικελίας, καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκείνητος γῆς, ὥς καὶ ταῦτα*, *Ρωμαίων ἀνασώσαντες*, id. 5.

pregnant with the seeds of rebellion; and a nephew of Roger himself invited the enemies of his family and nation. The majesty of the purple, and a series of Hungarian and Turkish wars, prevented Manuel from embarking his person in the Italian expedition. To the brave and noble Palæologus, his lieutenant, the Greek monarch entrusted a fleet and army: the siege of Bari was his first exploit, and, in every operation, gold as well as steel was the instrument of victory. Salerno, and some places along the western coast, maintained their fidelity to the Norman king, but he lost in two campaigns the greater part of his continental possessions, and the modest emperor, disdaining all flattery and falsehood, was content with the reduction of three hundred cities or villages of Apulia and Calabria, whose names and titles were inscribed on all the walls of the palace. The prejudices of the Latins were gratified by a genuine or fictitious donation, under the seal of the German Cæsars,¹ but the successor

His design of acquiring Italy and the Western Empire.
A.D. 1159-74.

of Constantine soon renounced this ignominious pretence, claimed the indefeasible dominion of Italy, and professed his design of driving the barbarians beyond the Alps. By the artful speeches, liberal gifts, and unbounded promises, of their Eastern ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggle against the despotism of Frederic Barbarossa: the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancona, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians.² The situation and trade of Ancona rendered it an important garri-

¹ The Latin, *Otho (de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 30, p. 731)*, attests the forgery; the Greek, *Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 1, p. 78)*, claims a promise of restitution from Conrad and Frederic. An act of fraud is always credible when it is told of the Greeks.

² *Quod Anconitanum Græcum Imperium nimis diligenter Vineti speciali odio Anconam oderunt. The cause of love, perhaps of envy, were the benefactions, flumen aureum of the emperor and the Latin narrative is confirmed by Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 14, p. 98).*

son in the heart of Italy. It was twice besieged by the arms of Frederic, the Imperial forces were twice repulsed, the spirit of freedom; that spirit was animated by the ambassador of Constantinople; and the most intrepid patriots, the most faithful servants, were rewarded by the wealth and honours of the Byzantine court. The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a barbarian colleague, his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurper, and of establishing, in the West, as in the East, his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. With this view, he solicited the alliance of the people and the bishop of Rome. Several of the nobles embraced the cause of the Greek monarch, the splendid nuptials of his niece with Odo Frangipani, secured the support of that powerful family, and his royal standard or image was entertained with due reverence in the ancient metropolis. During the quarrel between Frederic and Alexander the Third, the pope twice received in the Vatican the ambassadors of Constantinople. They flattered his piety by the long-promised union of the two churches, tempted the avarice of his venal court, and exhorted the Roman pontiff to seize the just provocation, the favourable moment, to humble the savage insolence of the Alemanni, and to acknowledge the true representative of Constantine and Augustus.³

¹ Muratori mentions the two sieges of Ancona, the first, in 1107, against Frederic I. in person (*Annali*, tom. x. p. 39, &c.), the second, in 1173, against his lieutenant (Irisliu, Arch. bishop of Metz, a man unworthy of his name and office (p. 70, &c.). It is of the second siege, that we possess an original narrative, which he has published in his great collection (tom. vi. p. 921, 946).

² We derive this anecdote from an anonymous chronicle of Euseb. Nova, published by Muratori (*Script. Ital.* tom. xii. p. 871).

³ The *Βασιλικὴ ἐπιστολὴ* of Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 11, p. 99) is susceptible of this double sense. A standard is more Latin, an image more Greek.

⁴ *Nihilominus quoque poterat, ut quia occasione justa et tempus opportunum et acceptabile se obtulerant, Romani coronam imperii a sancto apostolo sibi redderetur, quoniam non ad Frederic Alemanni, sed ad suum jus amoverit pertinere (Vit. Alexandri III. a Cardinal. Arragonie in Script. Rerum Ital. tom.*

But those Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped the grasp of the Greek emperor. His first demands were glided by the prudence of Alexander the Third, who paused on this deep and momentous revolution; nor could the pope be seduced by a personal dispute to renounce the perpetual inheritance of the Latin name. After his re-union with Frederic, he spoke a more peremptory language, confirmed the acts of his predecessors, excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome.² The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and without preserving the friendship of Ancon, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice.³ By his own avarice, or the complaints of his subjects, the Greek emperor was provoked to arrest the persons, and confiscate the effects, of the Venetian merchants. This violation of the public faith exasperated a free and commercial people. One hundred galleys were launched and armed in as many days; they swept the coasts of Dalmatia and Greece, but after some mutual wounds, the war was terminated by an agreement, inglorious to the empire, insufficient for the republic, and a complete vengeance of those and of fresh injuries was reserved for the succeeding generation. The lieutenant of Manuel had informed his sovereign that he was strong enough to quell any domestic revolt of Apulia and Calabria, but that his forces were inadequate to resist the impending attack of the king of Sicily. His prophecy was soon ver-

ified. His second embassy was returned an answer, multiplied and un-

¹ *Nimis alta et perplexa sunt* (Vit. Alexandri III. p. 463, 464), says the card. pope.

² *Ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη λίγαν Πικρὴν τὴν πικρίαν* (Cinnamus, l. iv. c. 14, p. 90).

³ In his sixth book, Cinnamus describes the Venetian war, which Nicetas has not thought worthy of his attention. The Italian accounts, which do not satisfy our curiosity, are rejected by the annalist Muratori, under the years 1171, &c.

the death of Paleologus devolved the command on several chiefs, alike eminent in rank, alike defective in military talents, the Greeks were oppressed by land and sea, and a captive remnant that escaped the swords of the Normans and Saracens, abjured all future hostility against the person or dominions of their conqueror.⁴ Yet the king of Sicily esteemed the courage and constancy of Manuel, who had landed a second army on the Italian shore, he respectfully addressed the new Justinian, solicited a peace or truce of thirty years, accepted as a gift, the regal title, and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire. The Byzantine Caesar acquiesced in this shadow of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the service of a Norman army, and the truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople. About the end of that period, the throne of Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deserved the abhorrence of his country and mankind: the sword of William the Second, the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race, and the subjects of Andronicus might salute the strangers as friends, since they detested their sovereign as the worst of enemies. The Latin historians expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, and

¹ This victory is mentioned by Romain de Salerno (in Muratori, script. tit. l. vi. p. 198). It is whimsical enough, that in the presence of the king of Sicily, Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 13, p. 97, 98) is much warplous than Paleologus (p. 268, 270). But the Greek is found description, and the Latin historian is not fond of William the First.

² For the epistle of William I, see Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 15, p. 101, 102), and Nicetas (l. ii. c. 8). It is difficult to affirm, whether these Greeks deceived themselves, or the public, in these flattering portraits of the grandeur of the empire.

³ I can only quote of original evidence, the poor chronicles of Sicard of Cremona (p. 69), and of Rosa Nova (p. 87), as they are published in the seventh tome of Muratori's historians. The king of Sicily sent his troops contra nequitiam Andronici. ad recuperandum imperium C. P. They were capti and confusi. de captiue, by Isaac.

the factions were reconciled; the laws were revived, and from the manhood to the premature death of that amiable prince, Sicily enjoyed a short season of peace, justice, and happiness, whose value was enhanced by the remembrance of the past and the dread of futurity. The legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct in the person of the second William, but his aunt, the daughter of Roger, had married the most powerful prince of the age, and Henry the Sixth, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, descended from the Alps, to claim the Imperial crown and the inheritance of his wife. Against the unanimous wish of a free people, this inheritance could only be acquired by arms, and I am pleased to transcribe the style and sense of the historian Sacerdus, who writes at the moment, and on the spot, with the feelings of a patriot, and the prophetic eye of a statesman. "Constantia, the daughter of Sicily, nursed from her cradle in the pleasures and plenty, and educated in the arts and manners, of this fortunate island, deputed long since to enrich the Lombards with our treasures, and now returns, with her savage allies, to contaminate the beauties of her venerable parent. Already I behold the swarms of angry barbarians, our opulent cities, the places flourishing in a long peace, are shaken with fear, desolated by slaughter, consumed by rapine, and polluted by intemperance and lust. I see the massacre or captivity of our citizens, the raps of our virgins and matrons." In this extremity (he inter-rogates a friend) how must the Sicilians act? By the unanimous election of a diadem patrum (script. Rerum Ital. tom. vi. p. 119).

"Constantia, pueris a consulis in deliciis in tuum affluunt diuitibus educati, tuncque in studiis, doctrinis et moribus informata, tandem opibus suis Barbaros delatura discessit. Et nunc cum ingentibus copiis reuertitur, ut pulcherrima nutrix omnium in barbarica foetide contaminet. Intueri mihi iam videor turbulenta barbarorum acies civitates opulentas et loca diuturna pace florula, metum concutere, caede vastare, rapinis atterere, et fœdere luxuria hinc cives aut gladiis intercepti, aut servitute depressi, virginis con- stupratæ, matrones, &c.

king of valour and experience, Sicily and Calabria might yet be preserved, for in the levity of the Apulians, ever eager for new revolutions, I can repose neither confidence nor hope." Should Calabria be lost, the lofty towers, the numerous youth, and the naval strength, of Messina, might guard the passage against a foreign invader. If the savage Germans coalesce with the pirates of Messina, if they destroy with fire the fruitful region, so often wasted by the lucas of Mount Atna, what resource will be left for the interior parts of the island, these noble cities which should never be violated by the hostile footsteps of a barbarian? Catania has again been overwhelmed by an earthquake the ancient virtue of Syracuse expires in poverty and solitude, but Palermo is still crowned with a diadem, and her triple walls enclose the active multitudes of Christians and Saracens. If the two nations, under one king, can unite for their common safety, they may rush on the barbarians with invincible arms. But if the Saracens, fatigued by the pollution of injuria, should revolt and rebel, if they should occupy the castles of the mount- tains and seacoast, the unfortunate Christians, exposed to a double attack, and placed as it were between the hammer and the anvil, must resign themselves to hopeless and inevitable

1 Certo si regem non dubie virtutis elegerint nec a Saracenis Christiani discedant, poterit recuperatus robur hinc quæsi et quæsi et perditus subveniri, et incensus hostium, si prudenter agatur, propulari.

2 In Apulia, qui semper novitate gradientes, novum regem studium agunt, nihil adhibere opel aut fiducia reponendum.

3 Si civium tuorum virtute in et industria at- tectas, murorum clauis audiam de in turibus circumspiciam.

4 Cum crederet de paratæ Theatrum con- struere, et atria illa, et inter ambustus lapides, et istius flagrantis incendi, &c.

5 Kana partem, quam volubundum civita- tum fulgor illustrat, qui et toti regno sin, flari meruit privilegio præmune in farum esset, vel barbarorum ingressu pollui. I wish to transcribe his word, but curious, description of the palace, city, and luxuriant plain of Pal- ermo.

6 Vires non suppetunt, et conatus tuos tam inopia civium quam vacuas bellatorum ed- dunt.

treasures of the palace, Palermo, and the whole kingdom: the pearls and jewels, however precious, might be easily removed, but one hundred and sixty horses were laden with the gold and silver of Sicily.¹ The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps, and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hopes of posterity. Constantia herself was touched with sympathy for the miseries of her country, and the heirs of the Norman line might struggle to check her despotic husband, and to save the patri-

mony of her own-born son, of an emperor so famous in the next age under the name of Frederic the Second. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy, the sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted, by a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror, to the house of Plantagenet, and the adventurous Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.

Final extinction
of the Normans
A.D. 1204.

CHAPTER LVII

THE TURKS OF THE HOUSE OF SELJUK—THEIR REVOLT AGAINST MAHMUD, CONQUEROR OF HINDUSTAN—TOGRL BURGUK PRESENTS, AND PROTECTS THE CALIPH—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR ROMANUS DIOGENES BY ALP ARSLAN—POWER AND MAGNIFICENCE OF MALEK SHAH—CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA—STATE AND OPPRESSION OF JERUSALEM—PILGRIMAGES TO THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

FROM the isle of Sicily, the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian Sea, to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved, but the name was still famous among the Greeks and Orientals, and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the

The Turks.

¹ Muratori quotes a passage from Arnold of Lubec (l. iv. c. 20), *Report thesuros absconditos, et omnem lapideum pretiosorum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut oneratis 100 somaria, gloriose ad terram suam rediret*. Roger de Hoveden, who mentions the violation of the royal tombs and corpses, computes the spoil of Salerno at 200,000 ounces of gold (p. 746). On these occasions, I am almost tempted to exclaim with the listening maid in *La Fontaine*, "Je voudrais bien avoir ce qui manque."

"German" tribute exacted by the menaces of the Emperor Henry. See the end of the first book of the *Life of Alexius* in Nicetas, p. 682, Edit. Bonn.—M

desert from China to the Oxus and the Danube: the colony of Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia: their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt, and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor, till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmood or Mahmud,¹

¹ I am indebted for his character and history to D. Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale, Mahmud*, p. 638-637), M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 155-173), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i. p. 23-85). In the two first volumes of his *History of Hindustan*, he styles himself the translator of the

the Gasnevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia, one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His father Sebectagi was the slave of the slave of the slave of the commander of the faithful. But in this descent of servitude, the first degree was merely titular, since it was filled by the sovereign of Transoxiana and Chorasan, who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The second rank was that of a minister of state, a lieutenant of the Samanides,¹ who broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery. But the third step was a state of real and domestic servitude in the family of that rebel, from which Sebectagi, by his courage and dexterity, ascended to the supreme command of the city and province of Ghazna,² the son in law and successor of his grateful master. The falling dynasty of the Samanides was at first protected, and at last overthrown, by their servants, and, in the public disorders, the fortune of Mahmud continually increased. For him the title of *Sultan*³ was first invented; and Pêrshita Pershita, but in his florid text, it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original.⁴

¹ The dynasty of the Samanides continued 125 years, A.D. 871-996, under ten princes. See their succession and ruin, in the tables of M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 401-406). They were followed by the Gasnevides, A.D. 996-1184 (see tom. i. p. 233, 240). The division of nations often disturbs the series of time and place.

² *Gaznah* hoc non habet ætæporum et domiciliū meratur Indices. Abulph. *Geograph. Belsc.* tab. xxiii. p. 49. D'Hierbilot, p. 364. It has not been visited by any modern traveller.

³ By the ambassador of the caliph of Bagdad, who employed an Arabian or Chaldean word that signifies *lord* and *master* (D'Hierbilot, p. 826). It is interpreted *Adbrâpârâp*, *Basileus Basilius*, by the Byzantine writers of the eleventh century, and the name (*ἑσουλτάνος*,

⁴ The European reader now possesses a more accurate version of Pershita, that of Col Briggs. Of Col Dow's work, Col Briggs observes, "that the author's name will be handed down to posterity as one of the earliest and most indefatigable of our Oriental scholars. Instead of confining himself, however, to mere translation, he has filled his work with his own observations, which have been so embodied in the text, that Gibbon declares it impossible to distinguish the translator from the original author." Preface, p. vii.—M

his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. But the principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentoos of Hindustan. In this foreign narrative I may not consume a page, and a expedition into Hindustan, volume would scarcely suffice to recapitulate the battles and sieges of his twelve expeditions. Never was the Mussulman hero dismayed by the inclemency of the seasons, the height of the mountains, the breadth of the rivers, the barrenness of the desert, the multitudes of the enemy, or the formidable array of their elephants of war.⁵ The sultan of Ghazna surpassed the limits of the conquests of Alexander after a march of three months, over the hills of Cashmere and Thibe he reached the famous city of Kinnouge,⁶ on the Upper Ganges, and,

Soldanna is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages, after it had passed from the Gasnevides to the Seljukides, and other emirs of Asia and Egypt. Duclange (*Dissertation xvi. sur Joinville*, p. 238-239, Gloss. *Græc. et Latîn*) labours to find the title of Sultan in the ancient kingdom of Persia, but his proofs are mere shadows, a proper name in the Themes of Constantinople (li. 11), an anticipation of Zonaras, &c. and a word of Kai Khosrou, not (as he believes) the Sassanide of the sixth, but the Seljukide of Iconium of the thirteenth century (*De Gulnare*, *Hist. des Tûrs*, tom. i. p. 216).

⁵ Pershita (after Dow, *Hist. of Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 49) mentions the report of a gun in the Indian army. But as I am slow in believing this premature (A.D. 1008) use of artillery, I must desire to scrutinise first the text, and then the authority of Pershita, who lived in the Mogul court in the last century.

⁶ Kinnouge, or Kinnouge (the old Pajunthra) is marked in latitude 27° 1', longitude 80° 13'. See D'Anville (*Antiquité de l'Inde*, p. 60-62), corrected by the local knowledge of Major Kennel (in his excellent *Memoir* on his

⁷ This passage is differently written in the various manuscripts I have seen; and in some the word *tope* (gun) has been written for *nupth* (naphtha), and *toofang* (musket) for *khudung* (arrow). But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention (A.D. 1317), long after which it was first applied to the purposes of war. Briggs's Pershita, vol. i. p. 47, note—M

⁸ Mr. Wilson (*Hindu Drama*, vol. iii. p. 12) and Schlegel (*Indische Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 494) concur in identifying Pajunthra with the Patahpura of the Indians, the Patna of the Muslims.—M

in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, he fought and vanquished four thousand boats of the natives. Dehli, Lahor, and Multan, were compelled to open their gates; the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition and tempted his stay, and his avarice indulged the fruitless project of discovering the golden and aromatic isles of the Southern Ocean. On the payment of a tribute, the *rajahs* preserved their dominions; the people, their lives and fortunes; but to the religion of Hindustan the zealous Mussulman was cruel and inexorable: many hundred temples, or *pagodas*, were levelled with the ground, many thousand idols were demolished, and the servants of the prophet were stimulated and rewarded by the precious materials of which they were composed. The pagoda of Suimat was situated on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighbourhood of Din, one of the last remaining possessions of the Portuguese. It was endowed with the revenue of two thousand villages, two thousand Brahmins were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed each morning and evening in water from the distant Ganges: the subordinate ministers consisted of three hundred musicians, three hundred huckers, and five hundred dancing girls, conspicuous for their birth or beauty. Three sides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow isthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice, and the city and adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed

the sins and the punishment of Kinnoje and Pehli; but if the impious stranger should presume to approach their holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge, the faith of Mahmud was animated to a personal trial of the strength of this

Map of Hindustan, p. 47-48. 300 jewellers, 80,000 shops for the areca nut, 60,000 lands of musicians, &c. (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 271. Dow, vol. i. p. 16), will allow an ample deduction.

The idolaters of Europe says Ferishta (Dow, vol. i. p. 66). Consult Abulfeda (p. 272), and Kennel's Map of Hindustan.

Indian deity. Fifty thousand of his worshippers were pierced by the spear of the Moslems, the walls were scaled, the sanctuary was profaned; and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are said to have offered ten millions* sterling for his ransom, and it was urged by the wisest counsellors, that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentiles; and that such a sum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. "Your reasons," replied the sultan, "are specious and strong, but never in the eyes of posterity shall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols. He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies concealed in the belly of the statue, explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins. The fragments of the idol were distributed to Giza, Mecca, and Medina. Bagdad listened to the edifying tale, and Mahmud was saluted by the caliph with the title of guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet.

From the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations, I cannot refuse to turn ^{His character} aside to gather some flowers of science or virtue. The name of Mahmud the Glorious is still venerable in the East: his subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace, his virtues were concealed by the veil of religion, and two familiar examples will testify his justice and magnanimity. 1. As he sat in the Divan, an unhappy subject

* Ferishta says some "crowns of gold." Dow says, in a note at the bottom of the page, "ten millions," which is the explanation of the word "crowns." Mr. Gibbon says rashly that the sum offered by the Brahmins was ten millions sterling. Note to Mill's India, vol. ii. p. 222. Col. Briggs's translation is "a quantity of gold."

The treasure found in the temple, "perhaps in the image," according to Major Price's authorities, was twenty millions of dinars of gold, above nine millions sterling; but this was a hundred fold the ransom offered by the Brahmins. Price, vol. ii. p. 200.

† Rather than the idol breaker, he chose to be called *Abulmasud* the idol breaker. Price, vol. ii. p. 289—M.

bowed before the throne to accuse the insolence of a Turkish soldier who had driven him from his house and bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mahmud, "inform me of his next visit, and ourself in person will judge and punish the offender." The sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards, and extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence, the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity, and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. "I had reason to suspect that none, except one of my sons, could dare to perpetrate such an outrage, and I extinguished the lights, that my justice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offender; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three days without food since the first moment of your complaint." II The sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the western Persia; he was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son. "During the life of my husband," said the artful regent, "I was ever apprehensive of your ambition: he was a prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now no more: his sceptre has passed to a woman and a child, and you *dare not* attack their infancy and weakness. How inglorious would be your conquest, how shameful your defeat! and yet the event of war is in the hand of the Almighty." AVARICE was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud; and never has that passion been more

richly satiated.¹ The Orientals exceed the measure of credulity in the account of millions of gold and silver, such as the avidity of man has never accumulated; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as have never been produced by the workmanship of nature.² Yet the soil of Hindustan is impregnated with precious minerals: her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world; and her virgin spoils were rifled by the first of the Mohammedan conquerors. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gazna; burst into tears; and again closed the doors, without bestowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preserve. The following day he reviewed the state of his military force: one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle.³ He again wept the instability of human greatness, and his grief was embittered by the hostile progress of the Turkmans, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Persian kingdom.

In the modern depopulation of Asia, the regular operation of government and agriculture is confined to the neighbourhood of cities,⁴ and the distant country is abandoned to the pastoral tribes of Arabs, Curds, and *Turkmans*.⁵ Of the last mentioned

MAHMET an
emigration of
the Turks, or
Tur
A.D. 900 1025

¹ For instance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miskals (Dow, vol. i. p. 63), or six pounds three ounces, the largest in the treasury of Delhi weighed seventeen miskals (Voyage de Tavernier, partie II. p. 280). It is true, that in the East all coloured stones are called rubies (p. 285), and that Tavernier saw three larger and more precious among the jewels de notre grand roi, le plus puissant et plus magnifique de tous les rois de la terre (p. 276).

² Dow, vol. i. p. 66. The sovereign of Kinoge is said to have possessed 2,500 elephants (Abulfed Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274). From these Indian stories, the reader may correct a note in my first volume (p. 142), or from that note he may correct these stories.

³ See a just and natural picture of these pastoral manners, in the history of William

⁴ Compare Price, vol. II. p. 205.—M

¹ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 537. Yet these letters, apophthegms, &c., are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives of public action.

people, two considerable branches extend on either side of the Caspian Sea: the western colony musters forty thousand soldiers, the eastern, less obvious to the traveller, but more strong and populous, has increased to the number of one hundred thousand families. In the midst of civilised nations, they preserve the manners of the Scythian desert, remove their encampments with the change of seasons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form; their winter apparel is a sheepskin, a robe of cloth or cotton their summer garment: the features of the men are harsh and ferocious, the countenance of their women is soft and pleasing. Their wandering life maintains the spirit and exercise of arms; they fight on horseback; and their courage is displayed in frequent contests with each other and with their neighbours. For the licence of pasture they pay a slight tribute to the sovereign of the land, but the domestic jurisdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and elders. The first emigration of the Eastern Turkmans, the most ancient of their race, may be ascribed to the tenth century of the Christian era.¹ In the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated: in each invasion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the Mohammedan faith,² obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the

throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan; and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Gaznevide beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had inquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horseback."—"And if that number," continued Mahmud, "should not be sufficient?"—"Send this second arrow to the hord of Balik, and you will find fifty thousand more."—"But," said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?"—"Despatch my bow," was the last reply of Ismael, "and as it is circulated around, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand horse." The apprehension of such formidable friendship induced Mahmud to transport the most obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorasan, where they would be separated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and enclosed on all sides by the walls of obedient cities. But the face of the country was an object of temptation rather than terror, and the vigour of government was relaxed by the absence and death of the sultan of Gazna. The shepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors. as far as Ispahan and the Tigris, Persia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmans were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereigns of Asia. Masoud, the son and successor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wisest Omrahs. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in their origin a swarm of ants, they are now little snakes; and unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents." After

Archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. vii. in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 633, 634), and a valuable note by the editor of the *Histoire Générale des Tartares*, p. 535-538.

¹ The first emigrations of the Turkmans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious *History of the Huns*, by M. de Guignes, (tom. I. *Tables Chronologiques*, l. v. tom. iii. l. vii. ix. x.), and the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot (p. 799-802, 897-901), Kinnaird (*Hist. Baracen* p. 351-355), and Abulphangius (*Dynast* p. 221, 222).

some alternatives of truce and hostility, after the repulse or partial success of his lieutenants, the sultan marched in person against the Turkmans, who attacked him on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular onset. "Massoud," says the Persian historian, "plunged singly to oppose the torrent of gleaming arms, exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour as never king had before displayed. A few of his friends, roused by his words and actions, and that innate honour which

They defeat the Garmevides, and subdue Persia. A.D. 1038

inspires the brave, seconded their lord so well, that whensoever he turned his fatal sword, the enemies were mowed down, or retreated before him. But now, when victory seemed to blow on his standard, misfortune was active behind it, for when he looked round, he beheld almost his whole army, excepting that body he commanded in person, devouring the paths of flight." The Garmevide was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of some generals of Turkish race, and this memorable day of Zandekaur founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings.¹

The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king, and, if the probable tale of a Latin² historian deserves any credit,

Dynasty of the Seljukians. A.D. 1038-1152.

¹ Dow, *Hist. of Hindustan*, vol. i. p. 89, 95-98. I have copied this passage as a specimen of the Persian manner, but I suspect, that, by some odd fatality, the style of Ferozshah has been improved by that of Ouseley.

² The *Zendekaur* of D'Herbelot (p. 1028), the *Dandakaur* of Dow (vol. i. p. 97), is probably the *Dandakaur* of Abulfeda (*Geograph.* p. 347, *Reiske*), a small town of Chorasman, two days' journey from Merv, and renowned through the East for the production and manufacture of cotton.

³ The Byzantine historians (Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 768, 767; Zonaras tom. ii. p. 255; Nicephorus Bryennius, p. 21) have confounded, in this revolution, the truth of time and place, of names and persons, of causes and events. The ignorance and errors of these Greeks (which I shall not stop to unravel) may inspire some distrust of the story of Cynazares and Cyrus, as it is told by their most eloquent predecessors.

⁴ Willerm. *Tyr.* l. c. 7. p. 638. The divi-

⁵ Gibbon's conjecture was well founded. Compare the more sober and genuine version of Col. Briggs, vol. i. p. 110.—M

they determined by lot the choice of their new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate, they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child, and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalised in the greatness of his posterity. The sultan Mahmud, who valued himself on his skill in national genealogy, professed his ignorance of the family of Seljuk; yet the father of that race appears to have been a chief of power and renown.¹ For a daring intrusion into the harem of his prince, Seljuk was banished from Turkestan with a numerous tribe of his friends and vassals, he passed the Jaxartes, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war against the infidels. His age, of a hundred and seven years, surpassed the life of his son, and Seljuk adopted the care of his two grandsons, Togrul and Jaafar; the eldest of whom, at the age of forty-five was invested with the title of Sultan, in the royal city of Nishapur. The blind determination of chance was justified by the reign and character of Togrul Beg, the virtues of the successful candidate. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Turk, and the ambition of Togrul² was equal to his valour. By his arms, the Garmevides were expelled from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven

nation by arrows is ancient and famous in the East.

¹ D'Herbelot, p. 801. Yet after the fortune of his posterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from the great Afrasiab, emperor of Touran (p. 800). The Tartar pedigrees of the house of Zingis gave a different cast to fiction and fable, and the historian Mirikhond derives the Soljukides from Alankavah, the virgin mother (p. 801, col. 2). If they be the same as the *Zazuls* of Abulghasi Bahadur Khan (*Hist. Géologique*, p. 148), we quote in their favour the most weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himself, the descendant of Zingis, Alankavah, or Alanou, and Oguz Khan.

² By a slight corruption, Togrul Beg is the Tangroliux of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 1027, 1028), and De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 120-1201).

to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest. In the West he annihilated the dynasty of the Bowides; and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation. The princes who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows, bowed their heads in the dust, by the conquest of Aderbijan, or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and the shepherd presumed to despatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople. In his own dominions, Togrul was the father of his soldiers and people, by a firm and equal administration, Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy, and the same hands which had been imbrued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace. The more rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turks continued to dwell in the tents of their ancestors, and, from the Oxus to the Euphrates, these military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by business and softened by pleasure; they imitated the dress, language, and manner of Persia, and the royal palaces of Nishapur and Herat displayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The most deserving of the Arabians and Persians were promoted to the honours of the state, and the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced, with fervour and sincerity, the religion of Mahomet. The northern swarms of Barbarians, who overspread both Europe and Asia, have been irreconcilably separated by the consequences of a similar conduct. Among the Moslems, as among the

Christians, their vague and local traditions have yielded to the reason and authority of the prevailing system, to the fame of antiquity, and the consent of nations. But the triumph of the Koran is more pure and meritorious, as it was not assisted by any visible splendour of worship which might allure the Pagans by some resemblance of idolatry. The first of the Seljukian sultans was conspicuous by his zeal and faith: each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers; of each week, the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast, and in every city a mosque was completed, before Togrul presumed to lay the foundations of a palace.

With the belief of the Koran, the son of Seljuk inherited a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate, Barbarians. Mahmud the Gaznevide had declared himself in favour of the line of Abbass, and had treated with indignity the robe of honour which was presented by the Fatimite ambassador. Yet the ungrateful Hishemite had changed with the change of fortune, he applauded the victory of Zendejan, and named the Seljukian sultan his temporal viceregent over the Moslem world. As Togrul executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms. In the palace of Bagdad, the commander of the faithful still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the insolence of manner tyrants, and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. The pre-

¹ Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 774, 775. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 267. With their usual knowledge of Oriental affairs, they describe the ambassador as a *sheik*, who, like the synodus of the patriarch, was the vicar and successor of the caliph.

² From William of Tyre, I have borrowed this distinction of Turks and Turkmen, which at least is popular and convenient. The names are the same, and the addition of *men* is of the same import in the Persian and Teutonic idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of Jamus de Vitry (Hist. Hierosol. l. i. c. 11 p. 1061), of Turcomani, quasi Turci et Comani, a mixed people.

¹ Hist. Générale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167. M. de Guignes quotes Abulmasbasen, an historian of Egypt.

² Consult the Bibliothèque Orientale, in the articles of the *Abbasides Caher*, and *Cahen*, and the Annals of Ebnachin and Abulpharagius.

sence of a conqueror was implored as a blessing; and the transient mischiefs of fire and sword were excused as the sharp but salutary remedies which alone could restore the health of the republic. At the head of an irresistible force, the sultan of Persia marched from Hamadan the proud were crushed, the prostrate were spared; the prince of the Bowides disappeared; the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul; and he inflicted a lesson of obedience on the people of Mosul and Bagdad. After the chastisement of the guilty, and the restoration of peace, the royal shepherd accepted the reward of his labours; and a solemn comedy represented the triumph of religious

His investiture, prejudice over Barbarian power. The Turkish sultan embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Racca, and made his public entry on horseback. At the palace-gate he respectfully dismounted, and walked on foot, preceded by his eunuchs without arms. The caliph was seated behind his black veil, the black garment of the Abbassides was cast over his shoulders, and he held in his hand the staff of the apostle of God. The conqueror of the East kissed the ground, stood some time in a modest posture, and was led towards the throne by the vizir and an interpreter. After Togrul had seated himself on another throne, his commission was publicly read, which declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. He was successively invested with seven robes of honour, and presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven climates of the Arabian empire. His mystic veil was perfumed with musk; two crowns* were placed on his head; two scimitars were girded to his side, as the symbols of a double reign over the East and West. After this inauguration, the sultan was

* For this curious ceremony, I am indebted to M de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 197, 198), and that learned author is obliged to Bondart, who composed in Arabic the history of the Seljukides (tom. v. p. 365). I am ignorant of his age, country and character.

* According to Von Hammer "crowns" are incorrect. They are unknown as a symbol of royalty in the East. V Hammer, *Osmantische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 587.—M.

prevented from prostrating himself a second time; but he twice kissed the hand of the commander of the faithful, and his titles were proclaimed by the voice of heralds and the applause of the Moslems. In a second visit to Bagdad, the Seljukian prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies, and, devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's sister with the successor of the prophet. Without reluctance he had introduced a Turkish virgin into his harem; but Cayem proudly refused his daughter to the sultan, disdained to mingle the blood of the Hashemites with the blood of a Seyidhan shepherd, and protracted the negotiation many months, till the gradual diminution of his revenue admonished him that he was still in the hands of a master. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himself,*

His death,
A.D. 1063.

as he left no children, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moslems. Yet in this revolution, the Abbassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. On the throne of Asia, the Turkish monarchs were less jealous of the domestic administration of Bagdad, and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty.

Since the fall of the caliphs, the discord and degeneracy of the Saracens respected the Asiatic provinces of the Roman empire. Rome, which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the

The Turks invade
the Roman
empire.
A.D. 1060.

* Eodem anno (A. H. 455) obiit princeps Togrulbeus . . . rex fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium invaserat, ita ut obedirent ei reges et que ad ipsum scriberent. Elmakin, *Hist. Saracen.* p. 342. vers. Erpenii.

* He died, being 75 years old. V Hammer.—M.

death of Basil, his successors were suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of barbarians, who united the Scythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy. The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauris to Arzeroum, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrul did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the sultan retired without glory or success from the siege of an Armenian city, the obscure hostilities were continued or suspended with a vastitude of events, and the bravery of the Macedonian legions renewed the fame of the conqueror of Asia. The name of

Reign of Alp
Arslan
A.D. 1063-72.

Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, is expressive of the popular idea of the perfection of man, and the successor of Togrul displayed the fierceness and generosity of the royal animal. He passed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkish cavalry, and entered Cesarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, to which he had been attracted by the fame and wealth of the temple of St Basil. The solid structure resisted the destroyer, but he carried away the doors of the shrine encrusted with gold and pearls, and profaned the relics of the tutelary saint, whose mortal remains were now covered by the venerable rust of anti-

quity. The final conquest of Armenia and Georgia was achieved by Alp Arslan in Armenia, the title of a kingdom, and the spirit of a

Conquest of
Armenia and
Georgia.
A.D. 1063-68

nation were annihilated. The artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Constantinople, by strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline. The loss of this important frontier was the news of a day, and the Catholics were neither surprised nor displeased, that a people so deeply infected with the Nestorian and Eutychian errors, had been delivered by Christ and his mother into the hands of the infidels. The woods and valleys of Mount Caucasus were more strenuously defended by the native Georgians or Iberians, but the Turkish sultan and his son Malek were indefatigable in this holy war, their captives were compelled to promise a spiritual, as well as temporal, obedience; and, instead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horse shoe, a badge of ignominy, was imposed on the infidels who still adhered to the worship of their fathers. The change, however, was not sincere or universal, and, through ages of servitude, the Georgians have maintained the succession of their princes and bishops. But a race of men, whom nature has cast in her most perfect

Οὐ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν ἐλπίδα καταμύχων, καὶ ἡ ἀπαρμιμία, ἡ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τοῦ Νεο-αριῶ καὶ τῶν Ἀκχιλλῶν ὁρμητικῶν αἰτίων (Scylitzes, ad eadem Cedren, tom. II. p. 81, whose ambiguous construction shall not tempt me to suspect that he confounded the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies). He familiarly talks of the μένος, χόλος, ἄργος, θείον, qualities, as I should apprehend, very foreign to the perfect being, but his bigotry is forced to confess, that they were soon afterwards discharged on the orthodox Romans.

Had the name of Georgians been known to the Greeks (Stritter, *Memoria Byzant* tom. IV. *Iberica*), I should derive it from their agriculture, as the *Σαυτοὶ γίργροι* of Herodotus (I. iv. c. 18, p. 220, edit. Wesseling). But it appears only since the crusades among the Latins (Jac. v. Vitruv., *Hist. Hierosol.* c. 79, p. 1096) and Orientals (D. Herbelot, p. 107), and is doubtfully borrowed from St. George of Cappadocia.

For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine histories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Scylitzes the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius (near the two first of these were monks, the two latter statesmen, yet such were the Greeks, that the difference of style and character is scarcely discernible. For the Orientals, I draw as usual on the wealth of D. Herbelot (see titles of the *Hist. des Seljoukides*) and the accuracy of De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. III. l. x.).

Ἡ πόλις γὰρ ἐν ἰούροις λόγοις, ὡς ἐν ἀπαρμιῶνι καταστρέφεται τὰ ἰούρων γένος ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης δυνάμεως, ὅσους ὁ Μανίδης Ἀλξινδρὸς ἔχων καταστρέφεται Ἰβηρίας (Cedrenus, tom. II. p. 791). The credulity of the vulgar is always probable, and the Turks had learned from the Arab history or legend of Alexander Duncarnum (D. Herbelot, p. 317, &c.).

mould, is degraded by poverty, ignorance, and vice, their profession, and still more their practice, of Christianity is an empty name, and if they have emerged from heresy, it is only because they are too illiterate to remember a metaphysical creed.¹

The false or genuine magnanimity of Mahmud the Gaznevide, was not imitated by Alp Arslan, and he attacked without scruple the Greek

Empress Eudocia and her children. His alarming progress compelled her to give herself and her sceptre to the hand of a soldier; and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the Imperial purple. His patriotism, and perhaps his pride, urged him from Constantinople within two months after his accession, and the next campaign he most scandalously took the field during the holy festival of Easter. In the palace, Diogenes was no more than the husband of Eudocia; in the camp, he was the emperor of the Romans, and he sustained that character with feeble resources, and invincible courage. By his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had penetrated into the heart of Phrygia, but the altar himself had resigned to his arms the prosecution of the war, and then numerous detachments were scattered over Asia in the security of conquest. Lured with spoil, and careless of discipline, they were separately surprised and defeated by the Greeks: the activity of the emperor seemed to multiply his presence, and while they heard of his expedition to Antioch, the enemy felt his sword on the hills of Trebizond. In three laborious campaigns, the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates in the fourth and last, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia. The desolation of the land obliged him to transport a supply of two months' provisions; and he marched forwards to the siege of

Malazkert,² an important fortress in the midway between the modern cities of Arzeroum and Van. His army amounted, at the least, to one hundred thousand men. The troops of Constantinople were reinforced by the disorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia, but the real strength was composed of the subjects and allies of Europe, the legions of Macedonia, and the squadrons of Bulgaria, the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, who were themselves of the Turkish race,³ and, above all, the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans. Their lances were commended by the valiant Ursel of Ibalol, the kinsman or father of the Scottish kings,⁴ and were allowed to excel in the exercise of arms, or according to the Greek style, in the practice of the Pyrrhic dance.

On the report of this bold invasion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of forty thousand horse.⁵ His rapid and skilful evolu-

Defeat of the
Romans,
A.D. 1071.

¹ This city is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imperii lib. i. c. 41. p. 119) and the Psephantes of the eleventh century, under the name of Mastakert, and by some is confounded with Theodosiopol, but Delisle, in his notes and maps, has very properly fixed the situation. Abulpharagius (Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 106) describes Malazkert as a small town, built with black stone, supplied with water, without trees, &c.

² The Uzi of the Greeks (Sylvar. Memor. Byzant. tom. III. p. 923-918) are the Gox of the Orientis (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 177, tom. iii. p. 127, &c.). They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Cherson, and the name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkman race.

³ Urselus (the kinsman of Constantine) distinguished by Henry Martineau (i. c. 2) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the surname of Ibalol, and our own historians will tell how the Ibalols came from Normandy to Durham, built bymerla castle on the Tees, married in the house of Scotland, and became (Not. ad Nicophor. Bryennium, l. ii. No. 1) has laboured the subject in honour of the president de Maillet, whose father had exchanged the sword for the gown.

⁴ Ibalolus (p. 343-344) assigns this probable number, which is reduced by Abulpharagius to 15,000 (p. 227), and by D'Herbelot (p. 102) to 12,000 horse. But the same Elmacin gives 300,000 men to the emperor, of whom Abulpharagius says, Cum centum hominum millibus, multisque equis et magna pompa instructus

¹ Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Ecclae. p. 612. See in Chardin's Travels (tom. i. p. 171-174), the manners and religion of this handsome but worthless nation. See the pedigree of their princes from Adam to the present century, in the Tables of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 433-438).

sions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks; and in the defeat of Basiliscus, one of their principal generals, he displayed the first example of his valour and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Malakorda. It was in vain that he attempted to recall the mercenary Franks: they refused to obey his summons, he disdained to await their return: the desertion of the Ua filled his mind with anxiety and suspicion, and against the most salutary advice he rushed forwards to speedy and decisive action. Had he listened to the fair proposals of the sultan, Romanus might have secured a retreat, perhaps a peace, but in these overtures he supposed the fear or weakness of the enemy, and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the Barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Reas a pledge of his sincerity." Alp Arslan smiled at the vanity of the demand, but he kept the death of so many faithful Moims, and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of returning from the field. With his own hands he tied up his horse's tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and semitar, clothed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial.¹ The sultan himself had selected to cast away his missile weapons, but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, whose squadrons were loosely distributed in the form of a crescent. Instead of the successive lines and reserves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a single and solid phalanx, and pressed with vigour and impetuosity the artful and yielding resistance of the Bulgarins. In this defeat the Greeks abstain from any definition of numbers.

¹ The Byzantine writers do not speak so distinctly of the presence of the sultan: he committed his forces to a council, had retired to a distance, &c. Is it ignorance, or jealousy, or truth?

sultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe, and no sooner had the standard been turned to the rear than the phalanx was broken by the base cowardice, or the baser jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the purple of the Caesars. The Turkish squadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confusion and lassitude; and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. In the destruction of the army and pillage of the camp, it would be needless to mention the number of the slain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl they forgot to mention, that in this fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irrevocably sacrificed.

As long as a hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally and save the relics of his army. Captivity and deliverance of the emperor When the centre, the Imperial station, was left naked on all sides, and encompassed by the victorious Turk, he still, with desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. They fell around him, his horse was slain, the emperor was wounded, yet he stood alone and untrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier, a slave who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier whose extreme deformity had been excused on the promise of some signal service. Despoiled of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Romanus spent a dreary and perilous night on the field of battle,

¹ He was the son of the Cicer John Ducas, brother of the emperor Constantine (Ducange, *Imper. Byzant.* p. 164.) Nicephorus Bryennius applauds his virtues and extenuates his faults (*l. i. p. 30, 31, 32*). Yet he owns his enmity to Romanus, *ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ φίλος ἔχων πρὸς Βασίλειον*. *Boylitzer* speaks more explicitly of his treason.

amidst a disorderly crowd of the meaner barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was presented to Alp Arslan, who doubted of his fortune till the identity of the person was ascertained by the report of his ambassadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilacius, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. The successor of Constantine, in a plebeian habit, was led into the Turkish divan, and commanded to kiss the ground before the lord of Asia. He reluctantly obeyed, and Alp Arslan, starting from his throne, is said to have planted his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor.¹ But the fact is doubtful; and if in this moment of insolence, the sultan complied with a national custom, the rest of his conduct has extorted the praise of his bigoted foes, and may afford a lesson to the most civilised ages. He instantly raised the royal captive from the ground, and thence clasping his hand with tender sympathy, assured him, that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals and the vicissitudes of fortune. From the divan, Romanus was conducted to an adjacent tent, where he was served with pomp and reverence by the officers of the sultan, who, twice each day, seated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar conversation of eight days, not a word, not a look, of insult, escaped from the conqueror, but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admonished his antagonist of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negotiation, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor displays the freedom of his mind. "If you are cruel," said he, "you will take my life, if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels; if you consult your in-

terest, you will accept a ransom, and restore me to my country." "And what," continued the sultan, "would have been your own behaviour, had fortune smiled on your arms?" The reply of the Greek betrays a sentiment, which prudence, and even gratitude, should have taught him to suppress. "Had I vanquished," he fiercely said, "I would have inflicted on thy body many a stripe." The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive; observed that the Christian law inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared, that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. After mature deliberation, Alp Arslan dictated the terms of liberty and peace, a ransom of a million,* an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold,² the marriage of the royal children, and the deliverance of all the Moslems who were in the power of the Greeks. Romanus, with a sigh, subscribed this treaty, so disgraceful to the majesty of the empire, he was immediately invested with a Turkish robe of honour, his nobles and patricians were restored to their sovereign, and the sultan, after a courteous embrace, dismissed him with rich presents and a military guard. No sooner did he reach the confines of the empire, than he was informed that the palace and provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive: a sum of two hundred thousand pieces was painfully collected, and the fallen monarch transmitted this part of his ransom, with a sad confession of his impotence and disgrace. The generosity, or perhaps the ambition, of the sultan, prepared to espouse the cause of his ally, but his designs were prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death of Romanus Diogenes.³

¹ The ransom and tribute are attested by reason and the Orientals. The other Greeks are modestly silent, but Nicephorus Bryennius dares to affirm, that the terms were *σὺν ἀναξίᾳ* "propter infamiam," and that the emperor would have preferred death to a shameful treaty.

² The defeat and captivity of Romanus Dio-

¹ This circumstance, which we read and doubt in Scylitzes and Constantine Manasses, is more prudently omitted by Nicephorus and Zonaras.

³ Elmakin gives 1,000,000. Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuz züge, vol. 1 p. 10.—M

In the treaty of peace, it does not appear that Alp Arslan extorted any province or city from the captive emperor; and his revenge was satisfied with the trophies of his victory, and the spoils of Anatolia, from Antioch to the Black Sea. The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne, and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners. The sultan disclaimed to pursue the fugitive Greeks, but he meditated the more glorious conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He moved from Bagdad to the banks of the Oxus, a bridge was thrown over the river, and twenty days were consumed in the passage of his troops. But the progress of the great king was retarded by the governor of Borzom, and Joseph the Carizman presumed to defend his fortress against the powers of the East. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the sultan, instead of praising his valour, severely reproached his obstinate folly, and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes, and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command, the desperate Carizman, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne the guards raised their battle-axes, their zeal was checked by Alp Arslan, the most skilful archer of the age, he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkish prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings "In my youth," said Alp Arslan, "I

was advised by a sage, to humble myself before God; to distrust my own strength, and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons! and my neglect has been deservedly punished. Yesterday, as from an eminence I beheld the numbers, the discipline, and the spirit, of my armies, the earth seemed to tremble under my feet, and I said in my heart, Surely thou art the king of the world, the greatest and most invincible of warriors. These armies are no longer mine, and, in the confidence of my personal strength, I now fall by the hand of an assassin." Alp Arslan possessed the virtues of a Turk and a Mussulman, his voice and stature commanded the reverence of mankind, his face was shaded with long whiskers; and his ample turban was fashioned in the shape of a crown. The remains of the sultan were deposited in the tomb of the Seljukian dynasty, and the passenger might read and meditate this useful inscription: "O YE WHO HAVE SEEN THE GLORY OF ALP ARSLAN EXALTED TO THE HEAVENS, REPAIR TO MARU, AND YOU WILL BEHOLD IT BURIED IN THE DUST." The annihilation of the inscription, and the tomb itself, more forcibly proclaims the instability of human greatness.

During the life of Alp Arslan, his eldest son had been known as the future sultan of the Turks. On his father's death the inheritance, was disputed by an uncle, a cousin, and a brother they drew their scimitars, and assembled their followers, and the triple victory of Malek Shah²

¹ This interesting death is told by D'Herbelot (p. 103, 104), and M. de Guignes (tom. III. p. 212, 213), from their Oriental writers, but neither of them have transfused the spirit of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen p. 344, 345).

² A critic of high renown (the late Dr Johnson), who has severely scrutinised the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this sublime inscription at the words "repair to Maru," since the reader must already be at Maru before he could peruse the inscription.

³ The Bibliothèque Orientale has given the text of the reign of Malek (p. 542, 543, 544, 654, 656), and the Histoire Générale des Huns (tom. III. p. 214, 224) has added the usual measure of repetition, emendation, and supplement. Without these two learned French-

genes may be found in John Scylitzes ad calcem Cedreni, tom. II. p. 835, 843. Zonaras, tom. II. p. 231, 234. Nicephorus Bryennius, I. p. 26-32. Glycas, p. 325-327. Constantine Manasses, p. 131. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen p. 343, 344. Abulpharaz, Dynast. p. 227. D'Herbelot, p. 102, 103. De Guignes, tom. III. p. 207-211. Besides my old acquaintance Elmacin and Abulpharaz, the historian of the Huns has consulted Abulfeda, and his epitomiser Ben Achounah, a Chronicle of the Caliphs, by Boyouthi, Abulmahassen of Egypt, and Novairi of Africa.

established his own reputation and the right of primogeniture. In every age, and more especially in Asia, the thirst of power has inspired the same passions, and occasioned the same disorders; but, from the long series of civil war, it would not be easy to extract a sentiment more pure and magnanimous than is contained in the saying of the Turkish prince. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Thous, before the tomb of the Imam Riza. As the sultan rose from the ground, he asked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beside him, what had been the object of his secret petition. "That your arms may be crowned with victory," was the prudent, and, most probably, the sincere answer of the minister. "For my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored the Lord of Hosts that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Moslems." The favourable judgment of Heaven was ratified by the caliph's, and for the first time, the sacred title of Commander of the Faithful was communicated to a barbarian. But this barbarian, by his personal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his age. After the settlement of Persia and Syria, he marched at the head of unnumbered armies to achieve the conquest of Turkestan, which had been undertaken by his father. In his passage of the Oxus, the boatmen, who had been employed in transporting some troops, complained that their payment was assigned on the revenues of Antioch. The sultan frowned at this preposterous choice; but he smiled at the artful flattery of his vizir. "It was not to postpone their reward that I selected those remote places, but to leave a memorial to posterity, that under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus were subject to the same sovereign." But this description of his limits, were unjust and parsimonious beyond the Oxus, he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bokhara, Carizme, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave, or independent savage, *may, I should be blind indeed in the Eastern world*

who dared to resist. Malek passed the Sihon or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilisation: the hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy. his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier, he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his harem, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the *Asiatic* region of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions, the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca. the freedom and safety of the caravans were protected by his arms, the citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profusion of his alms, and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment, which he instituted for the use of his brethren. Hunting was the pleasure, and even the passion, of the sultan, and his train consisted of forty-seven thousand horses; but after the massacre of a Turkish chase, for each piece of game, he bestowed a piece of gold on the poor, a slight atonement, at the expense of the people, for the cost and mischief of the amusement of kings. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign, the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with mosques and colleges; few departed from his Divan without reward, and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk; and if Malek emulated the liberality of a Turk less potent than himself,² his palace might resound with

¹ See an excellent discourse at the end of Sir William Jones's *History of Nadir Shah*, and the articles of the poets, Amak, Anvari, Raschid, &c., in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

² His name was Kheder Khan. Four bags

the songs of a hundred poets. The sultan bestowed a more serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months; in Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival,¹ but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected, the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelalean* era, and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian, style.²

In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendor of the Seljukian empire may be ascribed to the docility rather than the knowledge of the Turkish conquerors. An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir, who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp Arslan and his son, Nizam, one of the most illustrious ministers of the East, was honoured by the caliph as an oracle of religion and science; he was trusted by the sultan as the faithful vicegerent of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was over-

thrown by the insidious arts of a woman and a rival, and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were connected by the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the sultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic.³ The last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was short and inglorious. From Ispahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the caliph, and of fixing his own residence in the capital of the Moslem world. The feeble successor of Mithmet obtained a respite of ten days, and before the expiration of the term, the barbarian was summoned by the angel of death. His ambassadors at Constantinople had asked in marriage a Roman princess, but the proposal was decently eluded; and the daughter of Alexius, who might herself have been the victim, expresses her abhorrence of this unnatural conjunction.⁴ The daughter of the sultan was bestowed on the caliph Moctadi, with the imperious condition, that, renouncing the society of his wives and concubines, he should for ever confine himself to this honourable alliance.

The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne

was disputed by his brother and his four sons,† and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting

¹ She speaks of this Persian royalty as *ἡρώδης; αὐτοκρατορίας τῆς Περσίας*. Anna Comnena was only nine years old at the end of the reign of Malek Shah (A.D. 1002), and when she speaks of his assassination, she confounds the sultan with the vizir (Alexias, l. vi. p. 177, 178).

² He was the first great victim of his energy, Hassan Sabek, founder of the Assassins. Von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, p. 66—M.

³ See Von Hammer, *Osmanische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 16. The Seljukian dominions were for a time re-united in the person of Mandjar, one of the sons of Malek Shah, who ruled "from Kashgar to Antioch, from the Caspian to the straits of Babelmandel."—M.

⁴ The *Gelalean* era (*Gelaladdin*, *Glory of the Faith*) was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the fifteenth of March, A.D. 471, A.D. 1079. Dr Hyde has produced the original testimonies of the Persians and Arabians (*de Religionibus veterum Persarum*, c. 16, p. 200-211).

separation in the *Persian* dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum* the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure, dominion on the shores of the Indian Ocean the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus, and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition, nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus, the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre,¹ and the hordes of Turkmans overspread the plains of the Western Asia. After the death of Malek, the bands of union and subordination were relaxed and finally dissolved: the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms, and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.²

A prince of the royal line, *Catalmush*,³

¹ So obscure, that the industry of M de Guignes could only copy (tom. i. p. 241, tom. iii. part. i. p. 243, &c.) the history, or rather list, of the Seljukides of Kerman in *Bibliothèque Orientale*. They were extinguished before the end of the twelfth century.

² Tavernier, perhaps the only traveller who has visited Kerman, describes the capital as a great ruinous village, twenty five days' journey from Isfahan, and twenty-seven from Ormus, in the midst of a fertile country (*Voyages en Turquie et en Perse*, p. 107, 110).

³ It appears from Anna Comnena, that the Turks of Asia Minor obeyed the signal and chains of the great sultan (Alexias, l. vi. p. 170), and that the two sons of Soliman were detained in his court (p. 180).

⁴ This expression is quoted by Petit de la Croix (*Vie de Gengiscan*, p. 161), from some poet, most probably a Persian.

* Wilken considers *Catalmush* not a Turkish

the son of Israel, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan, and the humane victor had dropped a tear over his grave. His

Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks. A.D. 1074 &c.

five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their scimitars against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instal of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostle." They listened to his voice, the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen, and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West.¹ Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutaiich in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, incursions of the Persians and Saracens, but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan, and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the Imperial crown, till the provinces of the East and West were lost in the same month by a double rebellion. of

¹ On the conquest of Asia Minor, M de Guignes has derived no assistance from the Turkish or Arabian writers, who produce a naked list of the Seljukides of Roum. The Greeks are unwilling to expose their shame, and we must extort some hints from Scylitzes (p. 800, 803), Nicephorus Bryennius (p. 83, 91, 92, &c. 103, 104), and Anna Comnena (Alexias, p. 91, 92, &c., 103, &c.).

name Geschichte der Kreuz züge, vol. i. p. 2. —M.

either chief Nicephorus was the common name, but the surname of Bryennius and Botonates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the Divan; and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botonates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the Crescent to that of the Cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis or Scutari, and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival, Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Asia. Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Another candidate implored the aid of the sultan Melissenus, in his purple robes and red buskins, attended the motions of the Turkish camp, and the bespoken cities were tempted by the summons of a Roman prince, who immediately surrendered them into the hands of the barbarians. These acquisitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the Emperor Alexius: his fear of Robert compelled him to seek the friendship of Soliman, and it was not till after the sultan's death that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantinople, the eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by seas and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Buxine the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a Christian empire.

Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor was the most deplorable loss which the church

and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Gazi*, a holy champion, and his new kingdom, of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria, pregnant with mines of silver and iron, of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses. The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the splendour of the Augustan age, existed only in books and ruins, which were equally obscure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the present decay, Anatolia still contains some wealthy and populous cities, and under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flourishing in numbers, size, and opulence. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress; the seat of the Seljukian dynasty, of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantinople, and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the Catholics. The unity of God, and the mission of Mahomet, were preached in the mosques, the Arabian learning was taught in the schools, the Cadhis judged according to the law of the Koran, the Turkish manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude, the Greek Christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion, but their most holy churches were profaned; their priests and bishops were insulted, they were com-

¹ Such is the description of Roum by Halton the Armenian, whose Tartar history may be found in the collection of Ramusio and Bergeron (See *Abulfeda*, *Geograph. climat.* p. 301 305).

² *Vidit eos quendam abusione Sodemitica intervertisse episcopum* (Guibert *Abbat. Hist. Hierosol.* l. i. p. 463). It is odd enough, that we should find a parallel passage of the same people in the present age. "Il n'est point d'honneur que ces Turcs n'ayant commis, et semblables aux soldats effrénés, qui dans le sc.

polled to suffer the triumph of the *Pagans*, and the apostasy of their brethren; many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters.¹ After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive allegiance to Christ and Cesar, but the solitary province was separated from all Roman aid, and surrounded on all sides by the Mohammedan powers. The despair of Philaretus the governor prepared the sacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his son, who hastened to the Nicene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable prize into the hands of Soliman. The ambitious sultan mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the speed and secrecy of his enterprise, and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo,² obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus, or arm of St. George, the conquests and reign of Soliman extended thirty days' journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea.³ The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected, for a while, the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no sooner had a fleet of two hundred ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive

d'une ville non contents de disposer de tout à leur gré prétendent encore aux succès les moins désirables. Quelque Spahis ont porté leurs attentats sur la personne du vieux rabbi de la synagogue, et celle de l'Archévêque Grec" (*Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, tom. ii. p. 193).

¹ The emperor, or abbot, describe the scenes of a Turkish camp as if they had been present. *Mates correptæ in conspectu filiarum multipliciter repetitis diversorum coitibus vexabantur*, (is that the true reading?) cum filis assistentes carmina præconare saltando cogebatur. *Mox eadem passio ad filias, &c.*

² See Antioch, and the death of Soliman, in *Anna Comnena* (Alexias, l. vi. p. 108, 109), with the notes of Ducange.

³ William of Tyre (l. i. c. 9, 10, p. 635) gives the most authentic and deplorable account of these Turkish conquests.

epistles were dispersed over Europe, to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches, of the city of Constantine.¹

But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks was that of Jerusalem,² which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property, but the articles were interpreted by a master, against whom it was dangerous to dispute, and in the four hundred years of the reign of the caliphs, the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storms and sunshine.³ By the increase of proselytes and population, the Mohammedans might excuse their usurpation of three fourths of the city. but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people, a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection, and the sepulchre of Christ, with the church of the Resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries, the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem: the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquest of the Arabs, and the

State and pilgrimage of Jerusalem. A.D. 638-1099.

¹ In his epistle to the count of Flanders, Alexius seems to fall too low beneath his character and dignity, yet it is approved by Ducange (*Not. ad Alexiad.* p. 385, &c.), and paraphrased by the Abbot Guibert, a contemporary historian. The Greek text *no longer exists*, and each translator and scribe might say with Guibert (p. 475), *verbis vestitis meis*, a privilege of most indefinite latitude.

² Our best fund for the history of Jerusalem from Heraclius to the crusades, is contained in two large and original passages of William Archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. 1-10, l. xviii. c. 6, 6), the principal author of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. M. de Guignes has composed a very learned *Mémoire sur le Commerce des Français dans le Levant avant les Croisades*, &c. (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxvii. p. 407-500).

³ *Secundum Dominorum dispositionem plerumque lucida plerumque nubila recipit intervallo, et segrotantium more temporum presentium gravabatur aut resprabat qualitate* (l. i. c. 3, p. 630). The Latinity of William of Tyre is by no means contemptible, but in his account of 400 years, from the loss to the recovery of Jerusalem, he exceeds the true account by thirty years.

enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys, was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre, and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter, and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapel, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communions in the harmony of prayer and so many various tongues, the worship of so many nations in the common temple of their religion, might have afforded a spectacle of edification and peace; but the zeal of the Christian sects was embittered by hatred and revenge, and in the kingdom of a suffering Messiah, who had pardoned his enemies, they aspired to command and persecute their spiritual brethren. The pre-eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks; and the greatness of Charlemagne¹ protected both the Latin pilgrims, and the Catholics of the East. The poverty of Carthage, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, was relieved by the alms of this pious emperor, and many monasteries of Palestine were founded or restored by his liberal devotion. Harun Alrashid, the greatest of the Abbassides, esteemed in his Christian brother a similar superfluity of genius and power; their friendship was cemented by a frequent intercourse of gifts and embassies, and the caliph, without resigning the substantial dominion, presented the emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. In the decline of the Carolingian monarchy, the republic of Amalfi promoted the interest of trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite

caliphs: an annual fair was instituted on Mount Calvary, and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order, which has since reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta. Had the Christian pilgrims been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the disciples of Mahomet, instead of brawling, would have imitated, their piety; but these rigid *Unstetters* were scandalised by a worship which represents the birth, death, and resurrection, of a God, the Catholic images were branded with the name of idols; and the Moslems smiled with indignation² at the miraculous flame, which was kindled on the eve of Easter in the holy sepulchre.³ This pious fraud, first devised in the ninth century,⁴ was devoutly cherished by the Latin crusaders, and is annually repeated by the clergy of the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic sects,⁵ who impose on the credulous spectators⁶ for their own benefit, and that of their

¹ The caliph granted his privileges, *Amal phitanis viciis amicis et utin in mibi* (the *Amal phitanis viciis amicis et utin in mibi*) (Ista Del, p. 94). The trade of Venice to Egypt and Palestine cannot produce so old a title, unless it adopt the laughable translation of a Frenchman who mistook the two factions of the circus (Veneti et Prasini) for the Venetians and Parisians.

² An Arabic chronicle of Jerusalem (apud Asseman Biblioth. Orient. tom. i. p. 623, tom. iv. p. 363) attests the unbelief of the caliph and the historian, yet Cantacuzene presumes to appeal to the Mohammedans themselves for the truth of this perpetual miracle.

³ In his *Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History*, the learned Mosheim has separately discussed this pretended miracle (tom. ii. p. 143, 300), *de lumine sancti sepulchri*.

⁴ William of Malmesbury (l. iv. c. ii. p. 200) quotes the Itinerary of the monk Bernard, an eye witness, who visited Jerusalem A.D. 870. The miracle is confirmed by another pilgrim some years older, and Mosheim ascribes the invention to the Franks, soon after the decease of Charlemagne.

⁵ Our travellers, Sandys (p. 134), Thevenot (p. 621-627), Maundrell (p. 64, 66), &c. describe this extravagant farce. The Catholics are puzzled to decide, when the miracle ended and the trick began.

⁶ The Orientals themselves confess the fraud, and plead necessity and edification (*Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux*, tom. ii. p. 140. Joseph Abudanti, Hist. Copt. c. 20), but I will not attempt, with Mosheim, to explain the miracle. Our travellers have fallen with the blood of St. Januarius at Naples.

¹ For the transactions of Charlemagne with the Holy Land, see Eginhard (*de Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 16, p. 79-82), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administratione Imperii*, l. ii. c. 20, p. 80), and Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. A.D. 800, No. 13-15).

tyrants In every age, a principle of toleration has been fortified by a sense of interest, and the revenue of the prince and his emir was increased each year, by the expense and tribute of so many thousand strangers

The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abbas-mite caliphs, success to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an

injury, to the Holy land A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of Christian trade, and the emirs of Palestine were less remote from the justice and power of the throne But the third of those Fatimito caliphs was the famous Hakem, a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly Regardless of the most ancient customs of Egypt, he imposed on the women an absolute confinement the restraint excited the clamours of both sexes, their clamours provoked his fury, a part of Old Cairo was delivered to the flames; and the guards and citizens were engaged many days in a bloody conflict At first the caliph declared himself a zealous Mussulman, the founder or benefactor of mosques and colleges twelve hundred and ninety copies of the Koran were transcribed at his expense in letters of gold, and his edict extirpated the vineyards of the Upper Egypt But his vanity was soon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion; he aspired above the fame of a prophet, and styled himself the invisible image of the Most High God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration his mysteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo sixteen thousand converts had signed his profession of faith; and at the present hour, a free and warlike people, the Druses of

Mount Libanus, are persuaded of the life and divinity of a madman and tyrant In his divine character,

¹ The religion of the Druses is concealed by their ignorance and hypocrisy Their secret doctrines are confined to the elect who profess a contemplative life, and their vulgar Druses the most indifferent of men, occasionally conform to the worship of the Mohammedans and Christians of their neighbourhood The little that is, or deserves to be known, may be seen in the industrious Niebuhr (*Voyages*, tom. ii p. 354-357), and the second volume of the recent and instructive *Travels of M. de Volney* *

* The religion of the Druses has, within the present year, been fully developed from their own writings, which have long lain neglected in the libraries of Paris and Oxford, in the "Exposé de la Religion des Druses, by M. Silvestre de Sacy" Deux tomes, Paris 1838 The learned author has prefixed a life of Hakem Blamr-Allah, which enables us to correct several errors in the account of Gibbon These errors chiefly arose from his want of knowledge or of attention to the chronology of Hakem's life Hakem succeeded to the throne of Egypt in the year of the Hegira 386. He did not assume his divinity till 408. His life was indeed "a wild mixture of vice and folly," to which may be added, of the most sanguinary cruelty During his reign 24,000 persons were victims of his ferocity Yet such is the god, observes M. de Sacy, whom the Druses have worshipped for 800 years! (See p. ccccxix) All his wildest and most extravagant actions were interpreted by his followers as having a mystic and allegoric meaning, alluding to the destruction of other religions, and the propagation of his own It does not seem to have been the "vanity" of Hakem which induced him to introduce a new religion. The curious point in the new faith is that Hamza, the son of Ali, the real founder of the Unitarian religion (such is its boastful title), was content to take a secondary part While Hakem was God the one Supreme, the Imam Hamza was his Intelligence. It was not in his "divine character" that Hakem "hated the Jews and Christians," but in that of a Mohammedan bigot, which he displayed in the earlier years of his reign His barbarous persecutions and the burning of the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem belong entirely to that period, and his assumption of the divinity was followed by an edict of toleration to Jews and Christians. The Mohammedans, whose religion he then treated with hostility and contempt, being far the most numerous, were his most dangerous enemies, and therefore the objects of his most inveterate hatred. It is another singular fact, that the religion of Hakem was by no means confined to Egypt and Syria. M. de Sacy quotes a letter addressed to the chief of the sect in India, and there is likewise a letter to the Byzantine emperor Constantine, son of Armanous (Romanus), and the clergy of the empire (Constantine the Eighth, M. de Sacy supposes, but this is irreconcilable with chronology it must mean Constantine the Eleventh, Monomachus). The assassination of Hakem is, of

¹ See D'Herbelot (*Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 411), Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch Alex* p. 390, 397, 400, 401), Elmacin (*Hist Saracen* p. 321-323), and Marei (p. 384-386), an historian of Egypt, translated by Reiske from Arabic into German, and verbally interpreted to me by a friend.

Hakem hated the Jews and Christians, the servants of his rivals, while some remains of piety or prudence still pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. Both in Egypt and Palestine, his cruel and wanton persecution made some martyrs and many apostates the common rights and special privileges of the sectaries were equally disregarded, and a general interdict was laid on the devotion of strangers and natives. The temple of the Christian world, the church of the Resurrection, was demolished to its foundations, the luminous prodigy of Easter was interrupted, and much profane labour was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre. At the report of this sacrilege, the nations of Europe were astonished and affected, but instead of arming in the defence of the Holy Land, they contented themselves with burning, or banishing, the Jews, as the secret advisers of the impious Barbarian.¹ Yet the calamities of Jerusalem were in some measure alleviated by the inconstancy or repentance of Hakem himself, and the royal mandate was issued for the restitution of the churches, when the tyrant was assassinated by the emissaries of his sister. The succeeding caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy; a free toleration was again

Sacrilege of
Hakem,
A.D. 1009

course, disbelieved by his sectaries. M. de Sacy seems to consider the fact obscure and doubtful. According to his followers he disappeared, but is hereafter to return. At his return the resurrection is to take place, the triumph of Unitarianism, and the final discomfiture of all other religions. The temple of Mecca is especially devoted to destruction. It is remarkable that one of the signs of this final consummation and of the re-appearance of Hakem, is that Christianity shall be gaining a manifest predominance over Mohammedanism. As for the religion of the Druses, I cannot agree with Gibbon, that it does not "deserve" to be better known, and am grateful to M. de Sacy, notwithstanding the prolixity and occasional repetition in his two large volumes, for the full examination of the most extraordinary religious aberration which ever extensively affected the mind of man. The worship of a mad tyrant is the basis of a subtle metaphysical creed, and of a severe, and even ascetic morality.—M.

¹ See Glaber, l. iii. c. 7 and the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, A.D. 1009

granted, with the pious aid of the emperor of Constantinople, the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins, and, after a short abstinence, the pilgrims returned with an increase of appetite to the spiritual feast. In the sea-voyage of Palestine, the dangers were frequent, and the opportunities but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. The charity of St. Stephen, the apostle of his kingdom, relieved and conducted his itinerant brethren, and from Belgrade to Antioch, they traversed fifteen hundred miles of a Christian empire. Among the Franks, the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions, and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the cross. About thirty years before the first crusade, the archbishop of Mentz, with the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, undertook this laborious journey from the Rhine to the Jordan; and the multitude of their followers amounted to seven thousand persons. At Constantinople, they were hospitably entertained by the emperor, but the ostentation of their wealth provoked the assault of the wild Arabs: they drew their swords with scrupulous reluctance, and sus-

Increase of
pilgrimages,
A.D. 1024, &c.

¹ Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cepit confluerre ad sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantum nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Ordo inferioris plebis, medicos reges et comites, presules, mulieres multe nobiles cum pauperioribus. Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori priusquam ad propria reverterentur (Glaber, l. iv. c. 6. Bouquet, Historians of France, torn. x. p. 50).²

² Glaber, l. iii. c. 1. Katona (Hist. Critica. Regum Hungar. tom. i. p. 304-311), examines whether St. Stephen founded a monastery at Jerusalem.

³ Compare the first chap. of Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuz-züge.—M.

tained a siege in the village of Capernaum, till they were rescued by the valiant protection of the Fatimite emir. After visiting the holy places, they embarked for Italy, but only a remnant of two thousand arrived in safety in their native land. Ingulphus, a secretary of William the Conqueror, was a companion of this pilgrimage: he observes that they sallied from Normandy, thirty stout and well-appointed horsemen; but that they repulsed the Alps, twenty miserable pilgrims, with the staff in their hand, and the wallet at their back.¹

After the defeat of the Romans, the tranquility of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks.² One of the lieutenants of Malck

Conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks.
A.D. 1070-90.

Shih, Atsiz, the Carismian, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damascus by famine and the sword. Hems, and the other cities of the province, acknowledged the caliph of Bagdad and the sultan of Persia; and the victorious emir advanced without resistance to the banks of the Nile: the Fatimite was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa, but the negroes of his guard and the inhabitants of Cairo made a desperate sally, and repulsed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat, he indulged the licence of slaughter and rapine: the judges and notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp; and their execution was followed by the massacre of three thousand citizens. The cruelty or the defeat of Atsiz was soon punished by the sultan Toucush, the brother of Malck Shah, who, with a higher title and more formidable powers, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine. The house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem;³ but the hereditary command of

the holy city and territory was intrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmen, whose children, after their expulsion from Palestine, formed two dynasties on the borders of Armenia and Assyria.⁴ The Oriental Christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution, which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the North.⁵ In his court and camp the great sultan had adopted in some degree the arts and manners of Persia, but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility, and the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure nor capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The Pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sunk under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmen to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the Resurrection was

killed (A.D. 1096). Yet William of Tyre (l. i. c. 8. p. 633), asserts, that Jerusalem was 'thirty-eight years in the hands of the Turks', and an Arabic chronicle, quoted by Pacl (tom. iv. p. 283), supposes, that the city was reduced by a Carismian general to the obedience of the caliph of Bagdad, A.H. 463, A.D. 1070. These early dates are not very compatible with the general history of Asia, and I am sure, that as late as A.D. 1064, the regnum Babylonium (of Cairo) still prevailed in Palestine (Baronius, A.D. 1064, No. 50).

¹ De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 249-252.

² Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 8. p. 634 who strives hard to magnify the Christian grievances. The Turks exacted an aureus from each pilgrim! The capar of the Franks is now fourteen dollars and Europe does not complain of this voluntary tax.

¹ Baronius (A.D. 1064, No. 43-56) has transcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Marianus, and Lambertus.

² See Elnacib (Hist. Saracen. p. 340, 350), and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 237, vers. Pocock). M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. II. part 1. p. 215, 216), adds the testimonies, or rather the names, of Abulfeda and Novairi.

³ From the expedition of Isar Abdis (A.D. 469, A.D. 1070), to the expulsion of the Orto-

often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy Land, and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, it compared with the single act of the sacrifice of Hekom, which had

been so patiently endured by the Latin Christians! A slighter provocation inflamed the more masculine temper of their descendants: a new spirit of chivalry and religious heroism was kindled; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling, and the sun was biated to the heart of Europe.

CHAPTER LVIII

ORIGIN AND NUMBERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE—CHARACTER OF THE LATIN PRINCE—THEIR MARCH TO CONSTANTINOPLE—PORT OF THE GREEK EMPEROR ALEXIUS—CONQUEST OF NICE, ANTIOCH, AND JERUSALEM, BY THE FRANKS—DELIVERANCE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—GODFREY OF BOULOGNE, FIRST KING OF JERUSALEM—INSTITUTIONS OF THE FRENCH OR LATIN KINGDOM.

ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by a hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy, in France. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly inquired, if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the East. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. "I will rouse," exclaimed the hermit, "the martial nations of Europe in your cause," and Europe was obedient to the call of the hermit. The astonished patriarch dismissed him with epistles of acclamation and complaint, and no sooner did he land at Bari, than Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff. His stature was small, his appearance contemptible, but his eye was keen and lively, and he pos-

sessed that vehemence of speech, which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of the soul. He was born of a gentleman's family (for we must now adopt a modern idiom), and his military service was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the first crusade. But he soon relinquished the sword and the world, and if it be true, that his wife, however noble, was aged and ugly, he might withdraw, with the less reluctance, from her bed to a convent, and at length to a hermitage. In this austere solitude, his body was emaciated, his fancy was inflamed, whatever he wished, he believed, whatever he believed, he saw in dreams and revelations. From Jerusalem the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic, but as he excelled in the popular wisdom of the times, Pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious design, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff,

¹ Whimsical enough is the origin of the name of *Picardie*, and from thence to *Picardie*, which does not date earlier than A.D. 1200. It was an academical joke, an epithet first applied to the

¹ William of Tyre (l. i. c. 11, p. 637, 638) thus describes the hermit: "Favillius, persona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens et non deest eloquium." See Albert Aquerenda, p. 185. Guibert, p. 482. Anna Comnena in Alexiad, l. x. p. 234, &c., with DuRoi's notes, p. 319.

² Wilken considers this fact as doubtful, vol. i. p. 47.—M

argum, p. 447. Longueville, Description de la France, p. 64).

this zealous missionary traversed, with speed and success, the provinces of Italy and France. His diet was abstemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand, he distributed with the other. His head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapped in a coarse garment, he bore and displayed a mighty crucifix, and the ass on which he rode was sanctified, in the public eye, by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways. The hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage, and the people, for all was people, was impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion, every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour. His ignorance of art and language was compensated by sighs and tears, and ejaculations, and Peter supplied the deficiency of reason by loud and frequent appeals to Christ and his mother, to the saints and angels of paradise, with whom he had personally conversed.* The most perfect orator of Athens might have envied the success of his eloquence. The rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

The magnanimous spirit of Gregory the Seventh had already embraced the design of arming Europe against Asia, the ardour of his zeal and ambition still breathes in his epistles from either side of the Alps, fifty thousand Catholics had enlisted under the banner of St. Peter;† and his successor reveals his intention of march-

* *Ultra quinquaginta millia, et me possunt in expeditione pro duci et pontifice habere, armati manu volunt in inimicos Dei insurgere et ad sepulchrum Domini ipso ducente pervenire* (Gregor. vii. epist. li. 31, in tom. xii. p. 322, concil.).

† He had seen the Saviour in a vision, a letter had fallen from heaven. Wilkes, vol. i. p. 49.—M.

ing at their head against the impious sectaries of Mahomet. But the glory or reproach of executing, though not in person, this holy enterprise, was reserved for Urban the Second,† the most faithful of his disciples. He undertook the conquest of the East, whilst the larger portion of Rome was possessed and fortified by his rival Gubert of Ravenna, who contended with Urban for the name and honours of the pontificate. He attempted to unite the powers of the West, at a time when the princes were separated from the church, and the people from their princes, by the excommunication which himself and his predecessors had thundered against the emperor and the king of France. Philip the First, of France, supported with patience the censures which he had provoked by his scandalous life and adulterous marriage. Henry the Fourth, of Germany, asserted the right of investitures, the prerogative of confirming his bishops by the delivery of the ring and crosier. But the emperor's party was crushed in Italy by the arms of the Normans and the Countess Matilda, and the long quarrel had been recently envenomed by the revolt of his son Conrad and the shame of his wife,‡ who, in the synods of Constance and Placentia, confessed the manifold prostitutions to which she had been exposed by a husband regardless of her honour and his own.§ So popular

† See the original lives of Urban II., by Pandolphus Pisanus and Bernardus Guilo, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script. tom. iii. pars i. p. 352, 353.*

‡ She is known by the different names of Præse, Euprosia, Eufrosia, and Adelaïs, and was the daughter of a Russian prince, and the widow of a margrave of Brandenburg. Struv *Cosmos Hist. Germanicæ*, p. 240.

§ *Henricus odio eam cepit habere ideo incarcerationem eam, et concessit ut plerique vinum inferrent, immo filium hortans ut eam subagret* (Dodechin, *Continuat. Marian. Scot. apud Baron* A.D. 1063, No. 4). In the synod of Constance, she is described by Bertholdus, *rerum inspector* quæ se tantas et tam inausitas fornicationum spurcitias, et a tantis passam fuisse conquestas est, &c., and again at Placentia. *satia misericorditer suscepit, eo quod ipsam tantas spurcitias non tam commissas quam invitam pertulisse pro certo cognoverit papa cum sanctâ synodo.* Apud Baron A.D. 1043, No. 4, 1094, No. 3. A rare subject for the infallible decision of a pope and council. These

was the cause of Urban, so weighty was his influence, that the council which he summoned at Placentia¹ was composed of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria. Four thousand of the clergy, and thirty thousand of the laity, attended this important meeting, and, as the most spacious cathedral would have been inadequate to the multitude, the session of seven days was held in a plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign, and the danger of Constantinople, which was divided only by a narrow sea, from the victorious Turks, the common enemies of the Christian name. In their supplicant address they flattered the pride of the Latin princes, and, appealing at once to their policy and religion, exhorted them to repel the barbarians on the confines of Asia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe. At the sad tale of the misery and perils of their Eastern brethren, the assembly burst into tears: the most eager champions declared their readiness to march, and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succour. The relief of Constantinople was included in the larger and most distant project of the deliverance of Jerusalem, but the prudent Urban adjourned the final decision to a second synod, which he proposed to celebrate in some city of France in autumn of the same year. The short gleit would propagate the flame of enthusiasm, and his inmost hope was in a nation of soldiers² still proud of the

pre-eminence of their name, and ambitious to emulate their hero Charlemagne,³ who, in the popular romance of Turpin,⁴ had achieved the conquest of the Holy Land. A latent motive of affection or vanity might influence the choice of Urban: he was himself a native of France, a monk of Clugny, and the first of his countrymen who ascended the throne of St Peter. The pope had illustrated his family and province: nor is there perhaps a more exquisite gratification than to revisit, in a conspicuous dignity, the humble and laborious scenes of our youth.

It may occasion some surprise that the Roman pontiff should erect, in the heart of France, the tribunal from whence he hurled his anathemas against the king; but our surprise will vanish so soon as we form a just estimate of a king of France of the eleventh century.⁵ Philip the First was the great grandson of Hugh Capet, the founder of the present race, who, in the decline of Charlemagne's posterity, added the regal title to his patrimonial estates of Paris and Orleans. In this narrow compass, he was possessed of wealth and jurisdiction, but in the rest of France, Hugh and his first descendants were no more than the feudal lords of about sixty dukes and counts, of independent and hereditary power,⁶ who disdained the

into petulance among foreigners (p. 483) and vain luxuriousness (p. 502).

¹ Per viam quam iamdudum Carolus Magnus mirificus rex Francorum apertis fecit usque (P. Gesta Francorum, p. 1. Robert Monach Hist. Illust. l. i. p. 83, &c.)

² John Tillotson or Turpinus, was archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 773. After the year 1000, this romance was composed in his name, by a monk of the borders of France and Spain, and such was the idea of ecclesiastical merit, that he describes himself as a fighting and drinking priest! Yet the book of lies was pronounced authentic by Pope Calixtus II. (A.D. 1122), and is respectably quoted by the abbot Sugar, in the great Chronicles of St. Denis (Fabric. Bibliot. Latinæ medii ævi, edit. Mansi, tom. iv. p. 161).

³ See *État de la France*, by the Count de Boulainvilliers, tom. i. p. 180-182, and the second volume of the *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, by the Abbé de Mably.

⁴ In the provinces to the south of the Loire, the first Capetians were scarcely allowed a feudal supremacy. On all sides, Normandy, Bretagne, Aquitaine, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Flanders, contracted the name and limits of the proper

abominations are repugnant to every principle of human nature, which is not altered by a dispute about rings and croziers. Yet it should seem, that the wretched woman was tempted by the priests to relate or subscribe some in famous stories of herself and her husband.

¹ See the narrative and acts of the synod of Placentia, Concil. tom. xli. p. 821, &c.

² Guibert, himself a Frenchman, praises the piety and valour of the French nation, the author and example of the crusades. Gens nobilis, prudens, bellicosa, depellis et nitida.

Quos enim Britones, Anglos, Ligures, si bonis eos moribus videamus, non illico *Francos homines* appellamus? (p. 478.) He owns, however, that the vivacity of the French degenerates

control of laws and legal assemblies, and whose disregard of their sovereign was revenged by the disobedience of their inferior vassals. At Clermont, in the territories of the count of Auvergne,¹ the pope might have with impunity the resentment of Philip, and the council which he convened in that city was not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia.² Besides his court and council of Roman cardinals, he was supported by thirteen archbishops and two hundred and twenty-five bishops, the number of mitred prelates was computed at four hundred, and the fathers of the church were blessed by the saints, and enlightened by the doctors of the age. From the adjacent kingdoms, a martial train of lords and knights of power and renown attended the council,³ in high expectation of its resolves; and such was the ardour of zeal and curiosity, that the city was filled, and many thousands, in the month of November, erected their tents or huts in the open field. A session of eight days produced some useful or edifying canons for the reformation of manners, a severe censure was pronounced against the licence of private war, the Truce of God⁴ was confirmed, a suspension of hostilities during four days of the week, women and priests were placed under the safeguard of the church, and a protection of three years was extended to husbandmen and merchants, the defenceless victims of military rapine. But a law,

however venerable be the sanction, cannot suddenly transform the temper of the times; and the benevolent efforts of Urban deserve the less praise, since he laboured to appease some domestic quarrels, that he might spread the flames of war from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. From the synod of Placentia, the rumour of his great design had gone forth among the nations; the clergy on their return had preached in every diocese the merit and glory of the deliverance of the Holy Land, and when the pope ascended a lofty scaffold in the market place of Clermont, his eloquence was addressed to a well-prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shout of thousands, who with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it, God wills it."⁵ "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope, "and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark, on your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement." The proposal was joyfully accepted, great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, impressed on their garments the sign of the cross,⁶ and solicited the pope to

France. See Hadrian Vales Notitia Galliarum.

¹ These counts, a younger branch of the dukes of Aquitaine, were at length despoiled of the greatest part of their country by Philip Augustus. The bishops of Clermont gradually became princes of the city. Melanges, *trés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, tom. xxvi. p. 288, &c.

² See the acts of the council of Clermont, Concil. tom. xii. p. 82¹, &c.

³ Confluxerunt ad concilium e multis regionibus, viri potentes et honorati, innumeri quamvis cingulo balteata militum superbi (Paldrie, an eye witness, p. 80-88. Robert Mon. p. 31, 32. Will. Tyr. i. 14, 15, p. 639-641. Guibert, p. 478-490. Foucher, Carnot, p. 352).

⁴ The Truce of God (Treva, or Treuga Dei) was first invented in Aquitaine, A.D. 1032, blamed by some bishops as an occasion of perjury, and rejected by the Normans as contrary to their privileges (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. vi. p. 632-635).

⁵ Deus vult, Deus vult! was the pure acclamation of the clergy who understood Latin (Robert Mon. i. 1 p. 82¹). By the illiterate laity, who spoke the *Provençal* or *Limousin* idiom, it was corrupted to *Deus lo vult*, or *Dies lo vult*. See Chron. *Gasconens.* l. iv. c. 11 p. 467, in Muratori's Script. *Forum Ital. tom. iv.* and Ducange (*Dissertat. xl. p. 207*, sur Joinville, and Gloss. Latin. tom. ii. p. 680), who, in his preface, produces a very difficult specimen of the dialect of Novergue, a D. 1100, very near, both in time and place, to the council of Clermont (p. 15, 16).

⁶ Most commonly on their shoulders, in gold, or silk, or cloth, sewed on their garments. In the first crusade, all wore red, in the third, the French alone preserved that colour, while green crosses were adopted by the Flemings, and white by the English (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651). Yet in England, the red ever appears the favourite, and, as it were, the national, colour of our military ensigns and uniforms.

march at their head. This dangerous honour was declined by the more prudent successor of Gregory, who alleged the schism of the church, and duties of his pastoral office, recommending to the faithful, who were disqualified by sex or profession, by age or infirmity, to aid, with their prayers and alms, the personal service of their robust brethren. The same and powers of his legate he devolved on Adhomar bishop of Puy, the first who had received the cross at his hands. The foremost of the temporal chiefs was Raymond count of Toulouse, whose ambassadors in the council excused the absence, and pledged the honour, of their master. After the confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends, and their departure for the Holy Land was fixed to the festival of the Assumption, the fifteenth of August, of the ensuing year.

So familiar, and as it were so natural to man, is the practice of violence, that our indulgence allows the slightest provoca-

¹ Bongarsius, who has published the original writers of the crusades, adopts, with much complacency, the fanatical title of *Gesta Dei per Francos*, though some critics propose to read *Gesta Diaboli per Francos* (Hanovio, 1811, two vols in folio). I shall briefly enumerate, as they stand in this collection, the authors whom I have used for the first crusade. I. *Gesta Francorum*. II. *Robertus Mohamatus*. III. *Radricus*. IV. *Palmundus de Agilis*. V. *Albertus Aquensis*. VI. *Robertus Carnotensis*. VII. *Gulbertus*. VIII. *Willielmus Tyricus*. Muratori has given us, IX. *Radulphus Cado ragicus de Geste Tancredi* (Script. Rer. Ital. tom. v p. 325-333), and, X. *Bernardus Thesaurarius de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ* (tom. vii p. 834-848). The last of these was unknown to a late French historian, who has given a large and critical list of the writers of the crusades (*Esprit des Croisades*, tom. i p. 13-141), and most of whose judgments my own experience will allow me to ratify. It was late before I could obtain a sight of the French historians collected by Duchesne. I. *Petri Tudebodi Mauricetii Atracensis Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* (tom. iv p. 773-815, has been transcribed into the first anonymous writer of Bongarsius. II. The Metrical History of the first Crusade, in six books (p. 890-912), is of small value or account. See Table on p. 695.

* Several new documents, particularly from the East, have been collected by the industry of the modern historians of the crusades, M. Michaud and Wilken.—M

tion, the most disputable right, as a sufficient ground of national hostility. But the name and nature of a *holy war* demands a more rigorous scrutiny, nor can we hastily believe, that the servants of the Prince of Peace would unsheath the sword of destruction, unless the motive were pure, the quarrel legitimate, and the necessity inevitable. The policy of an action may be determined from the tardy lessons of experience; but, before we act, our conscience should be satisfied of the justice and propriety of our enterprise. In the age of the crusades, the Christians, both of the East and West, were persuaded of their lawfulness and merit; their arguments are clouded by the perpetual abuse of Scripture and rhetoric, but they seem to insist on the right of natural and religious defence, their peculiar title to the Holy Land, and the impurity of their Pagan and Mohammedan foes. I. The right of a just defence may fairly include our civil and spiritual allies: it depends on the existence of danger; and that danger must be estimated by the twofold consideration of the malice, and the power, of our enemies. A pernicious tenet has been imputed to the Mohammedans, the duty of *extirpating* all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is refuted by the Koran, by the history of the Mussulman conquerors, and by their public and legal toleration of the Christian worship. But it cannot be denied, that the Oriental churches are depressed under their yoke; that in peace and war, they assert a divine and indefensible claim of universal empire; and that, in their orthodox creed, the unbelieving nations are continually threatened with the loss of religion or liberty. In the eleventh century, the victorious arms of the Turks presented a real and urgent apprehension of these losses. They had subdued, in less than thirty years, the kingdoms of Asia, as

¹ If the reader will turn to the first scene of the First Part of Henry the Fourth, he will see in the text of Shakespeare the natural feelings of enthusiasm, and in the notes of Dr Johnson, the workings of a bigoted, though vigorous, mind, greedy of every pretence to hate and persecute those who dissent from his creed.

far as Jerusalem and the Hellespont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. Besides an honest sympathy for their brethren, the Latins had a right and interest in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the West, and the privilege of defence must reach to prevent, as well as to repel, an impending assault. But this salutary purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour; and our calmer reason must disclaim the innumerable hosts and remote operations, which overwhelmed Asia and depopulated Europe.* II. Palestine could add nothing to the strength or safety of the Latins, and fanaticism alone could pretend to justify the conquest of that distant and narrow province. The Christians affirmed that their inalienable title to the promised land had been sealed by the blood of their divine Saviour: it was their right and duty to rescue their inheritance from the unjust possessors, who profaned his sepulchre, and oppressed the pilgrimage of his disciples. Vainly would it be alleged that the pre-eminence of Jerusalem, and the sanctity of Palestine, have been abolished with the Mosaic law, that the God of the Christians is not a local deity, and that the recovery of Bethlem or Calvary, his cradle or his tomb, will not atone for the violation of the moral precepts of the Gospel. Such arguments glance aside from the leaden shield of superstition, and the religious mind will not

* The manner in which the war was conducted surely has little relation to the abstract question of the justice or injustice of the war. The most just and necessary war may be conducted with the most profligate waste of human life, and the wildest fanaticism the most unjust with the coolest moderation and consummate generalship. The question is, whether the liberties and religion of Europe were in danger from the aggressions of Mohammedanism? If so, it is difficult to limit the right though it may be proper to question the wisdom, of overwhelming the enemy with the armed population of a whole continent, and repelling, if possible, the invading conqueror into his native deserts. The crusades are monuments of human folly; but to which of the more regular wars of civilised Europe, waged for personal ambition or national jealousy, will our calmer reason appeal as monuments either of human justice or human wisdom?—M.

easily relinquish its hold on the sacred ground of mystery and miracle. III. But the holy wars which have been waged in every climate of the globe, from Egypt to Livonia, and from Peru to Hindustan, require the support of some more general and flexible tenet. It has been often supposed, and sometimes affirmed, that a difference of religion is a worthy cause of hostility: that obstinate unbelievers may be slain or subdued by the champions of the cross, and that grace is the sole fountain of dominion as well as of mercy.* Above four hundred years before the first crusade, the eastern and western provinces of the Roman Empire had been acquired about the same time, and in the same manner, by the barbarians of Germany and Arabia. Time and treaties had legitimated the conquests of the Christian Franks; but in the eyes of their subjects and neighbours, the Mohammedan princes were still tyrants and usurpers, who by the arms of war or rebellion, might be lawfully driven from their unlawful possession.¹

As the manners of the Christians were relaxed, their discipline of penance² was enforced, and spiritual motives with the multiplication and indulgence of sins, the remedies were multiplied.

¹ The sixth Discourse of Fleury on Ecclesiastical History (p. 223-261) contains an accurate and rational view of the causes and effects of the crusades.

² The penance, indulgences, &c of the middle ages are amply discussed by Muratori (*Antiquitat Italicae* vol. I, tom v. dissert. lxxviii p. 709-708) and by M. Chais (*Lettres sur les Jubiles et les Indulgences*, tom II. lettres 21 & 22 p. 478-558), with this difference that the abuses of superstition are mildly, perhaps faintly, exposed by the learned Italian, and peevishly magnified by the Dutch minister.

* "God," says the abbot Guibert, "invented the crusades as a new way for the *laity* to atone for their sins and to merit salvation." This extraordinary and characteristic passage must be given entire. "Deus nostro tempore per haec sancta instituit, ut ordo equestris et vulgus obernans qui vetustas Paganitatis exemplo in mutua verabatur caedes, novum reperirent salutis promerendae genus, ut nec funditus electa, ut finiri assolet, monastica conversatione, seu religioſa qualibet professione aevulium relinquere cogerentur, sed sub consuetudine horrenti, et habitu ex suo ipſorum officio. Dei aliquatenus gratiam consequerentur." Guib. Abbas, p. 371. See Wilkes, vol. I. p. 63.—M.

In the primitive church, a voluntary and open confession prepared the work of atonement. In the middle ages, the bishops and priests interrogated the criminal, compelled him to account for his thoughts, words, and actions; and prescribed the terms of his reconciliation with God. But as this discretionary power might alternately be abused by indulgence and tyranny, a rule of discipline was framed, to inform and regulate the spiritual judges. This mode of legislation was invented by the Greeks, their *penitentials*¹ were translated, or imitated, in the Latin church, and, in the time of Charlemagne, the clergy of every diocese were provided with a code, which they prudently concealed from the knowledge of the vulgar. In this dangerous estimate of crimes and punishments, each case was supposed, each difference was remarked, by the experience or penetration of the monks, some sins are enumerated which innocence could not have suspected, and others which reason cannot believe, and the more ordinary offences of fornication and adultery of perjury and sacrilege, of rapine and murder, were expiated by a penance, which, according to the various circumstances, was prolonged from forty days to seven years. During this term of mortification, the patient was healed, the criminal was absolved, by a salutary regimen of fasts and prayers, the disorder of his dress was expressive of grief and remorse, and he humbly abstained from all the business and pleasure of social life. But the rigid execution of these laws would have depopulated the palace, the camp, and the city, the barbarians of the West believed and trembled, but nature often rebelled against principle, and the magistrate laboured without effect to enforce the jurisdiction of the priest. A literal accomplishment of penance was indeed impracticable: the guilt of adultery was multiplied by daily repetition, that of homicide might involve the massacre of

¹ Schmidt (Histoire des Allemands, tom. i. p. 211-220, 452-463), gives an abstract of the Penitential of Liutgao in the ninth, and of Burchard in the tenth century. In one year, five-and-thirty murders were perpetrated at Worms.

a whole people, each act was separately numbered; and, in those times of anarchy and vice, a modest sinner might easily incur a debt of three hundred years. His insolvency was relieved by a commutation, or *indulgence*: a year of penance was appreciated as twenty-six *solidi* of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich; at three *solidi*, or nine shillings for the indigent, and these alms were soon appropriated to the use of the church, which derived from the redemption of sins, an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion. A debt of three hundred years, or twelve hundred pounds, was enough to impoverish a plentiful fortune, the scarcity of gold and silver was supplied by the alienation of land, and the princely donations of Pepin and Charlemagne are expressly given for the *remedy* of their soul. It is a maxim of the civil law, that whosoever cannot pay with his purse, must pay with his body; and the practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, a cheap, though painful, equivalent. By a fantastic arithmetic, a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes,² and such was the skill and patience of a famous hermit, St. Dominic of the Iron Cuirass,³ that in six days he could discharge an entire century, by a whipping of three thousand stripes. His example was followed by many penitents of both sexes, and, as a various sacrifice was accepted, a sturdy disciplinarian might expiate on his own back the sins of his benefactors.⁴ These compensations of

² Till the twelfth century, we may support the clear account of twelve *denarii*, or pence, to the *solidus*, or shilling, and twenty *solidi* to the pound weight of silver, about the pound sterling. Our money is diminished to a third, and the French to a fifth, of this primitive standard.

³ Each century of lashes was sanctified with the recital of a psalm, and the whole practice, with the accompaniment of 1,000 stripes, was equivalent to five years.

⁴ The Life and Achievements of St. Dominic Loricatus was composed by his friend and admirer, Peter Damianus. See Flcury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 36-104. Erasmus, A.D. 1066, No. 7, who observes from Damianus, how fashionable, even among ladies of quality (sublimis generis), this expiation (purgatori genus) was grown.

⁵ At a quarter, or even half a mil a lash, Sanchez Panza was a cheaper, and possibly not a more dishonest workman.

the purse and the person introduced, in the eleventh century, a more honourable mode of satisfaction. The merit of military service against the Saracens of Africa and Spain had been allowed by the predecessors of Urban the Second. In the council of Clermont, that Pope proclaimed a *plenary indulgence* to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross, the absolution of *all* their sins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance.¹ The cold philosophy of modern times is incapable of feeling the impression that was made on a sinful and fanatic world. At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands to redeem their souls, by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their Christian brethren, and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination. None were pure, none were exempt from the guilt and penalty of sin, and those who were the least amenable to the justice of God and the church, were the best entitled to the temporal and eternal recompense of their pious courage. If they fell, the spirit of the Latin clergy did not hesitate to adorn their tomb with the crown of Martyrdom;—and should they survive, they could expect without impatience the delay and increase of their heavenly reward. They offered their blood to the Son of God, who had laid down his life for their salvation: they took up the cross, and entered with confidence into the way of the Lord. His providence would watch over their

safety, perhaps his visible and miraculous power would smooth the difficulties of their holy enterprise. The clown and pillar of Jehovah had marched before the Israelites into the promised land. Might not the Christians more reasonably hope that the rivers would open for their passage; that the walls of the strongest cities would fall at the sound of their trumpets, and that the sun would be arrested in his mid-career, to allow them time for the destruction of the infidels?

Of the chiefs and soldiers who marched to the holy sepulchre, I ^{Temporal and carnal motives} will dare to affirm that *all* were prompted by the spirit of enthusiasm, the belief of merit, the hope of reward, and the assurance of divine aid. But I am equally persuaded that in *many* it was not the sole, that in *some* it was not the leading, principle of action. The use and abuse of religion are foible to stem, they are strong and irresistible to impel, the stream of national manners. Against the private wars of the barbarians, their bloody tournaments, licentious loves, and judicial duels, the popes and synods might intellectually the idler. It is more easy task to provoke the metaphysical disputes of the Greeks, to drive into the cloister the victims of anarchy or despotism, to sanctify the pitance of slaves and cowards, or to assume the merit of the humanity and nonviolence of modern Christians. War and exercise were the reigning passions of the Franks or Latins, they were enjoined, as a penance, to gratify those passions, to visit distant lands, and to draw their swords against the nations of the East. Their victory, or even their attempt, would immortalise the names of the intrepid heroes of the cross, and the purest piety could not be insensible to the most splendid prospect of military glory. In the petty quarrels of Europe, they shed the blood of their friends and countrymen, for the acquisition perhaps of a castle or a village. They could march with alacrity against the distant and hostile nations who were devoted to their arms; their fancy already grasped the golden sceptres of Asia;

¹ I remember in Pape Fabat (*Voyages in Italy*, tom. vii. p. 16-9) a very lively picture of the *devotion* of one of these artists.

² *Quicunque pro tali devotione, non pro honore vel pecunie adeptione ad liberandum ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentie reputatur* (Concilium Clermontense II. p. 82) (which style it *novus salutaris genus* (p. 471), and is almost plain optical on the subject.)

³ Such at least was the belief of the crusaders, and such is the uniform style of the historians (*Esprit des Croisades*, tom. iii. p. 477), but the prayer for the repose of their souls is inconsistent in orthodox theology with the merit of martyrdom.

* See note, 1841. 185. —M.

and the conquest of Apulia and Sicily by the Normans might exalt to royalty the hopes of the most private adventurer. Christendom, in her rudest state, must have yielded to the climate and cultivation of the Mohammedan countries, and their natural and artificial wealth had been magnified by the tales of pilgrims and the gifts of an imperfect commerce. The vulgar, both the great and small, were taught to believe every wonder, of land flowing with milk and honey, of mines and treasures, of gold and diamonds, of palaces of marble and jasper, and of odiferous groves of cinnamon and frankincense. In this earthly paradise, each warrior depended on his sword to carve a plentiful and honourable establishment, which he measured only by the extent of his wishes. Their vassals and soldiers trusted their fortunes to God and their master, the spoils of a Turkish emir might enrich the meagrest follower of the camp, and the flavour of the wines, the beauty of the Grecian women, were temptations more adapted to the nature, than to the profession, of the champions of the cross. The love of freedom was a powerful incitement to the multitudes who were oppressed by feudal or ecclesiastical tyranny. Under this holy sign, the peasants and burghers, who were attached to the servitude of the globe, might escape from a haughty lord, and transplant themselves and their families to a land of liberty. The monk might resist himself from the discipline of his convent, the debtor might suspend the accumulation of usury and the pursuit of his credit and outlaws and malefactors of every cast might continue to brave the laws and elude the punishment of their crimes.

In the hope which played in the letters of the troubadours, of some day in France a vassal of the king de Berseste could boast that his estate amounted to one castle and ten castles, of the yearly value of 100 marks, and that he should acquire a hundred castles by the conquest of Albigens (Gillart, p. 654, 655).

In his genuine or fictitious letter to the Count of Flanders, Alexius mingles with the language of the church and the relics of saints the *auri et argenti amor*, and *pulcherrimum formidinum voluptas* (p. 470), as if, says the indignant author, the French women were handsomer than those of Italy.

See the privileges of the *crusacognati*, free

These motives were potent and numerous, when we have singly computed their weight on the mind of each individual, we must add the minute series, the multiplying powers of example and fashion. The first proselytes became the warmest and most effectual missionaries of the cross; among their friends and countrymen they preached the duty, the merit, and the recompense, of their holy vow, and the most reluctant hearers were irresistibly drawn within the whirlpool of persuasion and authority. The martial youths were fired by the reproach or suspicion of cowardice, the opportunity of visiting with an army the sepulchre of Christ was embraced by the old and infirm, by women and children, who consulted rather their zeal than their strength, and those who in the evening had derided the folly of their companions, were the next day, the ensuing day, to tread in their footsteps. The ignorance, which magnified the hopes, diminished the perils of the enterprise. Since the Turkish conquest, the paths of pilgrimage were obliterated, the cheerful travellers had an imperfect notion of the length of the way and the state of their enemies, and such was the stupidity of the people, that, at the sight of the first city or castle beyond the limits of their knowledge, they were ready to ask whether that was not the Jerusalem, the term and object of their labours. Yet the more prudent of the crusaders, who were not sure that they should be fed from heaven with a shower of quails or manna, provided themselves with those precious metals, which, in every country, are the representatives of every commodity. To defray, according to their rank, the expenses of the road, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, peasants their cattle and the instruments of husbandry. The value of property was depreciated by the eager competition of multitudes; while the price of arms and horses was raised to an exorbitant height by the

dom from debt, misery, injury, secular justice &c. The pope was their perpetual guardian (Bucanque, tom. ii. p. 651, 652).

wants and impatience of the buyers. Those who remained at home, with sense and money, were enriched by the epidemical disease; the sovereigns acquired at a cheap rate the domains of their vassals; and the ecclesiastical purchasers completed the payment by the assurance of their prayers. The cross, which was commonly sewed on the garment in cloth or silk, was inscribed by some zealots on their skin: a hot iron, or indelible liquor, was applied to perpetuate the mark; and a crafty monk, who showed the miraculous impression on his breast, was repaid with the popular veneration and the richest benefices of Palestine.

The fifteenth of August had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims to the holy land; the day was anticipated by the thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians, and I shall briefly despatch the calamities which they inflicted and suffered, before I enter on the more serious and successful enterprise of the chiefs. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes flocked round the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him with clamorous importunity to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and his lieutenant, Walter the Penniless, a valiant though needy soldier, conducted a vanguard of pilgrims, whose condition may be determined from the proportion of eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot. The example and footsteps of Walter were closely pursued by another fanatic, the monk Godescalc, whose sermons had

swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. Their rear was again pressed by a herd of two hundred thousand, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution and drunkenness. Some counts and gentlemen, at the head of three thousand horse, attended the motions of the multitude to partake in the spoil; but their genuine leaders (may we credit such folly?) were a goose and a goat, who were carried in the front, and to whom these worthy Christians ascribed an infusion of the divine spirit. Of these, and of other bands of enthusiasts, the first and most easy warfare was against the Jews, the murderers of the Son of God. In the trading cities of the Moselle and the Rhine, their colonies were numerous and rich, and they enjoyed under the protection of the emperor and the bishops, the free exercise of their religion. At Verdun, Treves,

¹ Fuit et aliud scelus detestabile in hac congregatione pedestris populi stulti et vesane levitatis asserere quendam divino spiritali asserebant afflatum, et *capellam* non minus etiam in repletam, et has a *bi* duces secundo vi fecerant, &c. (Albert Aquensis, l. i. c. 81, p. 196). Had these peasants founded an empire, they might have introduced as in Egypt, the worship of animals, which their philosophic descendants would have glossed over with some specious and subtle allegory.

- Benjamin of Tudeles describes the state of

* A singular "allegory" explanation of this strange fact has recently been broached. It is connected with the charge of idolatry and Eastern heretical opinions subsequently made against the Templars. "We have no doubt that they were Manichee or Gnostic standards." [The author says the animals themselves were carried before the arm, — M.] "The goose, in Egyptian symbols, is every Egyptian scholar knows, meant 'divine Son,' or 'Son of God.' The goat meant Typhon, or the Devil. Thus we have the Manichee opposing principles of good and evil, as standards, at the head of the ignorant mob of crusading invaders. Can any one doubt that a large portion of this host must have been infected with the Manichee or Gnostic idolatry?" Account of the Temple (hursh by R. W. Billings, page 6, London, 1838. This is, at all events, a curious coincidence, especially considered in connection with the extensive dissemination of the Paulician opinions among the common people of Europe. At any rate, in so inexplicable a matter, we are inclined to catch at any explanation, however wild or subtle. — M

¹ Guibert (p. 481) paints in lively colours this general emotion. He was one of the few contemporaries who had genius enough to feel the astonishing scenes that were passing before their eyes. *Erat itaque videre miraculum, carum omnes emere, atque vii videri, &c.*

² Some instances of these *stigmata* are given in the *Esprit des Croisades* (tom. iii. p. 100 &c.) from authors whom I have not seen.

Mentz, Spire, Worms, many thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred; nor had they felt a more bloody stroke since the persecution of Hadrian. A remnant was saved by the firmness of their bishops, who accepted a feigned and transient conversion; but the more obstinate Jews opposed their fanaticism to the fanaticism of the Christians, barricaded their houses, and precipitating themselves, their families, and then wealth, into the rivers or the flames, disappointed the malice, or at least the avarice, of their implacable foes.

Between the frontiers of Austria and the seat of the Byzantine monarchy, the crusaders were compelled to traverse an interval of six

Their destruction in Hungary and Asia A.D. 1094.

hundred miles, the wild and desolate countries of Hungary* and Bulgaria. The soils fruitful, and intersected with rivers, but it was then covered with morasses and forests, which spread to a boundless extent whenever man has ceased to exercise his dominion over the earth. Both nations had imbibed the rudiments of Christianity; the Hungarians were ruled by their native princes, the Bulgarians by a lieutenant of the Greek emperor, but, on the slightest provocation, their ferocious nature was rekindled, and ample provocation was afforded by the disorders of the first pilgrims. Agriculture must have been unskilful and languid among a people, whose cities were built of reeds and timber, which were deserted in the

hills Jewish brethren from Cologne along the Rhine, they were rich, generous, learned, hospitable, and lived in the eager hope of the Messiah (*Voyage*, tom. 1 p. 243-245 par Hagatit). In seventy years (he wrote about A.D. 1170) they had recovered from these miseries.

* These massacres and depredations on the Jews, which were renewed at each crusade, are evilly related. It is true, that St. Bernard (epist. 363, tom. 1 p. 329) admonishes the Oriental Franks, non sunt persequendi Judæi, non sunt trucidandi! The contrary doctrine had been preached by a rival monk.

† See the contemporary description of Hungary in Otho of Freising, l. ii c. 31, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi p. 606, 606.

* This is an unjust sarcasm against St. Bernard. He stood above all rivalry of this kind. See note 31, c. lix — 41

summer season for the tents of hunters and shepherds. A scanty supply of provisions was rudely demanded, forcibly seized, and greedily consumed; and on the first quarrel, the crusaders gave loose to indignation and revenge. But their ignorance of the country, of war, and of discipline, exposed them to every snare. The Greek prefect of Bulgaria commanded a regular force,* at the trumpet of the Hungarian king, the eighth or the tenth of his martial subjects lent their bows and mounted on horseback, their policy was insidious, and their retaliation on these pious robbers was unrelenting and bloody. About a third of the naked fugitives—and the hermit Peter was of the number—escaped to the Thracian mountains, and the emperor, who respected the pilgrimage and succour of the Latins, conducted them by secure and easy journeys to Constantinople, and advised them to wait the arrival of their brethren. For a while they remembered their faults and losses; but no sooner were they revived by the hospitable entertainment, than their venom was again inflamed, they stung their benefactor, and neither gardens, nor palaces, nor churches, were safe from their depredations. For his own safety, Alexius allured them to pass over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; but their blind impetuosity soon urged

† The old Hungarians, without excepting Turotsius, are ill informed of the first crusade which they involve in a single passage. Katona, like ourselves, can only quote the writers of France, but he compares with local science the ancient and modern geography. *Ante portam* Cyperon, is Sopron or Poson, *Mallatilla*, Lem. lin; *Fluvius Maros*, Savus, *Lintax*, Leith, *Monsbroch*, or *Mersburg*, Ouar, or Moson, *Isolentburg*, Fragg (de Regibus Hungarie, tom. iii p. 19-53).

* The narrative of the first march is very incorrect. The first party moved under Walter de Pezexo and Walter the Penniless they passed safe through Hungary, the kingdom of Kalmeny, and were attacked in Bulgaria. Peter followed with 40,000 men, passed through Hungary, but seeing the clothes of sixteen crusaders, who had been impaled on the walls of Semlin, he attacked and stormed the city. He then marched to Nissa, where, at first, he was hospitably received, but an accidental quarrel taking place, he suffered a great defeat. Wilken vol. 1 p. 84 — M

them to desert the station which he had assigned, and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road of Jerusalem. The hermit, conscious of his shame, had withdrawn from the camp to Constantinople; and his lieutenant, Walter the Penitens, who was worthy of a better command, attempted without success to introduce some order and prudence among the herd of savages. They separated in quest of prey, and themselves fell an easy prey to the arts of the sultan. By a rumour that their foremost companions were rioting in the spoils of his capital, Soliman* tempted the main body to descend into the plain of Nice; they were overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows; and a pyramid of bones¹ informed their companions of the place of their defeat. Of the first crusaders, three hundred thousand had already perished before a single city was rescued from the infidels, before their grivour and more noble brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprises.²

None of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked their persons in the first crusade. The Emperor Henry the Fourth was not disposed to obey the summons of the Pope, Philip the First of France was occupied by his pleasures; William Rufus of England by a recent conquest, the kings of Spain were engaged in a domestic war against the Moors, and the northern monarchs of Scotland,

Denmark,³ Sweden, and Poland, were yet strangers to the passions and interests of the South. The religious ardour was more strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. Their situation will naturally cast under four distinct heads the review of their names and characters, but I may escape some needless repetition, by observing at once, that courage and the exercise of arms are the common attribute of these Christian adventurers. I The first rank both in war and in council is justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon, and happy would it have been for the crusaders, if they had trusted themselves to the sole conduct of that accomplished hero, a worthy representative of Charlemagne, from whom he was descended in the female line. His father was of the noble race of the counts of Boulogne-Brabant, the lower province of that name, - was the inheritance of his mother, and by the emperor's bounty he was himself invested with that ducal title, which has been improperly transferred to his lordship of Bouillon in the Ardennes.⁴ In the service of Henry the Fourth, he bore the great standard of the empire, and pierced with his lance the breast of Rodolph, the rebel king. Godfrey was the first who ascended the walls of Rome, and his sickness, his vow, perhaps his remorse for bearing arms against the pope, confirmed an early resolution of visiting the holy sepulchre, not as a pilgrim, but a deliverer. His valour was mingled by prudence and moderation, his piety,

* Anna Comnena (ALEXANDER, l. x. p. 287) describes this *ὄρος καλῶν* as a mountain *ὀψιλλῶν καὶ βάθους καὶ πλάτους ἀξιομνηστέων*. In this siege of Nice, such were used by the Franks the molivus as the materials of a wall.

- See Table on next page

* Soliman had been killed in 1085, in a battle against Tountouch, brother of Malek, in the battle between Appelo and Antioch. It was not Soliman, therefore, but his son David, surnamed Kilidje Arslan, the " Sword of the Lion," who reigned in Nice. Almost all the occidental authors have fallen into this mistake, which was detected by M. Michand, *Hist. des Crois.* 4th edit. and *Extraits des Aut. Arab. rel. aux Croisades*, par M. Reinaud, Paris, 1829, p. 3. His kingdom extended from the Orontes to the Euphrates, and as far as the Bosphorus. Kilidje Arslan must uniformly be substituted for Soliman in Brocquet, note on Le Beau, tom. xv. p. 411. M.

¹ The author of the *Épître des Croisades* has doubted, and might have doubted, the crusade and tragic death of Prince Suenoo, with 1,500 or 15,000 Danes, who was cut off by sultan Soliman in Cappadocia, but who still lives in the poem of Russo (tom. iv. p. 111-115).

- The fragments of the kingdoms of Lotharinga, or Lorraine, were broken into the two duchies, of the Moselle, and of the Meuse the first has preserved its name, which in the latter has been changed into that of Brabant (Vales Notit. Gall. p. 283-288).

³ See, in the description of France by the Abbé de Longueville, the articles of *Pologne*, part i. p. 54. *Brabant*, part ii. p. 47, 48. *Bouillon*, p. 124. On his departure, Godfrey sold or pawned Bouillon to the church for 1,200 marks.

To save time and space, I shall represent, in a 2nd column, the particular references to $\{e_1, \dots, e_n\}$ of the $\{x_i\}$ -tuples, derived from $\{e_1, \dots, e_n\}$ and noted in table 1, in the first column. I shall use

	The Crowd	The Church	The Ideal to Conserve People	Alexius	Nice and Asia Minor	Edeass	Azroch	The Battle	The Holy Lance	Conquest of Jerusalem
I Giza, Francorum p 1, 2	p 2	p 2, 8.	p 4, 5	p 67	—	p 91f	p 1022	p 1830	p 2625e	
II R. Iustus Mon- achus } p 38, 34	p 50, 30	p c 37	p 37, 38	p 70-45	—	p 42-75	p 300c	p 01, 02	p 74 Sl	
III Baldicus	p 80,	—	p 01 04	p 72, 101	—	f 101 111	p 111 122	p 110 110	p 180-188	
IV Rainmundus des Agiles }	—	p 1, 0, 1, 0	p 140, 141	p 142	—	p 42, 110	n. 149 155	{ p 130, 152, 154, }	p 173-15	
V Albertus Aqua enris }	—	p 1 H c 1 S	{ 1 h c } { 1 h c 1 S }	{ 1 n c 20 43, } { 1 h c 14 }	{ 1 h c 53, 1 v c 1 } { 1 v 1 c }	{ 1 h c } { 1 v c 14 }	{ 1 v c } { 1 v c }	{ 1 v c } { 1 v c }	{ 1 v c 45, 46 1 v c 1-0 }	
VI Fulcherius Canotheleis }	p 384	—	p 35, 38.	p 38c	p 387 390	p 383, 391	p c., 702	p 302 305	p 302	p 300-400
VII Guibertus	p 482, 455	—	p 15, 45	p 452 400	{ p 401 403, 408 }	p 406, 407	{ p 408, 412 }	p 512 553	{ p 520, 524, 530, 534, }	p 623-587
VIII Willermus Tyrens }	p 1 c 16-30	{ 1 v c 1 f } { 1 v c 1 f, 22 }	{ 1 n c 6-53 }	{ 1 h c 1-12, 1 v c 18, 5 }	{ 1 h c 1-12, 1 v c 18, 5 }	{ 1 v c 1 C }	{ 1 v c 23, 1 v c 1, 2, 3 }	{ 1 v c 1 23 i v c 1 23 i v c 14 }	{ 1 v c 1 23 1 v c 1 23 }	
IX Teodolphus Cadomensis }	—	c 13, 10 c 47, 17	{ c 8-13, 13, 18 }	{ c 14 16, 21 47 }	—	c 48-7.	c 72 01	c 100-100	c 111 158	
X Demetrius Thesaurarius }	c 711	—	c 11 30	c 11 50	c 21 25	c 26	c 27 38	c 30 52.	c 45	c 54 77

though blind, was sincere, and, in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. Superior to the private factions of the chiefs, he reserved his enmity for the enemies of Christ, and though he gained a kingdom by the attempt, his pure and disinterested zeal was acknowledged by his rivals. Godfrey of Bouillon¹ was accompanied by his two brothers, by Eustace the elder, who had succeeded to the county of Boulogne, and by the younger, Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous virtue. The duke of Lorraine was alike celebrated on either side of the Rhine. From his birth and education, he was equally conversant with the French and Teutonic languages. The barons of France, Germany, and Lorraine, assembled their vassals, and the confederate force that marched under his banner was composed of fourscore thousand foot and about ten thousand horse. II In the parliament that was held at Paris, in the king's presence, about two

II Hugh of
Vermandois,
Robert of Nor-
mandy, Robert
of Flanders,
Stephen of
Chartres, &c.

months after the council of Clermont, Hugh, count of Vermandois, was the most conspicuous of the princes who assumed the cross. But the appellation of *the Great* was applied, not so much to his merit or possessions (though neither were contemptible), as to the royal birth of the brother of the king of France.² Robert, duke of Normandy, was the eldest son of William the Conqueror; but on his father's death he was deprived of the kingdom of England, by his indolence and the activity of his brother Rufus. The worth of Robert was degraded by an excessive levity and easiness of temper; his cheerfulness seduced him to the indulgence of pleasure; his profuse liberality

impoverished the prince and people; his indiscriminate clemency multiplied the number of offenders; and the amiable qualities of a private man became the essential defects of a sovereign. For the trifling sum of ten thousand marks, he mortgaged Normandy during his absence to the English usurper;³ but his engagement and behaviour in the holy war announced in Robert a reformation of manners, and restored him in some degree to the public esteem. Another Robert was count of Flanders, a royal province, which, in this century, gave three queens⁴ to the thrones of France, England, and Denmark. He was adorned the sword and lance of the Christians, but in the exploits of a soldier, he sometimes forgot the duties of a general. Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes, was one of the richest princes of the age; and the number of his castles has been compared to the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year. His mind was improved by literature, and, in the council of the chiefs, the eloquent Stephen⁵ was chosen to discharge the office of their president. These four were the principal leaders of the French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the British isles, but the list of the barons who were possessed of three or four towns would exceed, says a contemporary, the catalogue of the Trojan war.⁶ III In the south of France, the command was assumed by Adilmar, bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, and by Raymond of St. Giles and Tholouse, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence. The former

¹ Will. Gemeticensis, l. vii. c. 2. p. 672, 673, in Camden Normaniæ. He pawned the duchy for one hundredth part of the present yearly revenue. Ten thousand marks may be equal to five hundred thousand livres, and Normandy annually yields fifty-seven millions to the king (Necker, Administration des Finances, tom. i. p. 257).

² His original letter to his wife is inserted in the Spicilegium of Dom Luc, d'Acheri, tom. iv., and quoted in the Esprit des Croisades, tom. i. p. 61.

³ Unus enim, duum, trium seu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numeret? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut non vix totidem Trojana obshello cognoscere poteretur (Ever the lively and interesting Guibert, p. 486).

¹ See the family character of Godfrey, in William of Tyre, l. ix. c. 5-8, his previous design in Guibert (p. 486), his sickness and vow, in Bernard the Great (c. 78).

² Anna Comnena supposes, that Hugh was proud of his nobility, riches, and power (l. x. p. 283) the two last articles appear more equivocal, but an *hypocrite*, which seven hundred years ago was famous in the palace of Constantinople, attests the ancient dignity of the Capetian family of France.

was a respectable prelate, alike qualified for this world and the next. The latter was a veteran warrior, who had fought against the Saracens of Spain, and who consecrated his declining age, not only to the deliverance, but to the perpetual service, of the holy sepulchre. His experience and riches gave him a strong ascendant in the Christian camp, whose distaste he was often able, and sometimes willing, to relieve. But it was easier for him to extort the praise of the infidels, than to preserve the love of his subjects and associates. His eminent qualities were clouded by a temper, haughty, envious and obstinate, and, though he resigned an ample patrimony for the cause of God, his pique, in the public opinion, was not exempt from avarice and ambition. A mercantile, rather than a martial, spirit prevailed among his *provincials*,² a common name, which included the natives of Auvergne and Languedoc, the vassals of the kingdom of Burgundy or Ailes. From the adjacent frontier of Spain, he drew a band of hardy adventurers, as he marched through Lombardy, a crowd of Italians flocked to his standard, and his united force consisted of one hundred thousand horse and foot. If Raymond was the first to enlist and the last to depart, the delay may be excused by the greatness of his preparation and the promise of an ever-

IV Bohemond listing farewell IV The name of Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, was already famous by his double victory over the

¹ It is singular enough, that Raymond of St. Gilles, a second character in the genuine history of the crusades, should shine as the first of heroes in the writings of the Greeks (Anna Comnen. Alexiad. l. x. xi.) and the Arabians (Longuerans, p. 159).

² Omnes de Burgundiâ, et Alverniâ, et Vasconiâ, et Gothi (of Languedoc), provinciales appellabantur, inter vero Francigeni et hoc in exercitu inter hostes autem Franci dicebantur Raymond des Agiles, p. 141.

³ The town of his birth, or first appanage, was consecrated to St. Agildus, whose name, as early as the first crusade, was corrupted by the French into St. Gilles, or St. Gilles. It is situated in the Lower Languedoc, between Nismes and the Rhône, and still boasts a collegiate church of the foundation of Raymond (Melanges tirés d'une Grande Bibliothèque, tom xxxvii p. 61).

Greek emperor, but his father's will had reduced him to the primary duty of Tarentum, and the remembrance of his Eastern trophies, till he was awakened by the rumour and press of the French pilgrims. It is in the person of this Norman chief that we may seek for the coolest policy and ambition, with a small alloy of religious fanaticism. His conduct may justify a belief that he had secretly directed the design of the pope, which he affected to second with astonishment and zeal at the siege of Annapoli, his example and discourse inflamed the passions of a confederate army, he instantly tore his garment to supply crosses for the numerous candidates, and prepared to visit Constantinople and Asia at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Several princes of the Norman race accompanied this veteran general, and his cousin Tancred was the partner, rather than the servant, of the war. In the accomplished character of Tancred, we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight,³ the true spirit of chivalry, which inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of men far better than the wise philosophy, or the baser religion, of the times.

Between the age of Charlemagne and that of the crusades, a revolution had

¹ The mother of Tancred was Emma, sister of the great Robert Guiscard his father, the Marquis Otto the Good. It is singular enough, that the family and country of so illustrious a person should be unknown, but Muratori reasonably conjectures that he was an Italian, and perhaps of the race of the marquesses of Montferrat in Piedmont (Script. tom v p. 281, 282).

² To gratify the childish vanity of the house of Este, Tasso has inserted in his poem, and in the first crusade, a fabulous hero, the brave and amorous Rinaldo, (x. 75, xvii. 66 61). He might borrow his name from a Rinaldo, with the Aquila bianca Esteense, who vanquished, as the standard bearer of the Roman Church, the Emperor Frederick I. (Storia Imperiale di Niccolò baldi, in Muratori Script. Ital. tom ix p. 360, Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, lib. 30). But, 1. The distance of sixty years between the youth of the two Rinaldos, destroys their identity. 2. The Storia Imperiale is a forgery of the Conte Borardo, at the end of the fifteenth century (Muratori, p. 281. 289). 3. This Rinaldo, and his exploits, are not less chimerical than the hero of Tasso (Muratori, Antichità Estense, tom i p. 360).

taken place among the Spaniards, the Norman, and the French, which was gradually extended to the rest of Europe. The service of the infantry was degraded to the plebeians; the cavalry formed the strength of the armies, and the honourable name of *miles*, or soldier, was confined to the gentlemen who served on horseback, and were invested with the character of knighthood. The dukes and counts, who had usurped the rights of sovereignty, divided the provinces among their faithful barons: the barons distributed among their vassals the lands or benefices of their jurisdiction, and these military tenants, the peers of each other and of their lord, composed the noble or equestrian order, which disdained to conceive the peasant or labourer as of the same species with themselves. The dignity of their birth was preserved by pure and equal alliances; their sons alone, who could produce four quarters or lines of ancestry, without spot or reproach, might legally pretend to the honour of knighthood; but a valiant plebeian was sometimes enriched and ennobled by the sword, and became the father of a new race. A single knight could impart, according to his judgment, the character which he received, and the warlike sovereigns of Europe derived more glory from this personal distinction than from the lustre of their diadem. This ceremony, of which some traces may be found in Tacitus and the woods of Germany, was in its origin simple and profane, the candidate, after some previous trial, was invested with the sword and spurs; and his cheek or shoulder was touched with a slight blow, as an emblem of the last affront which it was lawful for him to endure. But superstition mingled in every public and

private action of life, in the holy wars, it sanctified the profession of arms, and the order of chivalry was assimilated in its rights and privileges to the sacred orders of priesthood. The bath and white garment of the novice were an indelible copy of the regeneration of baptism. His sword, which he offered on the altar, was blessed by the ministers of religion: his solemn reception was preceded by fasts and vigils, and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel. He swore to accomplish the duties of his profession, and education, example, and the public opinion, were the inviolable guardians of his oath. As the champion of God and the ladies (I blush to unite such discordant names), he devoted himself to speak the truth, to maintain the right, to protect the distressed, to practise *courtesy*, a virtue less familiar to the ancients, to pursue the infidels, to despise the allurements of ease and safety, and to vindicate in every perilous adventure the honour of his character. The abuse of the same spirit provoked the illiterate knight to disdain the arts of industry and peace, to esteem himself the sole judge and of his own injuries, and proudly to neglect the laws of civil society and military discipline. Yet the benefits of this institution, to refine the temper of barbarians, and to infuse some principles of faith, justice, and humanity, were strongly felt, and have been often observed. The asperity of national prejudice was softened, and the community of religion and arms spread a similar colour and generous emulation over the face of Christendom. Abroad, in enterprise and pilgrimage, at home in martial exercise, the warriors of every country were perpetually associated, and impartial taste must prefer a Gothic tournament to the Olympic games of classic antiquity.¹ Instead of

¹ Of the words *gentilis*, *gentilhomme* *gentleman*, two etymologies are produced. 1. From the barbarians of the fifth century, the soldiers, and at length the conquerors of the Roman empire, who were vain of their foreign nobility, and 2. From the sense of the civilians, who consider *gentilis* as synonymous with *ingenuus*. Selden inclines to the first, but the latter is more pure, as well as probable.

² *Francæ acutiusque juvenum ornat* Tacitus, Germania, c. 13.

³ The athletic exercises, particularly the *cæstus* and *pancratium*, were condemned by Lycurgus, Philopomen, and Galen, a legislator, a general, and a physician. Against their authority and reasons, the reader may weigh the apology of Lucian, in the character of Helen. See West on the Olympic Games, in his *Indar*, vol. II. p. 86-96, 246-248.

the naked spectacles which corrupted the manners of the Greeks, and banished from the stadium the virgins and matrons, the pompous decoration of the lists was crowned with the presence of chaste and high-born beauty, from whose hands the conqueror received the prize of his dexterity and courage. The skill and strength that were exerted in wrestling and boxing bear a distant and doubtful relation to the merit of a soldier; but the tournaments, as they were invented in France, and eagerly adopted both in the East and West, presented a lively image of the business of the field. The single combats, the general skirmish, the defence of a pass, or castle, were rehearsed as in actual service, and the contest, both in real and mimic war, was decided by the superior management of the horse and lance. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight: his horse was of a large and heavy breed, but this chugger, till he was roused by the approaching danger, was usually led by an attendant, and he quietly rode a pad or palfrey of a more easy pace. His helmet, and sword, his greaves, and buckler, it would be superfluous to describe; but I may remark, that, at the period of the crusades, the armour was less ponderous than in later times, and that, instead of a massy cuirass, his breast was defended by a hunk or coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the rest, the warriors furiously spurred their horses against the foe, and the light cavalry of the Turks and Ains could seldom stand against the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful squire, a youth of equal birth and similar hopes, he was followed by his archers and men at arms, and four, or five, or six soldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete lance. In the expeditions to the neighbouring kingdoms or the Holy Land, the duties of the feudal tenure no longer subsisted, the voluntary service of the knights and their followers was either prompted by zeal or attachment, or purchased with rewards and promises, and

the numbers of each squadron were measured by the power, the wealth and the fame, of each independent chieftain. They were distinguished by his banner, his armorial coat, and his cry of war, and the most ancient families of Europe must seek in these achievements the origin and proof of their nobility. In this rapid portrait of chivalry, I have been urged to anticipate on the story of the crusades, at once an effect, and a cause, of this memorable institution.

Such were the troops, and such the leaders, who assumed the cross for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. As soon as they were relieved by the absence of the plebeian multitude, they encouraged each other, by interviews and messages, to accomplish their vow, and hasten their departure. Their wives and sisters were desirous of partaking the danger and merit of the pilgrimage: their portable treasures were conveyed in bars of silver and gold, and the princes and barons were attended by their equipage of hounds and hawks to amuse their leisure and to supply their table. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses engaged them to separate their forces: their choice or situation determined the road, and it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and as long as he exercised the sole command, every step afforded some proof of his prudence and virtue. On the confines of Hungary he was stopped three weeks by a Christian people, to whom the name, or at least the abuse, of the cross was justly odious. The

March of the
princes to Con-
stantinople
A.D. 1096-107

¹ On the curious subjects of knighthood, knight-service, nobility, arms, cry of war, banners and tournaments, an ample fund of information may be sought in Selden (*Opera*, tom. iii. part. i.^o *Titulus Honoris*, part. ii. c. l. 3, 6, 8), DuRoi (Gloss Latin tom. iv. p. 38-412, &c.), *Dissertation sur l'ancienne chevalerie* (i. viii. p. 127-142, p. 165-222), and *Mémoires sur la Chevalerie* (Mém. sur la Chevalerie).

Hungarians still smarted with the wounds which they had received from the first pilgrims in their turn they had abused the right of defence and retaliation, and they had reason to apprehend a severe revenge from a hero of the same nation, and who was engaged in the same cause. But, after weighing the motives and the events, the virtuous duke was content to pity the crimes and misfortunes of his worthless brethren, and his twelve deputies the messengers of peace, requested in his name a free passage and an equal market. To remove their suspicions, Godfrey trusted himself, and afterwards his brother, to the faith of Carloman,* king of Hungary, who treated them with a simple but hospitable entertainment the treaty was sanctified by their common gospel, and a proclamation, under pain of death, restrained the animosity and licence of the Latin soldiers. From Austria to Belgrade, they traversed the plains of Hungary, without enduring or offering an injury, and the proximity of Carloman, who hovered on their flanks with his numerous cavalry, was a precaution not less useful for their safety than for his own. They reached the banks of the Save, and no sooner had they passed the river, than the king of Hungary restored the hostages, and saluted their departure with the fairest wishes for the success of their enterprise. With the same conduct and discipline, Godfrey pervaded the woods of Bulgaria and the frontiers of Thrace, and might congratulate himself, that he had almost reached the first term of his pilgrimage, without drawing sword against a Christian adversary. After an easy and pleasant journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the savage country of Dalmatia¹ and Sclavonia. The

¹ The Famille Dalmatice of Ducange are meagre and imperfect, the national historians are recent and fabulous, the Greeks remote and

* Carloman (or Calmany) demanded the brother of Godfrey as hostage but Count Baldwin refused the humiliating submission. Godfrey shamed him into this sacrifice for the common good, by offering to surrender himself. Wilken, vol. i p. 104.—M

weather was a perpetual fog, the land was mountainous and desolate, the natives were either fugitive or hostile. Loose in their religion and government, they refused to furnish provisions or guides, murdered the stragglers, and exercised by night and day the vigilance of the count, who derived more security from the punishment of some captive robbers than from his interview and treaty with the prince of Scodra. His march between Durazzo and Constantinople was harassed, without being stopped, by the peasants and soldiers of the Greek emperor, and the same faint and ambiguous hostility was prepared for the remaining chiefs, who passed the Adriatic from the coast of Italy. Bohemond had arms and vessels, and foresight and discipline, and his name was not forgotten in the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. Whatever obstacles he encountered were surmounted by his military conduct and the Valour of Tancred, and if the Norman prince affected to spare the Greeks, he gorged his soldiers with the full plunder of an heretical castle. The nobles of France pressed forward with the vain and thoughtless ardour of which their nation has been sometimes accused. From the Alps to Apulia the march of Hugh the Great, of the two Roberts, and of Stephen of Chartres, through a wealthy country,

careless. In the year 1104, Bohemond reduced the maritime country as far as Trau and Salona (Katonas, Hist. Crit. tom. iii. p. 19, 207).

Scodra appears in Livy as the capital and fortress of Gentius king of the Illyrians, *rex muntilisima*, afterwards a Roman colony. (Callarius, tom. i. p. 391, 392). It is now called Scutari, or Scutari (D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 104). The sanjak (now a pasha) of Scutari, or Schendire, was the eighth under the Negherbeg of Romania, and furnished 600 soldiers on a revenue 78,787 six dollars (Marmigi, Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano, p. 128).

* In Pelagonia castrum hereticum . . . spoliatum cum suis habitatoribus igne combussere. *Aec id est iniquis configit quia illorum detestabilis sermo et cancer serpsit, jamque circumjacentes regiones suo pravo dogmate fœdaverat* (Robert Mon p. 36, 37). After coolly relating the fact, the archbishop Balduin adds, as a praise, *Omnes aliquem illi viatores, Judæos, hereticos, Saracenos equaliter habent exosos, quos omnes appellant inimicos Dei* (p. 92).

and amidst the applauding Catholics, was a devout or triumphant progress. They kissed the feet of the Roman pontiff, and the golden standard of St Peter was delivered to the brother of the French monarch.¹ But in this visit of piety and pleasure, they neglected to secure the season, and the means of their embarkation: the winter was insensibly lost, their troops were scattered and corrupted in the towns of Italy. They separately accomplished their passage, regardless of safety or dignity, and within nine months from the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached Constantinople. But the count of Viminadois was produced as a captive, his fornicost vestments were scattered by a tempest, and his person, against the law of nations, was detained by the lieutenants of Alexius. Yet the arrival of Hugh had been announced by four-and-twenty knights in golden armour, who commanded the emperor to reverent the general of the Latin Christians, the brother of the king of kings.²

In some Oriental tale I have read the tale of a shepherd, who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water, the fountains were turned into his groves, and his flock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension, of the Greek Emperor Alexius Comnenus, whose name has already appeared in this history, and whose conduct is so differently represented by his daughter Anne, and

by the Latin writers.³ In the council of Placentia, his ambassadors had solicited a moderate succour, perhaps of ten thousand soldiers: but he was astonished by the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. The emperor fluctuated between hope and fear, between timidity and courage, but in the crooked policy which he mistook for wisdom, I cannot believe, I cannot discern, that he maliciously conspired against the life or honour of the French heroes. The promiscuous multitudes of Peter the Hermit were savage beasts, alike destitute of humanity and reason: nor was it possible for Alexius to prevent or deplore their destruction. The troops of Godfrey and his peers were less contemptible, but not less suspicious, to the Greek emperor. Their motives *might* be pure and pious; but he was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the ambitious Bohemond,⁴ and his ignorance of the Transalpine chiefs: the courage of the French was blind and headstrong, they might be tempted by the luxury and wealth of Greece, and elated by the view and opinion of their invincible

first crusade, she was nubile, and perhaps married to the young Nicephorus Bryennius, whom she fondly styled *her son-in-law* *Katepous* (i. e. p. 275, 29). Some moderns have imagined, that her consent to Bohemond was the fruit of disappointed love. In the transactions of Constantinople and Nice, her official accounts (Alex. l. x, xi p. 38, 317) may be opposed to the partiality of the Latins, but in her subsequent exploits she is brave and meritorious.

³ In their views of the character and conduct of Alexius, Maubourgn has favoured the Catholic ranks, and Voltaire has been partial to the schismatic Greeks. The prejudice of a philosopher is less excusable than that of a Jesuit.

⁴ Wilken quotes a remarkable passage of William of Malmesbury as to the secret motives of Urban and of Bohemond in urging the crusade. Illud reputatus propinquum non esse vulgabat, quod Bohemondis consilio, pene totam Europam in Asiaticam expeditionem moveret, ut in tanto tumultu omnium provinciarum facile obscuris insidibus, et Tiberianum locum et locum illud in Macedonia et Macedonia pervaderent. Nam eas terras et quidquid preterea, a Byzantio usque ad Thessaliam profunderetur, Bohemondis pater, super Alexium usurpavit, ut in illis locis et suis jura committere damnablem inopiam hereditatis Apuliam quoniam senior Rogerio, in quo alio delegaverat. Wilken, vol. ii. p. 313.—M.

¹ *Ἀναβὰς μὲν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τῆς ἑρμιόνης τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος* (Alexiad, l. x p. 283).

² *Ὁ Βασίλειος, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ θρακικοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀπαιτῶντες* This Oriental pomp is contained in a count of Viminadois, but the poet Bouchart relates with much complacency (Not ad Alexiad p. 32, 363). Dissert. xxiv. sur l'histoire p. 31.) the passage of Matthew Paris (v. p. 1254) and Froussard (vol. iv p. 101) which style the king of France rex regum, and which de la Roche Chateaufort

³ Anna Comnena was born on the 1st of December, A. D. 1084, induction vii (Alexiad l. vi p. 106, 107). At this time, the time of the

⁴ Hugh was taken at Puzos and sent by land to Constantinople. Wilken.—M.

strength; and Jerusalem might be forgotten in the prospect of Constantinople. After a long march and painful abstinence, the troops of Godfrey encamped in the plains of Thrace; they heard with indignation, that their brother, the count of Vermandois, was imprisoned by the Greeks, and their reluctant duke was compelled to indulge them in some freedom of retaliation and rapine. They were appeased by the submission of Alexius: he promised to supply their camp, and as they refused, in the midst of winter, to pass the Bosphorus, their quarters were assigned among the gardens and palaces on the shores of that narrow sea. But an incurable jealousy still rankled in the minds of the two nations, who despised each other as slaves and barbarians. Ignorance is the ground of suspicion, and suspicion was inflamed into daily provocations: prejudice is blind, hunger is deaf, and Alexius is accused of a design to starve or assault the Latins in a dangerous post, on all sides encompassed with the walls.¹ Godfrey sounded his trumpets, but the int, overruled the plan, and insulted the suburbs. But the gates of Constantinople were strongly fortified, the ramparts were lined with archers, and after a doubtful conflict, both parties listened to the voice of peace and religion. The gifts and promises of the emperor insensibly soothed the fierce spirit of the western strangers, as a Christian warrior, he rekindled their zeal for the prosecution of their holy enterprise, which he engaged to second with his troops and treasures. On the return of spring, Godfrey was persuaded to occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia; and no sooner had he passed the Bosphorus, than the Greek vessels were suddenly recalled to the opposite shore. The same policy was repented with the succeeding chiefs,

¹ Between the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the river Bosphorus, which is deep in summer, and runs fifteen miles through a flat meadow: its communication with Europe and Constantinople is by the stone bridge of the *Blachernæ*, which in successive ages was restored by Justinian and Basil (Gyllius de Bosphoro Thracico, lib. 3. Ducange, C.P. Christiana, 1619 c. 4, p. 179).

who were swayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremost companions. By his skill and diligence, Alexius prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the same moment under the walls of Constantinople, and before the feast of the Pentecost not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coast of Europe.

The same arms which threatened Europe might deliver Asia, and repel the Turks from the neighbouring shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. The fair provinces from Nice to Antioch were the recent patrimony of the Roman emperor; and his ancient and perpetual claim still embraced the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. In his enthusiasm, Alexius indulged, or affected, the ambition, hope of leading his now allies to subvert the throne of the East, but the colder dictates of reason and temper dissuaded him from exposing his royal person to the faith of unknown and lawless barbarians. His practice, or his pride, was content with extending from the French prince an oath of homage and fidelity, and solemn promises, that they would either restore, or hold, their Asiatic conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was tried at the mention of this foreign and voluntary civility: they successively yielded to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery, and the first promises became the most eloquent and effectual incitements to multiply the conquests of their share.

The pride of Hugh of V. Randon was soothed by the honours of his captivity, and in the brother of the French king, the example of submission was potent and weighty. In the mind of Godfrey of Bouillon every human consideration was subordinate to the glory of God and the state of the empire. He had firmly resisted the temptations of Bohemond and Raymond, who urged the attack and conquest of Constantinople. Alexius esteemed his virtues, deservedly named him the champion of the empire, and dignified his homage with the filial name and the rights of

He obtains the
honours of the
crusaders

adoption.¹ The hateful Bohemond was received as a true and ancient ally; and if the emperor reminded him of former hostilities, it was only to praise the valour that he had displayed, and the glory that he had acquired, in the fields of Durazzo and Larissa. The son of Guiscard was lodged and entertained and served with imperial pomp one day, as he passed through the gallery of the palace, a door was carelessly left open to expose a pile of gold and silver, of silk and gems, of curious and costly furniture, that was heaped in seeming disorder, from the floor to the roof of the chamber. "What conquests," exclaimed the ambitious miser, "might not be achieved by the possession of such a treasure?" "It is your own," replied a Greek attendant, who watched the motions of his soul, and Bohemond, after some hesitation, condescended to accept this magnificent present. The Norman was flattered by the assurance of independent principality, and Alexander, rather than denied, his dominion and of the empire of the East. The two kingdoms, the seat of the empire of England, and the kingdom of the queen, were held in their hands before the Byzantine throne. A private letter of Stephen of Chartres describes his admiration of the emperor, the most excellent and liberal of men, who taught him to believe that he was a favourite, and promised to educate and establish his youngest son. In his southern province, the count of St. Gilles and Tholouse faintly recognised the supremacy of the king of France, a prince of a foreign nation and language. At the head of a hundred thousand men, he declared that he was the soldier and servant of Christ alone, and that the Greek might be satisfied with an equal treaty of alliance and friendship. His obstinate

¹ There were two sorts of adoption: the one by arms, the other by introducing the son before the shield and skin of his father. But in a (see Joinville, *Disc.* xxi. p. 270), supposes Godfrey's adoption to have been of the latter sort.

² After his return, Robert of Flanders became the man of the king of England, for a pension of ten hundred marks. See the first act in Joinville's drama.

resistance enhanced the value and the price of his submission, and he shone, says the Princess Anne, among the barbarians, as the sun amidst the stars of heaven. His disgust of the noise and insolence of the French, his suspicion of the designs of Bohemond, the emperor imparted to his faithful Raymond, and that aged statesman might clearly discern, that however false in friendship, he was sincere in his enmity.³ The spirit of chivalry was last subdued in the person of Tancred, and none could deem themselves dishonoured by the imitation of that gallant knight. He disclaimed the gold and flattery of the Greek monarch, assailed in his presence an insolent patrician, escaped to Asia in the habit of a private soldier, and yielded with a sigh to the authority of Bohemond and the interest of the Christian cause. The last and most ostensible reason was the impossibility of passing the sea and accomplishing their vow, without the help and the vessels of Alexander, but they then he had secret hopes, that as soon as they had the command of the sea,

swords would oblige him, and dissolve the emperor's oath, which on his side might not be very faithful, performed the ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long since considered military as the substitute of power. If he sat on the throne, the emperor sat in the and immovable his majesty was adored by the Latin princes, and they submitted to his fatherly law, feet on his knees, an indignity which their own will is ashamed to confess, and unable to deny.

Private or public interest suppressed the murmurs of the dukes, ^{Emperors of the} and counts, but a French ^{Princes of the} baron (he is supposed to be Robert of

³ Joinville's letter, *ibid.* takes in more than non ingratum. *ibid.* vi. 41.

⁴ The proud in the midst of the crusades slide and humble over the humbling step. Yet since the heretic king to salute the emperor as he sat motionless on his throne, it is clear that they must have kissed either his feet or knees. It is only singular, that Anna should not have amply supplied the silence or ambiguity of the Latins. The abasement of their princes would have added a new chapter to the Cereemoniale Aulae Byzantine.

Paris) presumed to ascend the throne, and to place himself by the side of Alexius. The sage reproof of Baldwin provoked him to exclaim, in his barbarous idiom, "Who is this rustic, that keeps his seat, while so many valiant captains are standing round him?" The emperor maintained his silence, dissembled his indignation, and questioned his interpreter concerning the meaning of the words, which he partly suspected from the universal language of gesture and countenance. Before the departure of the pilgrims, he endeavoured to learn the name and condition of the audacious baron. "I am a Frenchman," replied Robert, "of the purest and most ancient nobility of my country. All that I know is, that there is a church in my neighbourhood,* the resort of those who are desirous of approving their valour in single combat. Till an enemy appears, they address their prayers to God and his saints. That church I have frequently visited, but never have I found an antagonist who dared to accept my challenge." Alexius dismissed the challenger with such prudent advice for his conduct in the Turkish warfare, and history repeats with pleasure this lively example of the manners of his age and country.

The conquest of Asia was undertaken by Alexius, and achieved by Alexius, with thirty five thousand Macedonians and Greeks,¹ and his best hope was

the strength and discipline of his phalanx of infantry. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Bithynia, the knights and their martial attendants on horseback amounted to one hundred thousand fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and authentic account, and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this formidable body of heavy horse. A part of the infantry might be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder, and we depend not on the eyes or knowledge, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain of Count Baldwin,² in the estimate of six hundred thousand pilgrims able to bear arms, besides the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. The reader starts; and before covered from his surprise, I shall add, on the same testimony, that if all who took the cross had accomplished their vow, above six millions would have migrated from Europe to Asia. Under this oppression of faith, I derive some relief from a more sagacious and thinking writer,³ who, after the same review of the cavalry, accuses the credulity of the priest of Chartres, and even doubts whether the *Cavaliers* regions (in the Geography of a Frenchman) were sufficient to produce and pour forth such incredible multitudes. The coolest scepticism will remember, that of these religious volunteers great numbers never beheld Constantinople and Nice. Of enthusiasm the influence is regular and transient: many were detained at thousand horses and thirty thousand foot (see Usher's *Annals*, p. 142).

¹ Kieffer-Carnotensis, p. 387. He enumerates mistaken notions of different names and languages (p. 389), but it is not clearly apprehended his difference between the *Franks* and *Galls*, *Itals* and *Africs*. Lilius (p. 387) has contemptuously brands the description.

² Robert, p. 550. Yet even his gentle opposition implies an immense multitude. By Roman II. in the favour of his zeal, it is only rated at 300,000 pilgrims (epist. xvi. Concil. tom. xii. p. 731).

¹ He called himself *ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως* (Alexius, I. x. p. 301). What a title of noblesse of the eleventh century. If any one could now prove his inheritance! Anna relates, with visible pleasure, that the swelling Barbarian, *ναυαῖος ὁ ἀσπίτης*, was killed, or wounded, after fighting in the front of the battle of Dorylaeum (p. 31.). This circumstance may justify the suspicion of Lilius (Not. p. 302), that it was no other than Robert of Flanders, of the direct most properly styled the Duchy or Island of France (*Isle de France*).

² With this same penetration, Lilius discovers the church to be that of St. Jean des, or St. Jean, of Jerusalem, *quoniam dicitur dominum salutem invenisse pinguem qui a finemorem (his) habet) pinguem (ut) invictos regit, ut et de Burgundia (sic) et de necesse (sic) confugit* (sic) ad omni Juan (sic) ubi erat, epist. 120.

³ There is some diversity on the numbers of his army, but no accuracy can be compared with that of Ptolemy, who states it at five

home by reason or cowardice, by poverty or weakness; and many were repulsed by the obstacles of the way, the more insuperable as they were unforeseen, to these ignorant fanatics. The savage countries of Hungary and Bulgaria were whitened with their bones: their vanguard were cut in pieces by the Turkish sultan, and the loss of the first adventure, by the sword, or climate, or fatigue, has already been stated at three hundred thousand men. Yet the myriads that survived, that marched, that pressed forwards on the holy pilgrimage, were a subject of astonishment to themselves and to the Greeks. The copious energy of her language sinks under the efforts of the Princess Anne: the images of locusts, of leaves and flowers, of the sands of the sea, or the stars of heaven, imperfectly represent what she had seen and heard, and the daughter of Alexius exclaims, that Europe was loosened from its foundations, and huddled against Asia. The ancient hosts of Darius and Xerxes labour under the same doubt of a vague and indefinite magnitude, but I am inclined to believe, that a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a single camp, than at the siege of Nice, the first operation of the Latin princes. Their motives, their characters, and their arms, have been already displayed. Of their troops, the most numerous portion were natives of France: the Low Countries, the banks of the Rhine, and Apulia, sent a powerful reinforcement: savage bands of adventurers were drawn from Spain, Lombardy, and England,* and from the distant bogs

* Alexias, l. x. p. 293, 303. Her fastidious delicacy complains of their strange and inartificial dances, and indeed there is surely one that she has not contrived to disfigure with the proud ignorance, so dear and familiar to a polished people. I shall select only one example, *Sauzele*, for the count of St. Gilles.

- William of Malmshury (who wrote about the year 1190) has inserted in his history (l. iv. p. 141-4) a narrative of the first crusade: but I wish that instead of listening to the female murmur which had passed the British ocean (p. 143), he had confined himself to the numbers, families and adventures of his countrymen. I find in Hoveden, that an English Norman, Stephen, earl of Albemarle and Hollendun, led the vanguard with

and mountains of Ireland or Scotland: issued some naked and savage fanatics, ferocious at home but unwarlike abroad. Had not superstition condemned the sacrilegious prudence of depriving the poorest or weakest Christian of the merit of the pilgrimage, the useless crowd, with mouths but without hands, might have been stationed in the Greek empire, till their companions had opened and secured the way of the Lord. A small remnant of the pilgrims, who passed the Bosphorus, was permitted to visit the holy sepulchre. Their northern constitution was scorched by the rays, and infected by the vapours, of a Syrian sun. They consumed, with heedless prodigality, their stores of water and provision: their numbers exhausted the inland country. The sea was remote, the Greeks were unfriendly, and the Christians of every sect fled before the voracious and cruel rapine of their brethren. In the dire necessity of famine, they sometimes roasted and devoured the flesh of their infant or adult captives. Among the Turks and Saracens, the idolaters of Europe were rendered more odious by the name and reputation of cannibals. The spies, who introduced themselves into the kitchen of Bohemond, were shown several human bodies turning on the spit, and the artful Norman encouraged a report, which increased at the same time the abhorrence and the terror of the infidels.*

I have expatiated with pleasure on the first steps of the crusaders, as they paint the manners and character

Duke Robert, at the battle of Antioch (Baronage, part i. p. 61).

* *Videtur scutorum apud se feroculum alias imbellium equos* (Gautier, p. 471) *the crus infatigable and hospita change*, may suit the Highlanders, but the *sinibus uliginosis*, may rather apply to the Irish bogs. William of Malmshury expressly mentions the Welsh and Scots, &c. (l. iv. p. 143) who quitted the former victorious situation, the latter familiar situation.

* This cannibal hunger, sometimes more frequently in article of a lie, may be found in Ammianus Marcellinus (l. x. p. 288), Gautier (p. 516), Palsgrave (l. adon. c. 97). The stratagem is related by the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, the monk Robert Baldric, and Raymond des Agiles, in the siege and famine of Antioch.

of Europe: but I shall abridge the

Siege of Nice.
A.D. 1097.

tedious and uniform narrative of their blind achievements, which were performed by strength and are described by ignorance. From their first station in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, they advanced in successive divisions, passed the contracted limit of the Greek empire, opened a road through the hills, and commenced, by the siege of his capital, their pious warfare against the Turkish sultan. His kingdom of Roum extended from the Hellespont to the confines of Syria, and barred the pilgrimage of Jerusalem: his name was Kildge-Arslan, or Soliman,¹ of the race of Seljuk, and son of the first conqueror, and in the defence of a land which the Turks considered as their own, he deserved the praise of his enemies, by whom alone he is known to posterity. Yielding to the first impulse of the torrent, he deposited his family and treasure in Nice, retired to the mountains with fifty thousand horse, and twice descended to assault the camps or quarters of the Christian besiegers, which formed an imperfect circle of above six miles. The lofty and solid walls of Nice were covered by a deep ditch, and flanked by three hundred and seventy towers; and on the verge of Christendom, the Moslems were trained in arms, and inflamed by religion. Before this the French princes occupied their stations, and prosecuted their attacks without correspondence or subordination: emulation prompted their valour, but their valour was sullied by cruelty, and their emulation degenerated into envy and civil discord. In the siege of Nice, the arts and engines of antiquity were employed by the Latins, the mine and the battering ram, the tortoise, and the

His Museum. Allusion of Soliman used by the Latins. His character is highly embellished by Gass. The Turkish name of Kildge-Arslan (A.D. 1092-1206).

1) Guignes's *Fables* tom. i. p. 245 is employed by the *Orientalists*, and with some corruption by the *Greeks*, but little more than his name can be found in the Mohammedan writers, who mention him only on the subject of the first crusade (*ibid.* Guignes, tom. iii. p. 1036).

* See note, p. 694. Soliman and Kildge-Arslan were father and son. —M.

belfry or movable turret,² artificial fire, and the *catapult* and *balist*, the sling, and the cross-bow for the casting of stones and darts.³ In the space of seven weeks much labour and blood were expended, and some progress, especially by Count Raymond, was made on the side of the besiegers. But the Turks could protract their resistance and secure their escape, as long as they were masters of the lake.⁴ Ascanius, which stretches several miles to the westward of the city. The means of conquest were supplied by the prudence and industry of Alexius, a great number of boats was transported on sledges from the sea to the lake, they were filled with the most dexterous of his archers, the flight of the sultana was intercepted, Nice was invested by land and water, and a Greek emissary persuaded the inhabitants to accept his master's protection, and to save themselves, by a timely surrender, from the rage of the savages of Europe. In the moment of victory, on at least of hope, the crusaders, thirsting for blood and plunder, were awed by the imperial banner that streamed from the citadel,⁵ and Alexius guarded with jealous vigilance this important conquest. The murmurs of the chiefs were stifled by honour or interest, and after a halt of nine days, they directed their march towards Phrygia, and the guidance of a Greek general, whom they suspected of a secret connivance with the sultan. The consort and the principal servants of Soliman had been honourably restored without ransom, and the emperor's generosity to the *mercenary*

2) On the fortification, and off of the middle ages see Muntz (*Architecture*), tom. ii. dis. xxvi. p. 122. The *belfry*, from whence our belfry was the movable tower of the ancients (*ibid.*, tom. i. p. 268).

3) I cannot forbear remarking the difference between the siege and take of Nice, with the operations of Herman Cortez before Mexico. See Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America* i. v.

4) *Maracan*, a word introduced by the French crusaders, and continued in the language to our primitive sense. It is not seen, but the zeal of our ancestors would have, and that they branded every unbeliever as a *Maracan*.

* Anna Comnena calls it *ὄρυξ* αὖτε *παράδοσις*. —M.

may trace the position of Dorylaeum, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Archelaus, and Germanicia, and may compare those classic appellations with the modern names of Eskishahr the old city, Akshahr the white city, Cogni, Ereklh, and Marash. As the pilgrims passed over a desert, where a draught of water is exchanged for silver, they were tormented by intolerable thirst, and on the banks of the first rivulet, their haste and intemperance were still more pernicious to the disorderly throng. They climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of Mount Taurus; many of the soldiers cast away their arms to secure their footsteps, and had not terror cooled their van, the long and trembling file might have been driven down the precipice by a handful of resolute enemies. Two of their most respectable chiefs, the duke of Lorraine and the count of Tholouse, were carried in litters. Raymond was cured, as it is said by miracle, from a hopeless malady, and Godfrey had been torn by a bear, as he pursued that rough and perilous chase in the mountains of Pisidia.

To improve the general consternation, the cousin of Bohemond and the brother of Godfrey were detached from the main army with their respective squadrons of five, and of seven, hundred knights. They overran in a rapid career the hills and seacoast of Cilicia, from Cogni to the Syrian gates, the Norman standard was first planted on the walls of Tarsus and Mardinia, but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian, and they turned their consecrated swords against each other in a private and profane quarrel. Honor was the motive, and came the reward, of Turkel but the sword on the more self-shin

of Baldwin. *Wander of Syria*, p. 111. *History of the crusades* who has a list of antiquary, in *M. Omer* in the footsteps of the Franks, from the temple to Antioch (Voyage en Syrie) etc. etc. vol. 1 p. 185.

The journey of Col. Macdonald Klunz in *Ann Minor* throws considerable light on the geography of this march of the crusaders — *M.*

terprise of his rivals. He was called to the assistance of a Greek or Armenian tyrant, who had been suffered under the Turkish yoke to reign over the Christians of Edessa. Baldwin accepted the character of his son and champion, but no sooner was he introduced into the city, than he inflamed the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and treasure, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and the plain of Mesopotamia, and founded the first principality of the Franks or Latins, which subsisted fifty four years beyond the Euphrates.

Before the Franks could enter Syria, the summer, and even the *Antioch*, autumn, were completely wasted, the siege of Antioch, or the separation and repose of the army during the winter season, was strongly debated in their council, the love of arms and the holy sepulchre urged them to advance, and reason perhaps was on the side of resolution, since every hour of delay abates the fire and force of the invader and multiplies the resources of defensive war. The capital of Syria was protected by the river Orontes, and the *iron bridge*,* of nine arches, derives its name from the massy gates of the two towers which are constructed at either end. They were opened by the sword of the duke of Normandy, his victory gave entrance to three hundred thousand crusaders, an account which may allow a seepage for losses and desertion, but which clearly detects much exaggeration in the review of *Nor*. In the description of Antioch,¹

¹ This detached conquest of Edessa is first represented by Fulcherius Carnotensis, or of Chartres (in the collections of Bongarsius, Duchesne, and Martene), the valiant champion of saint Baldwin (1 *spirit des croisades* p. 13, 14). In the dispute on that point with *Werner*, his particularly mentioned by the city of Edessa, the father marquis.

the *des Huns*, tom 1

on *Antioch* see *Isaac* (Description of Syria) p. 111, *Omer* (Voyage en Syrie) p. 185, the Turkish *Index* (Géographie) vol. 1 p. 185.

* This bridge was over the *Orontes*, at a distance of three leagues from Antioch. See *Wilken*, vol. 1 p. 172. — *M.*

it is not easy to define a middle term between her ancient magnificence, under the successors of Alexander and Augustus, and the modern aspect of Turkish desolation. The Tetrapolis, or four cities, if they retained their name and position, must have left a large vacancy in a circumference of twelve miles, and that measure, as well as the number of four hundred towers, are not perfectly consistent with the five gates, so often mentioned in the history of the siege. Yet Antioch must have still flourished as a great and populous capital. At the head of the Turkish emirs, Baghisian, a veteran chief, commanded in the place, his garrison was composed of six or seven thousand horse and fifteen or twenty thousand foot, one hundred thousand Moslems are said to have fallen by the sword, and their numbers were probably inferior to the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, who had been no more than fourteen years the slaves of the house of Seljuk. From the remains of a solid and stately wall, it appears to have arisen to the height of threescore feet in the valleys; and wherever less art and labour had been applied, the ground was supposed to be defended by the river, the morass, and the mountains. Notwithstanding these fortifications, the city had been repeatedly taken by the Persians, the Arabs, the Greeks, and the Turks: so large a circuit must have yielded many previous profits of attack, and in a siege that was formed about the middle of October, the vigour of the execution could alone justify the boldness of the attempt. Whatever strength and valour could perform in the field was abundantly displayed by the champions of the cross, in the frequent occasions of sallies, of forage, of the attack and defence of *conyoys*, they were often victorious, and we can only complain that their exploits are sometimes enlarged beyond the scale of probability and truth. The sword of Godfrey¹ divided Vit Saladin), and Abulfeda (*Tabula Syriae*, p. 115 116, *v. c. c. Kelaka*).

¹ Ensem elevat, eumque à sinistrâ parte acupularum, tantâ virtute intorsit, ut quod pectus medium disjunctis splenam et vitalia interruptit, et æque lubricus ensis super crura dextrum integer, exivit: atque caput integrum

a Turk from the shoulder to the haunch, and one half of the infidel fell to the ground, while the other was transported by his horse to the city gate. As Robert of Normandy rode against his antagonist, "I devote thy head," he piously exclaimed, "to the demons of hell," and that head was instantly cloven to the breast by the resistless stroke of his descending falchion. But the reality or the report of such gigantic prowess must have taught the Moslems to keep within their walls, and against those walls of earth or stone, the sword and the lance were unavailing weapons. In the slow and successive labours of a siege, the crusaders were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use, the artificial engines and implements of assault. In the conquest of Nice, they had been powerfully assisted by the wealth and knowledge of the Greek emperor, his absence was poorly supplied by some Genoese and Pisan vessels that were attracted by religion or trade to the coast of Syria; the stores were scanty, the return precarious, and the communication difficult and dangerous. Indolence or weakness had prevented the Franks from investing the entire circuit, and the perpetual freedom of two cities relieved the wants and recruited the garrison of the city. At the end of seven months, after the ruin of their cavalry, and an enormous loss by famine, desertion, and fatigue, the progress of the crusaders was imperceptible and their success remote, if the Latin Ulysses, the artful and ambitious Bohemond, had not employed the arms of cunning and deceit. The Christians of Antioch were numerous and discontented, Philouz, a Syrian

cum dextrâ parte corporis immergit gurgite, partemque quæ aquo præsidebat remisit civitati (*Robert Mon* p. 50). Cujus ensis trajectus, Turcas duo factus est Turci ut inferior alter in urbem equitaret, alter artemens in fine nataret (*Radulph Cædmon* c. 53, p. 304). Yet he justifies the deed by the *stupendis* viribus of Godfrey, and William of Tyre covers it by obtestant populus facti novitate mirabilis (*l. v. c. 4*, p. 701). Yet it must not have appeared incredible to the knights of that age.

² See the exploits of Robert, Raymond, and the modest Tancred, who imposed silence on his squire (*Radulph. Cædmon* c. 53).

renegade, had acquired the favour of the emir and the command of three towers, and the merit of his repentance disguised to the Latins, and perhaps to himself, the foul design of perjury and treason. A secret correspondence, for their mutual interest, was soon established between Phirouz and the prince of Tarento, and Bohemond declared in the council of the chiefs that he could deliver the city into their hands.* But he claimed the sovereignty of Antioch as the reward of his service, and the proposal which had been rejected by the envy, was at length extorted from the distress, of his equals. The nocturnal surprise was executed by the French and Norman princes who ascended in person the scaling-ladders that were thrown from the walls, their new proselyte, after the murder of his too scrupulous brother, embraced and introduced the servants of Christ, the army rushed through the gates, and the Moslems soon found that, although mercy was hopeless, resistance was impotent. But the citadel still refused to surrender, and the victors themselves were speedily encompassed and besieged by the invincible forces of Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who, with twenty-eight Turkish emirs, advanced to the deliverance of Antioch. Five-and-twenty days the Christians spent on the verge of destruction, and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the sultan left them only the choice of servitude or death.¹ In

Victory of the
Crusade²,
A.D. 1098

this extremity they collected the relics of their strength, sallied from the town, and in a single memorable day annihilated or dispersed the host of Turks and Arabians, which they might safely report to have consisted of six hundred thousand men.² Their super-

¹ After mentioning the distress and humble petition of the Franks, Abulpharagius adds the haughty reply of Codbuga, or Kerboga, "Non evasuri estis nisi per gladium" (Dynast. p. 242).

² In describing the host of Kerboga, most of the Latin historians, the author of the *Testa* (p. 17) Robert Monachus (p. 56), Baldric (p. 111),

* See the interesting extract from Kemaleddin's History of Aleppo in Wilken, *preface* to vol. II p. 38. Phirouz, or Aszerad, the breast-plate maker, had been pillaged and put to the torture by Bagi Sejan, the prince of Antioch — M.

natural allies { shall proceed to consider the human causes of the victory of Antioch were the fearless despair of the Franks, and the surprise, the discord, perhaps the errors, of their unskilful and presumptuous adversaries. The battle is described with as much disorder as it was fought, but we may observe the tent of Kerboga, a movable and spacious palace, enriched with the luxury of Asia, and capable of holding above two thousand persons, we may distinguish his three thousand guards, who were cased, the horses as well as the men, in complete steel.

In the eventual period of the siege and defence of Antioch, the crusaders were alternately exalted by victory or sunk in despair, either swelled with plenty or emaciated with hunger. A speculative reasoner might suppose, that their faith had a strong and serious influence on their practice, and that the soldiers of the cross, the deliverers of the holy sepulchre, prepared themselves by a sober and virtuous life for the daily contemplation of martyrdom. Experience blows away this charitable illusion, and seldom does the history of profane war display such scenes of intemperance and prostitution as were exhibited under the walls of Antioch. The grove of Daphne no longer flourished, but the Syrian air was still impregnated with the same vices, the Christians were seduced by every temptation that nature either proposes or reprobates, the authority of the chiefs was despised, and serious regulations were alike fruitless against those scandalous disorders, not less pernicious to military discipline, than repugnant

Their fanaticism and distress at Antioch.

Fulcherius Carnotensis (p. 392), Guibert (p. 512), William of Tyre (l. vi. c. 3, p. 724), Bernard the Treasurer (c. 39 p. 60), are content with the vague expressions of infinita multitudo, immensum agmen, innumera copie or gentes, which correspond with the *μεγάλη ἀνὰριθμητὸν χιλιάδων* of Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. xi p. 318-320). The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albert Aqueensis at 200,000 (l. iv c. 10 p. 242), and by Radulphus Cadomensis at 400,000 horses (c. 72, p. 306).

¹ See the tragic and scandalous fate of an archdeacon of royal birth, who was slain by the Turks as he reposed in an orchard, playing at dice with a Syrian concubine.

to evangelic parity.¹ In the first days of the siege and the possession of Antioch, the Franks consumed with wanton and thoughtless prodigality the frugal subsistence of weeks and months; the desolate country no longer yielded a supply, and from that country they were at length excluded by the arms of the besieging Turks. Disease, the faithful companion of want, was envenomed by the rains of the winter, the summer heats, unwholesome food, and the close imprisonment of multitudes. The pictures of famine and pestilence are always the same, and always disgusting, and our imagination may suggest the nature of their sufferings and their resources. The remains of treasure or spoil were eagerly lavished in the purchase of the vilest nourishment, and dreadful must have been the calamities of the poor, since, after paying three marks of silver for a goat, and fifteen for a lean camel,² the count of Flanders was reduced to beg a dinner, and Duke Godfrey to borrow a horse. Sixty thousand horse had been reviewed in the camp before the end of the siege; they were diminished to two thousand, and scarcely two hundred fit for service could be mustered on the day of battle. Weakness of body and terror of mind extinguished the ardent enthusiasm of the pilgrims, and every motive of honour and religion was subdued by the desire of life.³ Among the chiefs, three heroes may be found without fear or reproach: Godfrey of Bouillon was supported by his magnanimous piety, Bohemond by ambition and interest, and Tancred declared, in the true spirit of chivalry, that as long as he was at the head of

forty knights, he would never relinquish the enterprise of Palestine. But the count of Toulouse and Provence was suspected of a voluntary indisposition; the duke of Normandy was recalled from the sea-shore by the censures of the church; Hugh the Great, though he led the vanguard of the battle, embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to France, and Stephen count of Chartres basely deserted the standard which he bore, and the council in which he presided. The soldiers were discouraged by the flight of William viscount of Melun, surnamed the *Carpenter*, from the weighty strokes of his axe, and the saints were scandalised by the fall of Peter the hermit, who, after arming Europe against Asia, attempted to escape from the penance of a necessary fast. Of the multitude of recreant warriors, the names (says an historian) are blotted from the book of life, and the opprobrious epithet of the rope dancers was applied to the deserters who dropped in the night from the walls of Antioch. The Emperor Alexius,⁴ who seemed to advance to the succour of the Latins, was dismayed by the assurance of their hopeless condition. They expected their fate in silent despair, oaths and punishments were tried without effect, and to rouse the soldiers to the defence of the walls, it was found necessary to set fire to their quarters.

For their salvation and victory, they were indebted to the same Legend of the Holy Lance fanaticism which had led them to the brink of ruin. In such a cause, and in such an army, visions, prophecies, and miracles, were frequent and familiar. In the distress of Antioch, they were repeated with unusual energy and success. St Ambrose had assumed a pious ecclesiastic, that two years of trial must precede the season of deliverance and grace, the deserters were stopped by the presence and re-

¹ The value of an ox rose from five solidi (fifteen shillings) at Christmas to two marks (four pounds), and afterwards much higher a kid or lamb, from one shilling to eighteen of our present money in the second famine, a loaf of bread, or the head of an animal, sold for a piece of gold. More examples might be produced, but it is the ordinary, not the extraordinary, prices, that deserve the notice of the philosopher.

² *Alii multi, quorum nomina non tenemus, quin, deleta de libro vite, presentis operi non sunt inserenda* (Will. Tyr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 715). Gilbert (p. 518, 522), attempts to excuse Hugh the Great, and even Stephen of Chartres

³ See the progress of the crusade, the retreat of Alexius, the victory of Antioch, and the conquest of Jerusalem, in the Alexiad, l. xi. p. 817-827. Anna was so prone to exaggeration, that she magnifies the exploits of the Latins.

⁴ Peter fell during the siege. He went afterwards on an embassy to Kerbogha. Wilken, vol. i. p. 217.—M

proaches of Christ himself; the dead had promised to arise and combat with their brethren, the Virgin had obtained the pardon of their sins, and their confidence was revived by a visible sign, the seasonable and splendid discovery of the HOLY LANCE. The policy of their chiefs has on this occasion been admired, and might surely be excused, but a pious fraud is seldom produced by the cool conspiracy of many persons, and a voluntary impostor might depend on the support of the wise and the credulity of the people. Of the diocese of Marseilles, there was a priest of low cunning and loose manners, and his name was Peter Bartholemy. He presented himself at the door of the council-chamber, to disclose an apparition of St. Andrew, which had been thrice reiterated in his sleep, with a dreadful menace, if he presumed to suppress the commands of heaven. "At Antioch," said the apostle, "in the church of my brother St. Peter, near the high altar, is concealed the steel head of the lance that pierced the side of our Redeemer. In three days, that instrument of eternal, and now of temporal salvation, will be manifested to his disciples. Search, and ye shall find. bear it aloft in battle; and that mystic weapon shall penetrate the souls of the miscreants." The pope's legato, the bishop of Puy, affected to listen with coldness and distrust, but the revelation was eagerly accepted by Count Raymond, whom his faithful subject, in the name of the apostle, had chosen for the guardian of the holy lance. The experiment was resolved, and on the third day, after a due preparation of prayer and fasting, the priest of Marseilles introduced twelve trusty spectators, among whom were the count and his chaplain, and the church-doors were barred against the impetuous multitude. The ground was opened in the appointed place, but the workmen, who relieved each other, dug to the depth of twelve feet without discovering the object of their search. In the evening, when Count Raymond had withdrawn to his post, and the weary assistants began to murmur, Bartholemy, in his shirt and without his

shoes, boldly descended into the pit; the darkness of the hour and of the place enabled him to secrete and deposit the head of a Saracen lance; and the first sound, the first gleam, of the steel was saluted with a devout rapture. The holy lance was drawn from its recess, wrapped in a veil of silk and gold, and exposed to the veneration of the crusaders, their anxious suspense burst forth in a general shout of joy and hope, and the desponding troops were again inflamed with the enthusiasm of valour. Whatever had been the arts, and whatever might be the sentiments of the chiefs, they skilfully improved this fortunate revolution by every aid that discipline and devotion could afford. The soldiers were dismissed to their quarters with an injunction to fortify their minds and bodies for the approaching conflict, freely to bestow their last pittance on themselves and their horses, and to expect with the dawn of day the signal of victory. On the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the gates of Antioch were thrown open a martial psalm, "Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" was chanted by a procession of priests and monks, the battle array was marshalled in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles; and the holy lance, in the absence of Raymond, was intrusted to the hands of his chaplain. The influence of this relic or trophy was felt by the servants, and perhaps by the enemies, of Christ; and its potent energy was heightened by an accident, a stratagem, or a rumour, of a miraculous complexion. Three celestial warriors, knights, in white garments and resplendent arms, either issued, or seemed to issue, from the hills. the voice of Adhemar, the pope's legato, proclaimed them as the martyrs St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Maurice. the tumult of battle allowed no time for doubt or scrutiny, and the

¹ The Mohammedan Aboulrahassen (apud de Guignes, tom. ii. p. 11. p. 95), is more correct in his account of the holy lance than the Christians, Anna Comnena and Abulpharagius the Greek princess confounds it with a nail of the cross (l. xi. p. 328), the Jacobite primate, with St. Peter's staff (p. 242).

welcome apparition¹ dazzled the eyes or the imagination of a fanatic army.² In the season of danger and triumph, the revelation of Bartholemey of Marseilles was unanimously asserted, but as soon as the temporary service was accomplished, the personal dignity and liberal aims which the count of Tholouse derived from the custody of the holy lance provoked the envy, and awakened the reason, of his rivals. A Norman clerk presumed to sift, with a philosophic spirit, the truth of the legend, the circumstance of the discovery, and the character of the prophet; and the pious Bohemond ascribed their deliverance to the merits and intercession of Christ alone. For a while, the Provincials defended their national palladium with clamours and arms; and new visions condemned to death and hell the profane sceptics, who presumed to scrutinise the truth and merit of the discovery. The prevalence of incredulity compelled the author to submit his life and veracity to the judgment of God. A pile of dry faggots, four feet high, and fourteen long, was erected in the midst of the camp, the flames burnt fiercely to the elevation of thirty cubits, and a narrow path of twelve inches was left for the perilous trial. The unfortunate priest of Marseilles traversed the fire with dexterity and speed, but his thighs and belly were scorched by the intense heat he expired the next day,³ and the logic of believing minds will pay some regard to his dying protestations of innocence and truth. Some efforts were made by the Provincials to substitute a cross, a ring, or a tabernacle, in the place of the holy lance, which soon vanished in contempt and oblivion.⁴ Yet the revelation of Anti-

och is gravely asserted by succeeding historians, and such is the progress of credulity, that miracles, most doubtful on the spot and at the moment, will be received with implicit faith at a convenient distance of time and space.

The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion ^{The state of the Turkish empire} till the decline of the Turkish empire.⁵ Under the manly government of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice, and the innumerable armies which they led in person were equal in courage, and superior in discipline, to the barbarians of the West. But at the time of the crusade, the inheritance of Malek Shaw was disputed by his four sons, their private ambition was insensible of the public danger, and, in the vicissitudes of their fortunes, the royal vassals were ignorant, or regardless, of the true object of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs who marched with the standard of Kerboga were his rivals or enemies: their hasty levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord to recover his ancient possessions, and his sultan Aphdal besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites.⁶ They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles which broke the power of the Turks,

other to the Norman prince. Fulcherus Carnotensis presumes to say, Audite fraudem et non fraudem⁷ and afterwards, Invidiam, fallaciter occultatam fornicat. The rest of the herd are loud and strenuous.

¹ See M. de Guignes (tom ii. p. ii p. 223, &c.), and the articles of *Barkarok*, *Mohammed*, *Sauglar*, in D. Herbelot.

² The emir, or sultan Aphdal, recovered Jerusalem and Tyre, A. H. 459 (Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch Alexandrin p. 478. De Guignes, tom i. p. 249, from Abulfeda and Ben Sehouneh). Jerusalem ante adventum vestrum recuperavimus, Turcos ejecimus, say the Fatimites ambassadors.

¹ The two antagonists who express the most intimate knowledge and the strongest conviction of the miracle, and of the fraud, are Raymond des Agiles, and Radulphus Cadomensis, the one attached to the count of Tholouse, the

² The real cause of this victory appears to have been the feud in Kerboga's army. Wilken, vol. ii. p. 40.—M.

³ The twelfth day after. He was much injured, and his flesh torn off, from the ardour of pious congratulation with which he was assailed, by those who witnessed his escape, unhurt, as it was at first supposed. Wilken, vol. i. p. 263.—M.

the adversaries of their sect and monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet, and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprise, which was gradually understood would urge them forwards to the banks of the Jordan, or perhaps of the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies, which rose and fell with the events of war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins, and then adverse pride was the result of ignorance and enthusiasm. The ministers of Egypt declared in a haughty, or insinuated in a milder tone, that their sovereign, the true and lawful commander of the faithful, had rescued Jerusalem from the Turkish yoke, and that the pilgrims, if they would divide their numbers, and lay aside their arms, should find a safe and hospitable reception at the sepulchre of Jesus. In the belief of their lost condition, the caliph Mostali despised their arms and imprisoned their deputies. The conquest and victory of Antioch prompted him to solicit those formidable champions with gifts of horses and silk robes, of vases, and purses of gold and silver, and in his estimate of their merit or power, the first place was assigned to Bohemond, and the second to Godfrey. In either fortune, the answer of the crusaders was firm and uniform, they disdained to inquire into the private claims or possessions of the followers of Mahomet: whatsoever was his name or nation, the usurper of Jerusalem was their enemy, and instead of prescribing the mode and terms of their pilgrimage, it was only by a timely surrender of their city and province, their sacred right, that he could deserve their alliance, or deprecate their impending and irresistible attack.

Yet this attack, when they were within the view and reach of their glorious prize, was suspended above ten months after the defeat of Kerboga.

¹ See the transaction between the caliph of Egypt and the crusaders in Willmott of Tyre (l. iv. c. 24, l. vi. c. 19), and Albert Aquensis (l. iii. c. 59), who are more sensible of their importance than the contemporary writers.

The zeal and courage of the crusade were chilled at the moment of victory; and, instead of marching to improve the consternation, they hastily dispersed to enjoy the luxury of Syria. The causes of this strange delay may be found in the want of strength and subordination. In the painful and various service of Antioch, the cavalry was annihilated; many thousands of every rank had been lost by famine, sickness, and desertion. The same abuse of plenty had been productive of a third famine, and the alternative of intemperance and distress had generated a pestilence, which swept away above fifty thousand of the pilgrims. Few were able to command, and none were willing to obey the domestic feuds, which had been stifled by common fear, were again renewed in acts, or at least in sentiments, of hostility, the fortune of Baldwin and Bohemond excited the envy of their companions, the bravest knights were enlisted for the defence of their new principalities, and Count Raymond exhausted his troops and treasures in an idle expedition into the heart of Syria. The winter was consumed in discord and disorder, a sense of honour and religion was rekindled in the spring, and the private soldiers, less susceptible of ambition and jealousy, awakened with angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May, the relics of this mighty host proceeded from Antioch to Laodicea: about forty thousand Latins, of whom no more than fifteen hundred horse, and twenty thousand foot, were capable of immediate service. Their easy march was continued between Mount Lebanon and the sea, a Jerusalem, where their wants were initially supplied by the coasting traders of Genoa and Pisa, and they drew large contributions from the cities of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Caesarea, who granted a free passage, and promised to follow the example of Jerusalem. From Caesarea they advanced into the midland country: their clerks recognised

² This is not quite correct: he took Marra on his road. His excursions were partly to obtain provisions for the army and fodder for the horses. Wilken, vol. i. p. 226.—M

the sacred geography of Lydda, Ramla, Haifa, and Bethlem,* and as soon as they desisted the holy city, the crusaders forgot their toils and claimed their reward.

Siege and conquest of Jerusalem, A.D. 1099.

Jerusalem has derived some reputation from the number and importance of her memorable sieges. It was not till after a long and obstinate contest that Babylon and Rome could prevail against the obstinacy of the people, the craggy ground that might supersede the necessity of fortifications, and the walls and towers, that would have fortified the most accessible plain.¹ These obstacles were diminished in the age of the crusades. The bulwarks had been completely destroyed and imperfectly restored; the Jews, then nation, and worship, were for ever banished, but nature is less changeable than man, and the site of Jerusalem, though somewhat softened and somewhat improved, was still strong against the assaults of an enemy. By the experience of a recent siege, and a three years' possession, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to discern, and in some degree to remedy, the defects of a place, which religion, as well as honour forbade them to resign. Aladin, or Istikhar, the caliph's lieutenant, was intrusted with the defence. His policy strove to restrain the native Christians by the dread of their own ruin and that of the holy sepulchre, to animate the Moslems by the assurance of temporal and eternal rewards. His garrison is said to have consisted of forty thousand Turks and Arabians, and it he could

muster twenty thousand of the inhabitants, it must be confessed that the besieged were more numerous than the besieging army.² Had the diminished strength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to grasp the whole circumference of four thousand yards (about two English miles and an half),³ to what useful purpose should they have descended into the valley of Jehu Hinnom and torrent of Cedron,⁴ or approached the precipices of the south and east, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their siege was more reasonably directed against the northern and western sides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the first swell of Mount Calvary to the left, as far as St Stephen's gate, the line of attack continued by Tancred and the two Roberts, and count Raymond established his quarters from the citadel to the foot of Mount Zion, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault, in the fanatic hope of battering down the walls without engines and of saving them without ladders. By the dint of brutal force, they burst the first barrier, but they were driven back with

¹ The lively scepticism of Voltaire is balanced with sense and erudition by the French author of the *Esprit des Loix* (tom. i. p. 340, 38), who observes, that, according to the Arabians, the inhabitants of Jerusalem must have exceeded 200,000, that in the siege of Titus, Josephus collects 1,300,000 Jews, that they are cited by Tacitus himself at 400,000, and that the largest defalcation, that his *arrogance* can justify, will still leave them more numerous than the Roman army.

² Maundrell, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a circuit of 4,130 paces, or 4,107 English yards (p. 109, 110) from an authentic plan. D'Anville concludes a measure nearly similar, of 1960 French toises (p. 23, 24). In his accurate and valuable tract. For the topography of Jerusalem, see Beland (Palestina, tom. i. p. 352, 360).

³ Jerusalem was possessed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in summer, and of the Felsa spring or brook of Silo (Beland, tom. i. p. 204, 300). Both strangers and natives complained of the want of water, which in time of war was studiously aggravated. Within the city Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and cisterns for rain water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoa or Fthas, which is likewise mentioned by Beland (in Vit. Saladin p. 233).

¹ The greatest part of the march of the Franks is traced, and most accurately traced, in Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem (p. 17, 17), un des meilleurs morceaux, sans contradiction on ait dans ce genre (D'Anville *Memoire sur Jerusalem*, p. 27).

² See the masterly description of Tacitus (Hist. v. 11, 12, 13), who supposes, that the Jewish lawgivers had provided for a perpetual state of hostility against the rest of mankind.

³ Scarcely of Bethlem, to the south of Jerusalem.—M.

⁴ This is an exaggerated inference from the words of Tacitus, who speaks of the *founders* of the city, not the *lawgivers*. *Provident conditores, ex diversitate morum, cetera bella inde cuncta quamvis adversus longum obsidium*—M.

shame and slaughter to the camp the influence of vision and prophecy was deadened by the too frequent abuse of those pious stratagems, and time and labour were found to be the only means of victory. The time of the siege was indeed fulfilled in forty days, but they were forty days of calamity and anguish. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in some degree to the voracious or disorderly appetite of the Franks, but the stony soil of Jerusalem is almost destitute of water, the scanty springs and hasty torrents were dry in the summer season, nor was the thirst of the besiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial supply of cisterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally destitute of trees for the uses of shade or building, but some large beams were discovered in a cave by the crusaders. a wood near Sichem, the enchanted grove of Tasso,¹ was cut down, the necessary timber was transported to the camp by the vigour and dexterity of Tancred, and the engines were framed by some Genoese artists, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa. Two movable turrets were constructed at the expense, and in the stations, of the duke of Lorraine and the count of Thoulouse, and rolled forwards with devout labour, not to the most accessible, but to the most neglected parts of the fortification. Raymond's Tower was reduced to ashes by the fire of the besieged, but his colleague was more vigilant and successful, the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart, the draw-bridge was let down, and on a Friday at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. His example was followed on every side by the emulation of valour; and about four hundred and sixty years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued

¹ *Jerusalymme Liberata*, canto xiii. It is pleasant enough to observe how Tasso has copied and embellished the minutest details of the siege.

² This does not appear by Wilken's account, p. 294. They fought in vain the whole of the Thursday -- M.

from the Mohammedan yoke. In the pillage of public and private wealth, the adventurers had agreed to respect the exclusive property of the first occupant, and the spoils of the great mosque, seventy lamps and massy vases of gold and silver, rewarded the diligence, and displayed the generosity, of Tancred. A bloody sacrifice was offered by his mistaken votaries to the God of the Christians: resistance might provoke, but neither age nor sex could mollify, then implacable rage they indulged themselves three days in a promiscuous massacre; and the infection of the dead bodies produced an epidemical disease. After seventy thousand Moslems had been put to the sword, and the harmless Jews had been burnt in their synagogue, they could still reserve a multitude of captives, whom interest or lassitude persuaded them to spare. Of these savage heroes of the cross, Tancred alone betrayed some sentiments of compassion, yet we may praise the more selfish humanity of Raymond, who granted a capitulation and safe conduct to the garrison of the citadel. The holy sepulchre was now free, and the bloody victors prepared to accomplish their vow. Bareheaded and barefooted, with contrite hearts, and in a humble posture, they ascended the hill of Calvary amidst the loud anthems of the clergy; kissed the stone which had covered the Saviour of the world, and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption. This union of the fiercest and most tender passions has been variously considered by two philosophers, by the one, as easy and natural; by the other, as absurd and incredible. Per-

¹ Besides the Latins, who are not ashamed of the massacre, see Flavius (Hist. Sacren. p. 363), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 243), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. ii. p. 60), from Aboul malhasen.

² The old tower Psephina, in the middle ages Neblosa, was named Castellum Pisanum, from the patriarch Paimbert. It is still the citadel, the residence of the Turkish aga, and commands a prospect of the Dead Sea, Judea, and Arabia (D'Anville, p. 19 28). It was likewise called the Tower of David, *ἡ πύργος δαυὶδ*.

³ Hume, in his *History of England*, vol. p. 311, 312, octavo edition.

⁴ Voltaire, in his *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, tom. ii. c. 54, p. 345, 346.

haps it is too rigorously applied to the same persons and the same hour: the example of the virtuous Godfrey awakened the piety of his companions, while they cleansed their bodies, they purified their minds, nor shall I believe that the most ardent in slaughter and rapine were the foremost in the procession to the holy sepulchre

Eight days after this memorable

**Electron and
reign of
God ray of
Bouillon,
A.D 1099,
A.D 1100**

Electron and
reign of
Bouillon.
A.D. 1099,
A.D. 1100

event, which Pope Urban
did not live to hear, the
Latin chiefs proceeded to
the election of a king to
guard and govern their
conquests in Palestine. Hugh
the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, had re-
tired with some loss of reputation,
which they strove to regain by a second
crusade and an honourable death.
Baldwin was established at Edessa, and
Bohemond at Antioch, and two
Roberts, the duke of Normandy and
the count of Flanders, preferred their
fair inheritance in the West to a doubt-
ful conquest in a barren sceptre.
The jealousy and ambition of Raymond
were condemned by his own followers,
and the fit, the just, the unanimous
voice of the army, proclaimed Godfrey
of Bouillon the first and most worthy of
the champions of Christendom. His
magnanimity accepted a trust as full of
danger as of glory, but in a city where
his Saviour had been crowned with
thorns, the devout pilgrim rejected the
name and emblems of royalty, and the
founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem
contented himself with the modest title
of Defender and Baron of the Holy
Sepulchre. His government of a single
year, too short for the public happi-
ness, was interrupted in the first fort-
night by a unanimous to the field, by the
approach of the viceroy of Egypt,
who had been too slow to prevent, but
the English acrib's desert of Nor-
mandy and the promise to Edward of
France the glory of refusing the crown, but
the voice of tradition has preserved the
memory of the ambition and reform (Villard
de Noy) of the count of St. Gilles. He
died the son of a Trifoli, which was possessed
of a hundred acres.

who was impatient to avenge, the loss of Jerusalem. His total overthrow in the battle of Ascalon sealed the establishment of the Latins in Syria, and signalled the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade a long farewell to the holy wars. Some glory might be derived from the prodigious inequality of numbers, though I shall

Battle of Ascalon, A.D. 1099

**Battle of Ascalon,
A.D. 1099**

not count the myriads of horse and foot* on the side of the Fatimites, but, except three thousand Ethiopians or Blacks, who were armed with flails or scourges of iron, the barbarians of the South fled on the first onset, and afforded a pleasing comparison between the active valour of the Turks and the sloth and effeminacy of the natives of Egypt. After suspending before the holy sepulchre the sword and standard of the sultan, the new king (he deserves the title) embraced his departing companions and could retain only with the gallant Tancred three hundred knights, and two thousand foot-soldiers, for the defence of Palestine. His sovereignty was soon attacked by a new enemy, the only one against whom Godfrey was a coward. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, who

led both in council and action, had been swept away in the last plague of Antioch the remaining ecclesiastics preserved only the pride and aversion of their character, and then seditious rumours had required that the choice of a bishop should coincide that of a king. The revenue and jurisdiction of the lawful patriarchy were usurped by the Latin clergy, the exclusion of the Greeks and Syrians was justified by the reproach of heresy or schism, and, under the iron yoke of their dominion, the Oriental Christians regarded the colonizing government of the Arabian peninsula as a punishment. Dambrert, archbishop of

and long been turned in the
policy of the Government. He brought a
of his country. The Government
of the Holy Land and was called
without a competitor, the spiritual and
temporal head of the Church of the
rich and the poor.

Remando' His Parish Alex p 479

* 20,000 Frank 40,000 Muschler, record
ing to Walker, 1 p 3 -M

† Arnulf was first chosen, but ultimately,

motley and degenerate race, were dissolved by the luxury of the climate, the arrival of new crusaders from Europe was a doubtful hope and a casual event. The service of the feudal tenures¹ was performed by six hundred and sixty-six knights, who might expect the aid of two hundred more under the banner of the count of Tripoli, and each knight was attached to the field by four squires or archers on horseback.² Five thousand and seventy-five *sergeants*, most probably foot soldiers, were supplied by the churches and cities, and the whole levy of militia of the kingdom could not exceed eleven thousand men, a slender defence against the surrounding myriads of Saracens and Turks.³ But the firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the Hospital of St John,⁴ and of the temple of Solomon,⁵ on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fatalism might suggest, but which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the *Pallium*, and their name is never pronounced without contempt (Dacange, *Gloss. Franc. tom. v. p. 12*, and observations sur Joinville, p. 81, 82, 1. *Leob. & Vindob. Hist. Hierosol. lib. c. 67. 12*, and *Saint. Lib. p. VIII. c. 2. p. 132*). *Illustrum virorum, qui ad Iheru Sanctu* *liberationem in ipsa miserrunt, degeneres in* *mollibus nutriti, molles et effeminati*, &c.

¹ This authentic detail is extracted from the *Assises de Jerusalem* (c. 24, 240, 1) *Saint. Lib. p. vii. p. 171* reckons only 518 knights and 1000 squires. *Leob. & Vindob. Hist. Hierosol. lib. c. 67. 12*, and *Saint. Lib. p. VIII. c. 2. p. 132*. *Illustrum virorum, qui ad Iheru Sanctu* *liberationem in ipsa miserrunt, degeneres in* *mollibus nutriti, molles et effeminati*, &c.

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cross, and to profess the vows, of these respectable orders, their spirit and discipline were immortal, and the speedy donation of twenty eight thousand farms, or manors,⁶ enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine. The austerity of the convent soon evaporated in the exercise of arms. the world was scandalised by the pride, avarice, and corruption of these Christian soldiers, their claims of immunity and jurisdiction disturbed the harmony of the church and state, and the public peace was endangered by their jealous emulation. But in their most dissolute period, the knights of the hospital and temple maintained their fearless and fanatic character: they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die, in the service of Christ, and the spirit of chivalry, the parent and offspring of the crusades, has been transplanted by this institution from the holy sepulchre to the isle of Malta.⁷

The spirit of freedom, which pervaded the feudal institutions was felt in its strongest energy by the volunteers of the cross, who elected for their chief the most deserving of his peers. Amidst the slaves of Asia, unconscious of the lesson or example, a model of political liberty was introduced, and the laws of the French kingdom are derived from the purest source of equality and justice. Of such laws, the first and indispensable condition is the assent of those, whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit they are designed. No sooner had Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the office of supreme magistrate, than he solicited the public and private aid of the Latin pilgrims, who were the best skilled in the statutes and

¹ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major* p. 644. He assigns to the Hospitallers 9000, to the Templars, 9000 *maneria*, a word of much higher import (as Ducange has rightly observed) in the English than in the French language. *Maneria* lordship *maner* dwelling. In the three first books of the *Historia de Chivaliers de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem* the word *maneria* is used with a far and sometimes flattering picture of the order while it was employed for the defence of the temple. The subsequent books pursue their antiquarian to Rhodes and Malta.

customs of Europe. From these materials, with the counsel and approbation of the patriarch and barons, of the clergy and laity, Godfrey composed the *Assises of Jerusalem*,¹ a precious monument of feudal jurisprudence. The new code, attested by the seals of the king, the patriarch, and the viscount of Jerusalem, was deposited in the holy sepulchre, enriched with the improvements of succeeding times, and respectfully consulted as often as any doubtful question arose in the tribunals of Palestine. With the kingdom and city, was lost² the fragments of the written law were preserved by jealous tradition³ and variable practice till the middle of the thirteenth century the code was restored by the pen of John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa, one of the principal feudatories,⁴ and the final revision was accomplished in the year thirteen hundred and sixty-nine, for the use of the Latin kingdom of Cyprus.⁵

¹ The *Assises de Jerusalem*, in old law French, were printed with Beaumanoir's *Coutumes de Beauvoisis* (Bourges and Paris, 1690) in folio, and illustrated by Caspard Thaumas de la Thaumasserie, with a comment and glossary. An Italian version had been published in 1535, at Venice, for the use of the kingdom of Cyprus.

² *La terre perdue, tout fut perill*, is the vigorous expression of the *Assises* (c. 281). Yet Jerusalem capitulated with Saladin, the queen and the principal Christians departed in peace, and a code so precious and so portable could not provoke the avarice of the conquerors. I have sometimes suspected the existence of this original copy of the holy sepulchre, which might be invented to sanctify and authenticate the traditional customs of the French in Palestine.

³ A noble lawyer, Raoul de Tabarie, denied the prayer of King Amauri (A.D. 1195-1206) that he would commit his knowledge to writing, and frankly declared, *que de es quil avoit ne feroit il ja nul bonjois parill, ne null sage lo melettre* (c. 61).

⁴ The compiler of the work, Jean d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Bithynia (c. 1145) and Ibelin, and died A.D. 1260 (see vol. i. p. 125-6). The family of Ibelin which descended from a younger brother of the count of Bithynia flourished long afterwards in Palestine and Cyprus (see the *Imagines de deus Mer, or d'Ostremur*, c. 6, at the end of the *Assises de Jerusalem*, an original book, which records the adventures of the French adventurer).

⁵ By sixteen commissioners chosen in the states of the island the work was finished the

* See Wilken, vol. i. p. 17, &c. — *M*

The justice and freedom of the constitution were maintained by two tribunals of unequal dignity, which were instituted by Godfrey of Bouillon after the conquest of Jerusalem. The king, in person, presided in the upper-court, the court of the barons. Of these the four most conspicuous were the prince of Galilee, the lord of Sidon and Casarea, and the counts of Jaffa and Tripoli, who, perhaps with the constable and marshal, were in a special manner the compeers and judges of each other. But all the nobles, who held their lands immediately of the crown, were entitled and bound to attend the king's court; and each baron exercised a similar jurisdiction in the subordinate assemblies of his own feudatories. The connection of lord and vassal was honourable and voluntary reverence was due to the benefactor, protection to the dependant, but they mutually pledged their faith to each other, and the obligation on either side might be suspended by neglect or dissolved by injury. The cognisance of marriages and testaments was blended with religion, and assumed by the clergy, but the civil and criminal causes of the nobles, the inheritance and tenure of their fiefs, formed the proper occupation of the supreme court. Each member was the judge and guardian both of public and private rights. It was his duty to assert with his tongue and sword the lawful claims of the lord, but if an unjust superior presumed to violate the freedom or property of a vassal, the confederate peers stood forth to maintain his quarrel by word and deed. They boldly affirmed his innocence and his wrongs, demanded the restitution of his liberty or his lands, suspended, after a fruitless demand, their own service, reserved then battle from person and employed every weapon in his defence, without offering direct violence to the person of

3rd of November, 1369, sealed with four seals and deposited in the cathedral of Nicosia (see the preface to the *Assises*).

⁵ The cautious John d'Ibelin argues rather than affirms, that Tripoli is the fourth barony, and expresses some doubt concerning the right or pretension of the constable and marshal (c. 323).

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their lord, which was ever sacred in their eyes.¹ In their pleadings, replies, and rejoinders, the advocates of the court were subtle and copious; but the use of argument and evidence was often superseded by judicial combat, and the Assise of Jerusalem admits in many cases this barbarous institution, which has been slowly abolished by the laws and manners of Europe.

The trial by battle was established in ^{Law of judicial} all criminal cases, which ^{combats} affected the life, or limb, or honour, of any person, and in all civil transactions, of or above the value of one mark of silver. It appears, that in criminal cases the combat was the privilege of the accuser, who, except in a charge of treason, avenged his personal injury, or the death of those persons whom he had a right to represent; but wherever, from the nature of the charge, testimony could be obtained, it was necessary for him to produce witnesses of the fact. In civil cases, the combat was not allowed as the means of establishing the claim of the demandant, but he was obliged to produce witnesses who had, or assumed to have, knowledge of the fact. The combat was then the privilege of the defendant, because he charged the witness with an attempt by perjury to take away his right. He came therefore to be in the same situation as the appellant in criminal cases. It was not then as a mode of proof that the combat was received, nor as making negative evidence (according to the supposition of Montesquieu),² but in every case the right to offer battle was founded on the right to pursue by arms

the redress of an injury, and the judicial combat was fought on the same principle, and with the same spirit, as a private duel. Champions were only allowed to women, and to men married or past the age of sixty. The consequence of a defeat was death to the person accused, or to the champion or witness, as well as to the accuser himself, but in civil cases, the demandant was punished with infamy and the loss of his suit, while his witness and champion suffered an ignominious death. In many cases it was in the option of the judge to award or to refuse the combat but two are specified, in which it was the inevitable result of the challenge, if a faithful vassal gave the lie to his compeer, who unjustly claimed any portion of their lord's demesnes, or if an unsuccessful suitor presumed to impeach the judgment and veracity of the court. He might impeach them, but the terms were severe and perilous in the same day he successively fought all the members of the tribunal, even those who had been absent: a single defeat was followed by death and infamy, and where none could hope for victory, it is highly probable that none would adventure the trial. In the Assise of Jerusalem, the legal subtlety of the count of Jaffa is more laudably employed to elude, than to facilitate, the judicial combat, which he derives from a principle of honour rather than of superstition.³

Among the causes which enfranchised the plebeians from the ^{Court of} yoke of feudal tyranny, ^{burgesses.} the institution of cities and corporations is one of the most powerful, and it those of Palestine are coeval with the first crusade, they may be ranked with the most ancient of the Latin world. Many of the pilgrims had escaped from their lords under the banner of the cross, and it was the policy of the French princes to tempt their stay by

¹ Entre seigneur et homme ne n'a que la foi, mais tant que l'homme doit a son seigneur reverence en toutes choses (c. 200). Tous les hommes dudit royaume sont par ladite Assise tenus les uns aux autres et en telle maniere que le seigneur mette main ou fait mettre au cors ou au he d'aucun d'eux sans engier et sans connoissance de court, que tous les autres doivent venir devant le seigneur, &c. (212). The form of their remonstrances is conceived with the noble simplicity of freedom.

² See l'Esprit des Loix, l. xxviii. In the forty years since its publication, no work has been more read and criticised, and the spirit of inquiry which it has excited is not the least of our obligations to the author.

³ For the intelligence of this obscure and obsolete jurisprudence (c. 2011), I am deeply indebted to the friendship of a learned lord, who, with an accurate and discerning eye, has surveyed the philo-sophic history of law. By his studies, posterity might be enriched the merit of the orator and the judge can be felt only by his contemporaries.

the assumption of the rights and privileges of freemen. It is expressly declared in the Assise of Jerusalem, that after instituting, for his knights and barons, the court of peers in which he presided himself, Godfrey of Bouillon established a second tribunal, in which his person was represented by his viscount. The jurisdiction of this inferior court extended over the burgesses of the kingdom; and it was composed of a select number of the most discreet and worthy citizens, who were sworn to judge, according to the laws, of the actions and fortunes of their equals.¹ In the conquest and settlement of new cities, the example of Jerusalem was imitated by the kings and their great vassals, and above thirty similar corporations were founded before the loss of the Holy Land. Another class of subjects, the Syrians,² or Oriental Christians, were oppressed by the aul of the clergy and protected by the toleration of the state. Godfrey listened to their reasonable prayer, that they might be

¹ Louis le Gros, who is considered as the father of this institution in France, did not begin his reign till nine years (A.D. 1103) after Godfrey of Bouillon (Assises, c. 2, 324). For its origin and effects, see the judicious remarks of Dr. Robertson (History of Charles V. vol. i. p. 39-40, 251, 263, quarto edition).

² Every reader conversant with the historians of the crusades will understand by the people des Syrians, the Oriental Christians, Melchites, Jacobites, or Nestorians, who had all adopted the use of the Arabic language (vol. iv. p. 593).

judged by their own national laws. A third court was instituted for their use, of limited and domestic jurisdiction: the sworn members were Syrians, in blood, language, and religion; but the office of the president (in Arabic, of the *raïs*) was sometimes exercised by the viscount of the city. At an immeasurable distance below the nobles, the burgesses, and the strangers, the Assise of Jerusalem condescends to mention the *villains* and *slaves*, the peasants of the land and the captives of war, who were almost equally considered as the objects of property. The relief or protection of these unhappy men was not esteemed worthy of the care of the legislator, but he diligently provides for the recovery, though not indeed for the punishment, of the fugitives. Like hounds, or hawks, who had strayed from the lawful owner, they might be lost and claimed: the slave and felon were of the same value, but three slaves, or twelve oxen, were accumulated to equal the price of the war-horse; and a sum of three hundred pieces of gold was fixed, in the chivalry, as the equivalent of a noble animal.³

³ See the Assises de Jerusalem (vii. 311, 312). These laws were enacted as late as the year 1130, in the kingdom of Cyprus. In the same century, in the reign of Edward I., I understand, from a late publication (of his Book of Account) that the price of a war horse was not less exorbitant in England.

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CHAPTER LIX.

PRESERVATION OF THE GREEK EMPIRE—NUMBERS, PASSAGE, AND EVENT OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES—ST BERNARD—REIGN OF SALADIN IN EGYPT AND SYRIA—HIS CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM—NAVAL CRUSADES—RICHARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND—POPE INNOCENT THE THIRD, AND THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES—THE EMPEROR FREDERICK THE SECOND—LOUIS THE NINTH OF FRANCE, AND THE TWO LAST CRUSADES—EXPULSION OF THE LATINS OR FRANKS BY THE MAMALUKES.

In a style less grave than that of history, I should perhaps compare the Emperor Alexius¹ to the jackal, who is said to follow the steps, and to devour theavings, of the lion. What-over had been his fe and toils in the passage of the first crusade, they were amply recompensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice, and from this threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blind valour, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks were driven from the isles of Rhodes and Cyros; the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the empire, which Alexius enlarged from the Hellespont to the banks of the Meander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. The churches resumed their splendour, the towns were rebuilt and fortified, and the desert country was peopled with colonies of Christians, who were gently removed from the more distant and dangerous frontier. In these paternal cares, we may forgive Alexius if he forgot the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, but, by the Latins, he was stigmatised with the foul proach of treason and desertion. They had sworn fidelity and obedience to his throne, but he had promised to assist their enterprise in person, or, at least, with his troops and treasures, his base retreat dissolved their obligations and the sword, which had been the instrument of their victory, was the pludge and title of their just independence. It does not appear that the emperor attempted to revive his obsolete claims over the kingdom of Jerusalem,¹ but the borders of Cilicia and Syria were more recent in his possession and more accessible to his arms. The great army of the crusaders annihilated or dispersed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head, by the surprise and captivity of Bohemond; his ransom had oppressed him with a heavy debt, and his Norman followers were insufficient to repel the hostilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this distress, Bohemond embraced a magnanimous resolution, of leaving the defence of Antioch to his kinsman, the faithful Tancred; of arming the West against the Byzantine empire, and of executing the design which he inherited from the lessons and example of his father Guiscard. His embarkation was clandestine, and, if we may credit a tale of the Princess Anne, he passed the hostile sea

¹ Anna Comnena relates her father's conquests in Asia Minor, Alexiad, l. xi. p. 321-325, l. xiv. p. 419, his Cilician war against Tancred and Bohemond, p. 328-332, the war of Epirus, with tedious prolixity, l. xii., xiii. p. 345-406, the death of Bohemond, l. xiv. p. 419.

¹ The kings of Jerusalem submitted, however, to a nominal dependence, and in the dates of their inscriptions (one is still legible in the church of Bethlem) they respectfully placed before their own the name of the reigning emperor (Ducauge, Dissertations sur Joinville, xxvii. p. 319).

closely secreted in a coffin.¹ But his reception in France was dignified by the public applause and his marriage with the king's daughter, his return was glorious, since the bravest spirits of the age enlisted under his veteran command, and he repassed the Adriatic at the head of five thousand horse and forty thousand foot, assembled from the most remote climates of Europe.² The strength of Durazzo and prudence of Alexius, the progress of famine and approach of winter, eluded his ambitious hopes, and the venal confederates were seduced from his standard. A treaty of peace³ suspended the fears of the Greeks; and they were finally delivered by the death of an adversary, whom neither oaths could bind, nor dangers could appal, nor prosperity could satiate. His children succeeded to the principality of Antioch, but the boundaries were strictly defined, the homage was clearly stipulated, and the cities of Tarsus and Malmostra were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum⁴ was separated on all sides from the sea and their Mussulman brethren, the power of the

sultans was shaken by the victories, and even the defeats, of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an obscure and inland town above three hundred miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

In the twelfth century, three great emigrations marched by land from the West to the relief of Palestine. The soldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany, were excited by the example and success of the first crusade.⁵ Forty-eight years after the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, the emperor, and the French king, Conrad the Third, and Louis the Seventh, undertook the second crusade to support the falling fortunes of the Latins.⁶ A grand division of the third crusade was led by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa,⁷ who sympathized with his brothers of France and England in the common loss of Jerusalem. These three

Expeditions by land, the first crusade A.D. 1101, the second of Conrad III. and Louis VII. A.D. 1147, the third of Frederic I. A.D. 1189

¹ Anna Comnena adds, that, to complete the imitation, he was shut up with a dead cock, and condescends to wonder how the barbarian could endure the confinement and putrefaction. This absurd tale is unknown to the Latins.

² *Ἰσθμὸς*, in the Byzantine geography, must mean England, yet we are more credibly informed, that our Henry I. would not suffer him to levy any troops in his kingdom (Ducange, *Not. ad Alexiad.* p. 41).

³ The copy of the treaty (Alexiad, I. xiii p. 406-410) is an original and curious piece, which would require, and might afford, a good map of the principality of Antioch.

⁴ See in the learned work of M. le Guignes (tom. II. part II.), the history of the Seljukians of Iconium, Aleppo, and Damascus, as far as it may be collected from the Greeks, Latins, and Arabians. The last are ignorant or regardless of the affairs of Roum.

⁵ The Greek writers, in general, Zonaras, p. 203, and Glyceras, p. 334, agree in this story with the Princess Anne, except in the absurd addition of the dead cock. Ducange has already quoted some instances where a similar stratagem had been adopted by Norman princes. On this authority Wilken inclines to believe the fact. *Appendix to vol. II. p. 14.*—M

⁶ Iconium is mentioned as a station by Xenophon and by Strabo, with the ambiguous title of *ἡμετέρας* (Cellarius, tom. II. p. 121). Yet St. Paul found in that place a multitude (*πλῆθος*) of Jews and Gentiles. Under the corrupt name of *Ἀντιόχεια*, it is described as a great city, with a river and gardens, three leagues from the mountains, and decorated (I know not why) with Plato's tomb (Abulfeda, *tabul.* vii. p. 303, *vers. Reiske*, and the Index Geographicus of Schultens from Ibn Sa'id).

⁷ For this supplement to the first crusade, see Anna Comnena (Alexiad, I. xi p. 331, &c.) and the eighth book of Albert Aquinas.

⁸ For the second crusade, of Conrad III. and Louis VII. see William of Tyre (I. xvi c. 13, 29), Otto of Freising (I. I. c. 34, 45, 69, 100), Walter Paris (Hist. Major p. 68), Struvius (*Corpus Hist. Germanicæ*, 372, 373), *Scriptores Rerum Francicarum* & Duchesne, tom. IV., Nicetas, in VII. *Manuel*, I. I. c. 46, p. 41, 43, Cinnamus I. II. p. 11, 49.

For the third crusade, of Frederic Barbarossa, see Nicetas in Isaac Angel I. II. c. 8, p. 257-266. Struv (*Corpus Hist. Germ.* p. 414), and two historians, who probably were spectators, Tagino (in *Scriptor. Frietur.* tom. I. p. 403-416, edit. Struv.) and the Anonymus *Expeditiones Asiaticæ* Fred. I. (in *Canisii Antiq. Lection.* tom. III. p. II. p. 698-620, edit. Basnage.

expeditions may be compared in their resemblance of the greatness of numbers, their passage through the Greek empire, and the nature and event of their Turkish warfare, and a brief parallel may save the repetition of a tedious narrative. However splendid it may seem, a regular story of the crusades would exhibit the perpetual return of the same causes and effects; and the frequent attempts for the defence or recovery of the Holy Land would appear so many faint and unsuccessful copies of the original.

I Of the swarms that so closely trod
 Their numbers. in the footsteps of the first pilgrims, the chiefs were equal in rank, though unequal in fame and merit, to Godfrey of Bouillon and his fellow adventurers. At their head were displayed the banners of the dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitain; the first a descendant of Hugh Capet, the second a father of the Brunswick line, the archbishop of Milan, a temporal prince, transported, for the benefit of the Turks, the treasures and ornaments of his church and palace; and the veteran crusaders, Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, returned to consummate their unfinished vow. The huge and disorderly bodies of their followers moved forward in two columns; and if the first consisted of two hundred and sixty thousand persons, the second might possibly amount to sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot.¹ The armies of the second crusade might have claimed the conquest of Asia: the temples of France and Germany were animated by the presence of their sovereigns and both the rank and personal

¹ Anna, who states these later swarms at 40,000 horse, and 100,000 foot, calls them Normans, and places at their head two brothers of Flanders. The troops were strangely ignorant of the names, families, and possessions of the Latin princes.

² It was this army of pilgrims, the first body of which was headed by the archbishop of Milan and Count Albert of Blandras, which set forth on the wild, yet with a more disciplined army, not impetive, enterprise, of striking at the heart of the Mohammedan power, by attacking the sultan in Bagdad. For their adventures and fate, see Wilken, vol. ii. p. 120, &c. or Michaud, book iv.—M

characters of Conrad and Louis gave a dignity to their cause, and a discipline to their force, which might be vainly expected from the feudatory chiefs. The cavalry of the emperor, and that of the king, was each composed of seventy thousand knights, and their immediate attendants in the field,² and if the light armed troops, the peasant infantry, the women and children, the priests and monks, be rigorously excluded, the full account will scarcely be satisfied with four hundred thousand souls. The West, from Rome to Britain, was called into action, the kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the summons of Conrad, and it is affirmed by the Greeks and Latins, that in the passage of a strait or river, the Byzantine agents, after a tale of nine hundred thousand, desisted from the endless and formidable computation.³ In the third crusade, as the French and English preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean, the host of Frederic Barbarossa was less numerous. Fifteen thousand knights, and as many squires, were the flower of the German chivalry: sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, were mustered by the emperor in the plains of Hungary, and after such repetitions, we shall no longer be startled at the six hundred thousand pilgrims, which credulity has ascribed to this last emigration.⁴ Such extravagant reckonings prove only the astonishment of contemporaries, but their astonishment most strongly bears

¹ William of Tyre, and Matthew Paris, reckon 70,000 loricati in each of the armies.

² The imperfect enumeration is mentioned by Cinnamus (*ἱστορία μυσίας*), and confirmed by Odo de Diogilo apud Ducange ad Cinnamum, with the more precise sum of 90,566. Why must therefore the version and comment suppose the modest and insufficient reckoning of 90,000? Does not Godfrey of Viterbo (*Lantheon*, p. xix in Muratori, tom. vi. p. 302) exclaim?

—Numerum si poscere queras,
 Millia milena milibus agmen erat.

³ This extravagant account is given by Albert of Stade (apud Scrivium, p. 414), my calculation is borrowed from Godfrey of Viterbo, Arnold of Lubek, apud eundem, and Bernard Thesaur (c. 167, p. 804). The original writers are silent. The Mohammedans gave him 200,000, or 250,000, men (Bohadin, in Viti Saladin, p. 110).

testimony to the existence of an enormous though indefinite multitude. The Greeks might applaud their superior knowledge of the arts and stratagems of war, but they confessed the strength and courage of the French cavalry and the infantry of the Germans;¹ and the strangers are described as an iron race, of gigantic stature, who darted fire from their eyes, and spilt blood like water on the ground. Under the banners of Conrad, a troop of females rode in the attitude and armour of men; and the chief of these Amazons, from her gilt spurs and buskins, obtained the epithet of the Golden-footed Dame.

II. The numbers and character of the strangers was an object of terror to the effeminate Greeks, and the sentiment of fear is nearly allied to that of hatred. This aversion was suspended or softened by the apprehension of the Turkish power; and the invectives of the Latins will not bias our more candid belief, that the Emperor Alexius dissembled their insolence, eluded their hostilities, counselled their rashness, and opened to their ardour the road of pilgrimage and conquest. But when the Turks had been driven from Nice and the sea-coast, when the Byzantine princes no longer dreaded the distant sultans of Cögen, they felt with purer indignation the free and frequent passage of the western barbarians, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety, of the empire. The second and third crusades were undertaken under the reign of Manuel Comnenus and Isaac Angelus. Of the former, the passions were always impetuous, and often malevolent; and the natural union of a cowardly and mischievous temper was exemplified in the latter, who, without merit or mercy, could punish a tyrant,

and occupy his throne. It was secretly, and perhaps tacitly, resolved by the prince and people to destroy, or at least to discourage, the pilgrims, by every species of injury and oppression, and their want of prudence and discipline continually afforded the pretence or the opportunity. The Western monarchs had stipulated a safe passage and fair market in the country of their Christian brethren, the treaty had been ratified by oaths and hostages, and the poorest soldier of Frederic's army was furnished with three marks of silver to defray his expenses on the road. But every engagement was violated by treachery and injustice; and the complaints of the Latins are attested by the honest confession of a Greek historian, who has dared to prefer truth to his country.² Instead of an hospitable reception, the gates of the cities, both in Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders; and the scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls. Enfeeblement or foresight might excuse this timid jealousy, but the common duties of humanity prohibited the mixture of chilk, or other poisonous ingredients, in the bread, and should Manuel be acquitted of any foul connivance, he is guilty of coining base money for the purpose of trading with the pilgrims. In every step of their march they were stopped or misled: the governors had private orders to fortify the passes and break down the bridges against them; the stragglers were pillaged and murdered; the soldiers and horses were perished in the woods by arrows from an invisible hand, the sick were burnt in their beds, and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highway.³ These injuries exasperated the champions of the cross, who were not endowed with evangelical patience, and the Byzantine princes, who had provoked the unequal conflict, promoted the embankment and much of these formidable guests. On the verge of the Turkish frontier Har-

¹ I must observe, that in the second and third crusades, the subjects of Conrad and Frederic are styled by the Greeks and Orientals *Alamanni*. The Lachi and Tzechi of Cinnamus are the Poles and Bohemians, and it is for the French that he reserves the ancient appellation of Germans. He likewise names the *Εβριτιν*, or *Εβριτιν*.

² He names both—*Εβριτιν* *α* *και* *Εβριτιν* *β*.

³ Nicetas was a child at the second crusade, but in the third he commanded against the Franks the important post of Philippopolis. Cinnamus is infected with national prejudice and pride.

barossa spared the guilty Philadelphia,¹ rewarded the hospitable² Laodicea, and deplored the hard necessity that had stained his sword with any drops of Christian blood. In their intercourse with the monks of Germany and France, the pride of the Greeks was exposed to an anxious trial. They might boast that on the first interview the seat of Louis was a low stool, beside the throne of Manuel,³ but no sooner had the French king transported his army beyond the Bosphorus, than he refused the offer of a second conference, unless his brother would meet him on equal terms, either on the sea or land. With Conrad and Frederic, the ceremonial was still nicer and more difficult like the successors of Constantine, they styled themselves emperors of the Romans,⁴ and firmly maintained the purity of their title and dignity. The first of these representatives of Charlemagne would only converse with Manuel on horseback in the open field, the second, by passing the Hellespont rather than the Bosphorus, declined the view of Constantinople and its sovereign. An emperor, who had been crowned at Rome, was reduced in the Greek opistles to the humble appellation of *Basileus*, or prince of the Alemanni, and the vain and feeble Angelus affected to be ignorant of the name of one of the greatest men and monarchs of the age. While they viewed with hatred and suspicion the Latin pilgrims the Greek emperors maintained a strict, though

secret, alliance with the Turks and Saracens. Isaac Angelus complained, that by his friendship for the great Saladin he had incurred the enmity of the Franks, and a mosque was founded at Constantinople for the public exercise of the religion of Mahomet.⁵

III The swarms that followed the first crusade were de-^{Turkish warfare.}stroyed in Anatolia by famine, pestilence, and the Turkish arrows, and the princes only escaped with some squadrons of horse to accomplish their lamentable pilgrimage. A just opinion may be formed of their knowledge and humanity, of their knowledge, from the design of subduing Persia and Chorasan in their way to Jerusalem,⁶ of their humanity, from the massacre of the Christian people, a friendly city, who came out to meet them with palms and crosses in their hands. The arms of Conrad and Louis were less cruel and imprudent, but the event of the second crusade was still more ruinous to Christendom, and the Greek Manuel is accused by his own subjects of giving seasonable intelligence to the sultan, and treacherous guides to the Latin princes. Instead of crushing the common foe, by a double attack at the same time but on different sides, the Germans were urged by emulation, and the French were retarded by jealousy. Louis had scarcely passed the Bosphorus when he was met by the returning emperor, who had lost the greatest part of his army in glorious, but unsuccessful, actions on the banks of the Meander. The contrast of the pomp of his rival hastened the retreat of Conrad † the desertion of his inde-

¹ The conduct of the Philadelphians is blamed by Nicephorus, while the anonymous *Gerusalemensis* praises the rudeness of his country men (*culpa nostris*). History would be pleasant, if we were embarrassed only by such contradictions. It is likewise from Nicephorus, that we learn the pious and humane sorrow of *Isidore*.

² *ἡ φιλόδοξος πόλις*, which Cinnamus translates into Latin by the word *Stallus*. Duringo works very hard to save his king and country from such ignominy (see Johnvili dissertat. xviii. p. 317, 320). Louis afterwards insinuated on a meeting in *hard ex quoque not ex equo accedimus* to the laughable revivings of some MSS.

³ *Imperator Romanorum Imperator sum*, the Romanus (Anonymi Cans. p. 512). The public and historical style of the Greeks was *ἡ βασιλεία*. Yet Cinnamus owns, that *ἡ βασιλεία* is synonymous to *ἡ βασιλεία*.

⁴ In the Epistles of Innocent III. (xiii. p. 184), and the History of Bohadin (p. 130, 130), see the views of a pope and a cardinal on this singular toleration.

⁵ This was the design of the pilgrims under the archbishop of Milan. See note, p. 102—31.

† Conrad had advanced with part of his army along a central road, between that on the coast and that which led to Iconium. He had been betrayed by the Greeks, his army destroyed without a battle. Wilken, vol. iii. p. 105. Michael vol. ii. p. 150. Conrad advanced again with Louis as far as Ephesus, and from thence, at the invitation of Manuel, returned to Constantinople. It was Louis who, at the passage of the Meander was engaged in a "glorious action." Wilken, vol. iii. p. 179.

pendent vassals reduced him to his hereditary troops, and he borrowed some Greek vessels to execute by sea the pilgrimage of Palestine. Without studying the lessons of experience, or the nature of the war, the king of France advanced through the same country to a similar fate. The vanguard, which bore the royal banner and the oriflamme of St. Denis,¹ had doubled their march with rash and inconsiderate speed; and the rear, which the king commanded in person, no longer found their companions in the evening camp. In darkness and disorder, they were encompassed, assaulted, and overwhelmed, by the innumerable host of Turks, who, in the art of war, were superior to the Christians of the twelfth century.* Louis, who climbed a tree in the general discomfiture, was saved by his own valour and the ignorance of his adversaries, and with the dawn of day he escaped alive, but almost alone, to the camp of the vanguard. But instead of pursuing his expedition by land, he was rejoiced to shelter the relics of his army in the friendly seaport of Satalia. From thence he embarked for Antioch, but so penurious was the supply of Greek vessels, that they could only afford room for his knights and nobles, and the plebeian crowd of infantry was left to perish at the foot of the Pamphylian hills. The emperor and the king embraced and

¹ As counts of Vexin, the kings of France were the vassals and advocates of the monastery of St. Denis. The saint's peculiar banner, which they received from the abbot, was of a square form, and of a red or *flaming* colour. The *oriflamme* appeared at the head of the French armies from the twelfth to the fifteenth century (Ducange sur Joinville, Dissert. xviii. p. 244-253).

Michaud, vol. ii. p. 100. Gibbon followed Nicetas.—N

* They descended the heights to a beautiful valley which lay beneath them. The Turks seized the heights which separated the two divisions of the army. The modern historians represent differently the act to which Louis owed his safety, which Gibbon has described by the undignified phrase, "he climbed a tree." According to Michaud, vol. ii. p. 104, the king got upon a rock with his back against a tree, according to Wilken, vol. iii. p. 182, he dragged himself up to the top of the rock by the roots of a tree and continued to defend himself till night-fall.—M.

wept at Jerusalem; their martial trains, the remnant of mighty armies, were joined to the Christian powers of Syria, and a fruitless siege of Damascus was the final effort of the second crusade. Conrad and Louis embarked for Europe with the personal fame of piety and courage, but the Orientals had braved these potent monarchs of the Franks, with whose names and military virtues they had been so often threatened.² Perhaps they had still more to fear from the veteran genius of Frederick the First, who in his youth had served in Asia under his uncle Conrad. Forty campaigns in Germany and Italy had taught Barbarossa to command; and his soldiers, even the princes of the empire, were accustomed under his reign to obey. As soon as he lost sight of Philadelphia and Laodicea, the last cities of the Greek frontier, he plunged into the salt and barren desert, a land (says the historian) of horror and tribulation.³ During twenty days, every step of his fainting and sickly march was besieged by the innumerable hordes of Turks, whose numbers and fury seemed after each defeat to multiply and in flame. The emperor continued to struggle and to suffer, and such was the measure of his calamities, that when he reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thousand knights were able to serve on horseback. By a sudden and resolute assault he defeated the guards, and stormed the capital of the sultan,⁴ who humbly sued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederick advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately

¹ The original French histories of the second crusade are the *Gesta Ludovici VII.* published in the fourth volume of Duchesne's collection. The same volume contains many original letters of the king, of Suger his minister, &c., the best documents of authentic history.

² Terram horridam et salubrilis terram siccam, sterilem, inamoenam. Anonym. Canis. p. 51. The emphatic language of a sufferer.

³ Gens innumera, sylvestris, indomita, prodones sine ductore. The sultan of Iconium might sincerely rejoice in their defeat. Anonym. Canis. p. 517, 518.

⁴ See in the anonymous writer in the Collection of Canisius, Taglino, and Bohadin (Vit. Saladin. p. 119, 120), the ambiguous conduct of Kilidge Arslan, sultan of Iconium, who hated and feared both Saladin and Frederick.

drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia * The remainder of his Germans was consumed by sickness and desertion, and the emperor's son expired with the greatest part of his Swabian vassals at the siege of Acro. Among the Latin heroes, Godfrey of Bouillon and Frederic Barbarossa could alone achieve the passage of the Lesser Asia, yet even their success was a warning; and in the last and most experienced age of the crusades, every nation preferred the sea to the toils and perils of an inland expedition †

The enthusiasm of the first crusade is a natural and simple event, while hope was fresh, danger untried, and enterprise congenial to the spirit of the times. But the obstinate perseverance of Europe may indeed excite our pity and admiration, that no instruction should have been drawn from constant and adverse experience, that the same confidence should have repeatedly grown from the same failures; that six succeeding generations should have rushed headlong down the precipice that was open before them; and that men of every condition should have staked their public and private fortunes on the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tomb stone two thousand miles from their country. In a period of two centuries after the council of Clermont, each spring and summer produced a new emigration of pilgrim-warriors for the defence of the Holy Land, but the seven great armaments or crusades were excited by some impending or recent calamity the nations were moved by the authority of their pontiffs, and the example of their

* The desire of comparing two great men has tempted many writers to drown Frederic in the river Cydnus, in which Alexander so imprudently bathed (Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4, 5). But, from the march of the emperor, I rather judge that his capital is the Cydnus, a stream of less time, but of a longer course.

† Valinus Annatus, A. D. 1321, lays it down as a precept, Quod stultus excedat per terram multo minus est duenda. He resolves, by the Divine aid, the objection, or rather exception, of the first crusade (Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. ii. pars ii. c. 1. p. 37).

* It is now called the Grama. Its course is described in M'Donald Kinnel's Travels — M

kings their zeal was kindled, and their reason was silenced, by the voice of their holy orators, and among these, Bernard, the monk, or the saint, may claim the most honourable place * About eight years before the first conquest of Jerusalem, he was born of a noble family in Burgundy, at the age of three and twenty he buried himself in the monastery of Cîteaux, then in the primitive fervour of the institution, at the end of two years he led forth her third colony, or daughter, to the valley of Clairvaux in Champagne, and was content, till the hour of his death, with the humble station of abbot of his own community. A philosophic age has abolished, with too liberal and indiscriminate disdain, the honours of these spiritual heroes. The meanest among them are distinguished by some energies of the mind; they were at least superior to their votaries and disciples, and, in the race of superstition, they attained the prize for which such numbers contended. In speech, in writing, in action, Bernard stood high above his rivals and contemporaries, his compositions are not devoid of wit and eloquence, and he seems to have preserved as much reason and humanity as may be reconciled with the

Character and mission of St. Bernard, A.D. 1091. 1153.

* The most authentic information of St. Bernard must be drawn from his own writings, published in a correct edition by Père Mabillon, and reprinted at Venice, 1740, in six volumes in folio. Whatever friendship could recollect, or superstition could add, is contained in the two lives, by his disciples. In the sixth volume whatever learning and criticism could ascertain, may be found in the prefaces of the Benedictine editor.

† Clairvaux, surnamed the Valley of Absynth, is situated among the woods near Lax sur Aube in Champagne. St. Bernard would blush at the pomp of the church and monastery, he would ask for the library, and I know not whether he would be much edified by a ton of 800 muids (914 17th hogsheads), which almost rivals that of Heidelberg (Mélanges tirés d'une Grande Bibliothèque, tom. xlii. p. 1520).

* (Ibbon, whose account of the crusades is perhaps the last accurate and satisfactory chapter in his History, has here failed in that lucid arrangement, which in general gives perspicuity to his most condensed and crowded narratives. He has unaccountably, and to the great perplexity of the reader, placed the preaching of St. Bernard after the second crusade to which it led — M

character of a saint. In a secular life, he would have shared the seventh part of a private inheritance, by a vow of poverty and penance, by closing his eyes against the visible world,¹ by the refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities, the abbot of Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe, and the founder of one hundred and sixty convents. Princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apostolic censures. France, England, and Milan, consulted, and obeyed his judgment in a schism of the church: the debt was repaid by the gratitude of Innocent the Second, and his successor, Eugenius the Third, was the friend and disciple of the holy Bernard. It was in the proclamation of the second crusade that he shone as the missionary and prophet of God, who called the nations to the defence of his holy sepulchre.² At the parliament of Vezelay he spoke before the king, and Louis the Seventh, with his nobles, received their crosses from his hand. The abbot of Clairvaux then marched to the less easy conquest of the Emperor Conrad: a phlegmatic people, ignorant of his language, was transported by the pathetic vehemence of his tone and gestures, and his progress, from Constance to Cologne, was the triumph of eloquence and zeal. Bernard applauds his own success in the depopulation of

Europe, affirms that cities and castles were emptied of their inhabitants; and computes, that only one man was left behind for the consolation of seven widows.³ The blind fanatics were desirous of electing him for their general; but the example of the hermit Peter was before his eyes, and while he assured the crusaders of the divine favour, he prudently declined a military command, in which failure and victory would have been almost equally disgraceful to his character.⁴ Yet, after the calamitous event, the abbot of Clairvaux was loudly accused as a false prophet, the author of the public and private mourning, his enemies exulted, his friends blushed, and his apology was slow and unsatisfactory. He justifies his obedience to the commands of the pope, expatiates on the mysterious ways of Providence, imputes the misfortunes of the pilgrims to their own sins, and modestly insinuates, that his mission had been approved by signs and wonders.⁵ Had the fact been certain, the argument would be decisive, and his faithful disciples, who enumerate twenty or thirty miracles in a day, appeal to the public assemblies of France and Germany, in which they were performed.⁶ At the present hour, such prodigies will not obtain credit beyond the precincts of Clairvaux; but in the preternatural cures of the blind, the lame, and the sick, who were presented to the man of God, it is im-

¹ The disciples of the saint (Vit. ima, l. iii. c. 2, p. 1232. Vit. ima, c. 16, No. 45, p. 1349) record a marvellous example of his pious apathy. *Juxta lacum etiam Lausannensem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus non attendit aut se videre non vidit. Cum enim vespere facto de eodem lacu socii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos ubi lacus ille esset, et nihili sunt universi. To admire or despise St. Bernard as he ought, the reader, like myself, should have before the windows of his library the beauties of that incomparable landscape.*

² Otto Frising. l. i. c. 4. Bernard. Epist. 363, ad Francos Orientales. Opp. tom. i. p. 328. Vit. ima, l. iii. c. 4, tom. vi. p. 1245.

³ Bernard had a nobler object in his expedition into Germany - to arrest the fierce and merciless persecution of the Jews, which was preparing, under the mark of the lamb, to renew the frightful scenes which had preceded the first crusade, in the flourishing cities on the banks of the Rhine. The Jews acknowledge the Christian intervention of St. Bernard. See the curious extract from the History of Joseph ben Meir Wilken, vol. iii. p. 1 and n. 63. f. M.

⁴ *Mandasti et obedivi multiplicati sunt super numerum vacuum. Quia et castella, et pene jam non inveniunt quam apprehendant septem mulieres unum virum, adeo ubique viduus visus remanent viri.* Bernard. Epist. p. 247. We must be careful not to construe *pene* as a substantive.

⁵ *Quis ego sum ut dispensem vicia, ut egrediar ante facies armatorum, aut quid tam remotum a professione mea, si viri et perficiat. Et Epist. 246, tom. i. p. 371. He speaks with contempt of the hermit Peter, vir quidam, Epist. 63.*

⁶ *Sic dicunt forsan isti, unde scimus quod a Domino scriptum egressus sit? Qui signa tu facis ut credamus tibi? Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam, immo etiam respondendo meo, responde tu pro me, et pro te ipso, secundum quod videris, et audieris, et secundum quod te inspiraverit Deus. Consolat. l. ii. c. i. Opp. tom. ii. p. 421-423.*

⁷ See the testimonies in Vita ima, l. iv. c. 5, 6. Opp. tom. vi. p. 1268-1269, l. vi. c. i. l. 7. p. 1286-1284.

possible for us to ascertain the separate influences of accident, or fancy, of imposture, and of fiction.

Omnipotence itself cannot escape the

Progress of the murmurs of its discordant
Mohammedans votaries, since the same dispensation which was applauded as a deliverance in Europe, was deplored, and perhaps arraigned, as a calamity in Asia.

After the loss of Jerusalem, the Syrian fugitives diffused their consternation and sorrow. Bagdad mourned in the dust, the caliph Zenneddin of Damascus tore his beard in the caliph's presence, and the whole divan shed tears at his melancholy tale.¹ But the commanders of the faithful could only weep, they were themselves captives in the hands of the Turks: some temporal power was restored to the last age of the Abbassides; but their humble ambition was confined to Bagdad and the adjacent provinces. Their tyrants, the Seljukian sultans, had followed the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the increasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay: their spirit and power were unequal to the defence of religion, and, in his distant realm of Persia, the Christians were strangers to the name and the arms of Sanguar, the last hero of his race.² While the sultans were involved in the silken web of the harem, the

The Atabeks of pious task was undertaken by their slaves, the Atabeks,³ a Turkish name, which, like the Byzantine patricians, may be translated by Father of the

¹ Abulmaliken apud de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 91.
² See his article in the Bibliothèque Orientale of D. Henkelot, and de Guignes, tom. ii. p. i. p. 230-231. Such was his valour, that he was styled the second Alexander, and such the extravagant love of his subjects, that they prayed for the sultan a year after his decease. Yet Sanguar might have been made prisoner by the Franks as well as by the Uzes. He reigned near fifty years (A. D. 1103-1152), and was a munificent patron of Persian poetry.

³ See the Chronology of the Atabeks of Irak and Syria, in de Guignes, tom. i. p. 254, and the reigns of Zenghi and Nouredin in the same writer, (tom. ii. p. i. p. 147-221), who uses the Arabic text of Benzathir, Ibn Schouna, and Abulfeda, the Bibliothèque Orientale, under the articles *Atabeks* and *Nouredin*, and the Dynasties of Abulpharagius, p. 250-267 vers. Pocock.

Prince Ascanar, a valiant Turk, had been the favourite of Malck Shaw, from whom he received the privilege of standing on the right hand of the throne, but, in the civil wars that ensued on the monarch's death, he lost his head and the government of Aleppo. His domestic misdeeds per-

severed in then attach-^{Zenghi} A. D. 1137-1143
ment to his son Zenghi, who proved his first arms against the Franks in the defence of Antioch: thirty campaigns in the service of the caliph and sultan established his military fame, and he was invested with the command of Mosul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the prophet. The public hope was not disappointed: after a siege of twenty-five days, he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates: the mutual tides of Kurdistan were subdued by the independent sovereign of Mosul and Aleppo: his soldiers were taught to behold the camp as their only country, they trusted to his liberality for their rewards, and their absent families were protected by the vigilance of Zenghi.

At the head of these ^{Nouredin} veterans, his son Nou- A. D. 1146-1174.
reddin gradually united the Mohammedan powers,⁴ added the kingdom of Damascus to that of Aleppo, and waged a long and successful war against the Christians of Syria, he spread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile, and the Abbassides rewarded their faithful servant with all the titles and prerogatives of royalty. The Latins themselves were compelled to own the wisdom and courage, and even the justice and piety, of this implacable adversary.⁵ In his life and govern-

¹ William of Tyre (l. xvi. c. 4, 5, 7) describes the loss of Edessa, and the death of Zenghi. The corruption of his name into *Sanguar*, afforded the Latins a comfortable allusion to his sanguinary character and end, fit sanguine sanguinolentus.

² Nouredin (says William of Tyre l. xx. 33), maximus nominis et fidei Christiana persecutor, princeps tamq. justus, vaf. providus, et sec. cum dum gentis sue traditiones religioas. To this catholic witness we may add the private of

³ On Nouredin's conquest of Damascus, see extracts from Arabian writers prefixed to the second part of the third volume of Wüsten — 31

ment the holy warrior revived the zeal and simplicity of the first caliph. Gold and silk were banished from his palace; the use of wine from his dominions, the public revenue was scrupulously applied to the public service, and the frugal household of Nouraddin was maintained from his legitimate share of the spoil which he vested in the purchase of a private estate. His favourite sultana sighed for some female object of expense "Alas," replied the king, "I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate, but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems, these you may take, and these alone can I bestow." His chamber of justice was the terror of the great and the refuge of the poor. Some years after the sultan's death, an oppressed subject called aloud in the streets of Damascus, "O Nouredin, Nouredin, where art thou now? Arise, arise, to pity and protect us!" A tumult was apprehended, and a living tyrant blushed or trembled at the name of a departed monarch.

By the arms of the Turks and Franks the Fatimites had been deprived of Syria. In Egypt the decay of their character and influence was still more essential. Yet they were still revered as the descendants and successors of the prophet, they maintained their invisible state in the palace of Cairo, and their person was seldom violated by the profane eyes of subjects or strangers. The Latin ambassadors have described their own introduction through a series of gloomy passages, and glittering porticoes; the scene was enlivened by the warbling of

the Jacobites (Abulpharag p. 267), quo non alter erat inter reges vite ratione magis laudabilis, aut quæ pluribus justitiæ experimentis abundaret. The true prize of kings is after their death, and from the mouth of their enemies.

From the ambassador, William of Tyre (l. xiv. c. 17, 18) describes the palace of Cairo. In the caliph's treasure were found a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, a ruby weighing seven teen Egyptian drams, an emerald a palm and a half in length, and many vases of crystal and porcelain of China (Renaudet, p. 536).

birds and the murmur of fountains: it was enriched by a display of rich furniture, and rare animals; of the Imperial treasures, something was shown, and much was supposed, and the long order of unfolding doors was guarded by black soldiers and domestic eunuchs. The sanctuary of the presence chamber was veiled with a curtain; and the vizir, who conducted the ambassadors, laid aside his scimitar, and prostrated himself three times on the ground, the veil was then removed, and they beheld the commander of the faithful, who signified his pleasure to the first slave of the throne. But this slave was his master: the vizirs or sultans had usurped the supreme administration of Egypt, the claims of the rival candidates were decided by arms, and the name of the most worthy, of the strongest, was inserted in the royal patent of command. The factions of Dargham and Shawer alternately expelled each other from the capital and country, and the weaker side implored the dangerous protection of the sultan of Damascus or the king of Jerusalem, the perpetual enemies of the sect and monarchy of the Fatimites. By his arms and religion the Turk was most formidable, but the Frank, in an easy direct march, could advance from Gaza to the Nile, while the intricate situation of his realm compelled the troops of Nouraddin to wheel round the skirts of Arabia, a long and painful circuit, which exposed them to thirst, fatigue, and the burning winds of the desert. The secret zeal and ambition of the Turkish prince aspired to reign in Egypt under the name of the Abbassides, but the restoration of the suppliant Shawer was the ostensible motive of the first expedition; and the success was intrusted to the emir Shiracouh, a valiant and veteran commander. Dargham was oppressed and slain, but the ingratitude, the jealousy, the just apprehensions, of his more fortunate rival, soon provoked him to invite the king of Jerusalem to deliver Egypt from his insolent benefactors. To this union the forces of Shiracouh were unequal: he relinquished the premature conquest, and the evacuation

of Belbeis or Pelusium was the condition of his safe retreat. As the Turks divided before the enemy, and their general closed the rear, with a vigilant eye, and a battle axe in his hand, a Frank presumed to ask him if he were not afraid of an attack? "It is doubtless in your power to begin the attack," replied the intrepid emir, "but rest assured, that not one of my soldiers will go to paradise till he has sent an infidel to hell." His report of the riches of the land, the effeminacy of the natives, and the disorders of the government, revived the hopes of Noureddin, the caliph of Bagdad applauded the pious design, and Shiracouh descended into Egypt a second time with twelve thousand Turks and eleven thousand Arabs. Yet his forces were still inferior to the confederate armies of the Franks and Saracens, and I can discern an unusual degree of military art, in his passage of the Nile, his retreat into Thebes, his masterly evolutions in the battle of Babain, the surprise of Alexandria, and his marches and counter-marches in the flats and valley of Egypt, from the tropic to the sea. His conduct was seconded by the courage of his troops, and on the eve of action a Mamaluke¹ exclaimed, "If we cannot wrest Egypt from the Christian dogs, why do we not renounce the honours and rewards of the sultan, and retire to labour with the peasants, or to spin with the females of the harem?" Yet, after all his efforts in the field,² after the obstinate defence of Alexandria by his nephew Saladin, an honourable

¹ *Mamluk*, plur. *Mamlukes*, is defined by Pocock (Prolegomena ad Abulpharag p. 7), and Hierbelot (p. 513), *servum emptitium, seu qui pretio numerato in domum possessionem venit*. They frequently occur in the wars of Saladin (Bohadin, p. 236, &c.), and it was only the *Iskariot* Mamalukes that were first introduced into Egypt by his descendants.

² Jacobus a Vitriaco (p. 1110) gives the king of Jerusalem no more than 574 knights. Both the Franks and the Molesims report the superior numbers of the enemy, a difference which may be solved by counting or omitting the unwarlike Egyptians.

³ It was the Alexandria of the Arabs, a middle term in extent and riches between the period of the Greeks and Romans, and that of the Turks (Savary, *Lettres sur l'Egypte* tom. i. p. 25, 26).

capitulation and retreat³ concluded the second enterprise of Shiracouh, and Noureddin reserved his abilities for a third and more propitious occasion. It was soon offered by the ambition and avarice of Amalik or Amaury, king of Jerusalem, who had imbibed the pernicious maxim, that no faith should be kept with the enemies of God. A religious warrior, the great master of the hospital, encouraged him to proceed, the emperor of Constantinople either gave, or promised, a fleet to act with the armies of Syria, and the perfidious Christian, unsatisfied with spoil and subsidy, aspired to the conquest of Egypt. In this emergency, the Molesims turned their eyes towards the sultan of Damascus, the vizir, whom danger encompassed on all sides, yielded to their unanimous wishes, and Noureddin seemed to be tempted by the fair offer of one third of the revenue of the kingdom. The Franks were already at the gates of Cairo, but the suburbs, the old city, were burnt on their approach, they were deceived by an insidious negotiation, and their vessels were unable to surmount the barriers of the Nile. They prudently declined a contest with the Turks in the midst of a hostile country, and Amaury retired into Palestine with the shame and reproach that always adheres to unsuccessful injustice. After this deliverance, Shiracouh was invested with a robe of honour, which he soon stained with the blood of the unfortunate Shawer. For a while, the Turkish emirs condescended to hold the office of vizir, but this foreign conquest precipitated the fall of the Fatimites themselves, and the bloodless change was accomplished by a message and a word. The caliphs had been degraded by their own weakness and the tyranny of the vizirs; their subjects blushed, when the ascendant and successor of the prophet presented his naked hand to the rude

The treaty stipulated that both the Christians and the Arabs should withdraw from Egypt. Wilken, vol. iii. part ii. p. 114—M.

⁴ The knights Templars, abhorring the perfidious breach of treaty, partly, perhaps, out of jealousy of the Hospitallers, refused to join in this enterprise. Will. Tyr. c. xx. p. 6. Wilken, vol. iii. part ii. p. 117—M.

gripe of a Latin ambassador; they wept when he sent the hair of his women, a sad emblem of their grief and terror, to excite the pity of the sultan of Damascus. By the com-

End of the
Fatimite caliphs.
A.D. 1171.

mand of Noureddin, and the sentence of the doctors, the holy names of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, were solemnly restored the caliph Mosthadi, of Bagdad, was acknowledged in the public prayers as the true commander of the faithful; and the green livery of the sons of Ali was exchanged for the black colour of the Abbassides. The last of his race, the caliph Adhed, who survived only ten days, expired in happy ignorance of his fate. His treasure secured the loyalty of the soldiers, and silenced the murmurs of the sectaries, and in all subsequent revolutions Egypt has never departed from the orthodox tradition of the Moslems.¹

The hilly country beyond the Tigris is occupied by the pastoral tribes of the Curds,² a people hardy, strong, savage, impatient of the yoke, addicted to rapine, and tenacious of the government of their national chiefs. The resemblance of name, situation, and manners, seems to identify them with the Carduchians of the Greeks,³ and they still defend against the Ottoman Porte the antique freedom which they asserted against the successors of Cyrus. Poverty and ambi-

Reign and
character of
Saladin
A.D. 1171-83.

¹ For this great revolution of Egypt, see William of Tyre (l. xix, 57, 123, xx 512), Bohadin (id. Vit. Saladin, p. 3039), Abulfeda (in Excerpt. Schultens, p. 1-12), D'Hierbelot (Bibl. Orient. Adhed, *Fathemah*, but very incorrect), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch Alex. p. 722-723, 732-737), Vertot (Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. p. 141-163, in 4to), and M. de Guignes (tom. II. p. 185-215).

² For the Curds, see De Guignes, tom. i. p. 416, 417, the Index Geographicus of Schultens, and Tavernier, *Voyage*, &c. p. L. p. 308, 400. The Ayoubites descended from the tribe of the Barakith, one of the noblest, but as they were infected with the heresy of the Mutezelsians, the orthodox sultans insinuated that their descent was only on the mother's side, and that their ancestor was a stranger who settled among the Curds.

³ See the fourth book of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon. The ten thousand suffered more from the arrows of the free Carduchians, than from the splendid weakness of the great king.

tion prompted them to embrace the profession of mercenary soldiers: the service of his father and uncle prepared the reign of the great Saladin¹ and the son of Job or Ayub, a simple Curd, magnanimously smiled at his pedigree, which flattery deluded from the Arabian caliphs.² So unconscious was Nouredin of the impending ruin of his house, that he constipated the reluctant youth to follow his uncle Shiracouh into Egypt: his military character was established by the defence of Alexandria, and if we may believe the Latins, he solicited and obtained from the Christian general the *proferre* honours of knighthood.³ On the death of Shiracouh, the office of grand vizier was bestowed on Saladin, as the youngest and least powerful of the emirs, but with the advice of his father, whom he invited to Cairo, his genius obtained the ascendant over his equals, and attached the army to his person and interest. While Nouredin lived, these ambitious Curds were the most humble of his slaves, and the indignant murmurs of the divans were silenced by the prudent Ayub, who loudly protested that at the command of the sultan he himself would lead his son in chains to the foot of the throne. "Such language," he added in private, "was prudent and proper in an assembly of your rivals, but we are now above fear and obedience, and the threats of Nouredin shall not extort the tribute of a sugar-cane." His reasonable death relieved them from the odious and doubtful conflict his son, a minor of eleven years of age, was left for a while to the emirs of Damascus.

¹ We are indebted to the professor Schultens (Ipsid. Bat. 1755, in folio) for the richest and most authentic materials, a life of Saladin by his friend and minister the Cadi Bohadin, and copious extracts from the history of his kinsman the Prince Abulfeda of Hama. To these we may add, the article of *Salaheddin* in the Bibliothèque Orientale, and all that may be gleaned from the Dynasties of Abulpharagius.

² Since Abulfeda was himself an Ayoubite, he may share the praise, for imitating, at least tacitly, the modesty of the founder.

³ Hist. Hierosol. in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1162. A similar example may be found in Joinville (p. 42, edition du Louvre), but the pious St. Louis refused to dignify infidels with the order of Christian knighthood (Ducange, *Observations*, p. 70).

cus; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph¹ with every title that could sanctify his usurpation in the eyes of the people. Nor was Saladin long content with the possession of Egypt: he despoiled the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Atabeks of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbekir. Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector. his brother subdued the distant regions of Yemen, or the happy Arabia, and at the hour of his death, his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. In the judgment of his character, the reproaches of treason and ingratitude strike forcibly on our minds, impressed, as they are, with the principle and experience of law and loyalty. But his ambition may in some measure be excused by the revolutions of Asia,² which had crased every notion of legitimate succession, by the recent example of the Atabeks themselves, by his reverence to the son of his benefactor, his humane and generous behaviour to the collateral branches, by their incapacity and his merit, by the approbation of the caliph, the sole source of all legitimate power, and, above all, by the wishes and interest of the people, whose happiness is the first object of government. In his virtues, and in those of his patron, they admired the singular union of the hero and the saint, for both Nouredin and Saladin are ranked among the Mohammedan saints³ and the constant meditation of the hol, war appears to have shed a serious and sober colour over their lives and actions. The youth of the latter⁴ was addicted to wine and women, but his aspiring spirit soon renounced the

temptations of pleasure, for the greater follies of fame and dominion the garment of Saladin was of coarse woollen, water was his only drink; and, while he emulated the temperance, he surpassed the chastity, of his Arabian prophet. Both in faith and practice he was a rigid Mussulman, he ever deplored that the defence of religion had not allowed him to accomplish the pilgrimage of Mecca, but at the stated hours, five times each day, the sultan devoutly prayed with his brethren the involuntary omission of fasting was scrupulously repaid, and his perusal of the Koran, on horseback between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, however ostentatious, of piety and courage. The superstitious doctrine of the sect of Shafai was the only study that he deigned to encourage. the poets were safe in his contempt, but all profane science was the object of his aversion, and a philosopher, who had vented some speculative novelties, was seized and strangled by the command of the royal saint. The justice of his divan was accessible to the meanest suppliant against himself and his ministers, and it was only for a kingdom that Saladin would deviate from the rule of equity. While the descendants of Seljuk and Zenghi held his stirrup and smoothed his garments, he was affable and patient with the meanest of his servants. No boundless was his liberality, that he distributed twelve thousand horses at the siege of Acre, and, at the time of his death, no more than forty seven drams of silver and one piece of gold coin were found in the treasury, yet, in a martial reign, the tributes were diminished, and the wealthy citizens enjoyed, without fear or danger, the fruits of their industry. Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were adorned by the royal foundations of hospitals, colleges, and mosques, and Cairo was fortified with a wall and citadel, but his works were consecrated to public use, nor did the sultan indulge him-

¹ In these Arabic titles, *religions* must always be understood. *Nouredin*, *lumen* &c. *Lezouin*, *dictus*; *Amoudouin*, *column*; our hero's proper name was Joseph, and he was styled *Salaheddin*, *salus*. *Al Mubinkus*, *Al Nusrus*, *rex defensor* *Abu Nodaffer*, *pater victoris* *Schultens*, *Tréfat*.

² Abulfeda, who descended from a brother of Saladin, observes, from many examples, that the founders of dynasties took the guilt for themselves, and left the reward to their innocent collateral (Excerpt p. 10).

³ See his life and character in Renaudot, p. 537-544.

⁴ His civil and religious virtues are celebrated in the first chapter of Iohadin (p. 4-30), himself an eye-witness, and an honest bigot.

⁵ In many works, particularly Joseph's wall in the Castle of Cairo, the Sultan and the Patri-

self in a garden or palace of private luxury. In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic, the genuine virtues of Saladin commanded the esteem of the Christians: the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship,¹ the Greek emperor solicited his alliance,² and the conquest of Jerusalem diffused, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the East and West.

During its short existence, the kingdom of Jerusalem³ was supported by the discord of the Turks and Saracens, and both the Fatimite caliphs and the sultans of Damascus were tempted to sacrifice the cause of their religion to the meaner considerations of private and present advantage. But the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were now united by a hero, whose native and fortune had armed against the Christians. All without, now bore the most threatening aspect, and all was feeble and hollow in the internal state of Jerusalem. After the two first Baldwins, the brother and cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the sceptre devolved by female succession to Melisande, daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulk, count of Anjou, the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets. Then two sons, Baldwin the Third, and Amaury, waged a strenuous, and not unsuccessful, war against the infidels, but the son of Amaury, Baldwin the Fourth, was deprived, by the leprosy, a gift of the crusades, of the faculties both of mind and body. His sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin the Fifth, was his natural heiress: after the suspicious death of her child, she crowned her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of such base renown, that his own brother Jeffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, surely arch-bishops have been confounded by the ignorance of natives and travellers."

¹ Anonym. Cantabrigiæ, tom. iii. p. 51 p. 504

² Bohadin, p. 129, 130

³ For the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, see William of Tyre, from the ninth to the twenty-second book. Jacob a Vitricco, Hist. Hierosolym. l. i, and Sanutus, Secreta fidelium Crucis, l. iii. p. vi, vii, viii, ix

they would have made *me* a god!" The choice was generally blamed, and the most powerful vassal, Raymond, count of Tripoli, who had been excluded from the successor and regency, entertained an implacable hatred against the king, and exposed his honour and conscience to the temptations of the sultan. Such were the guardians of the holy city; a leper, a child, a woman, a coward, and a traitor: yet its fate was delayed twelve years by some supplies from Europe, by the valour of the military orders, and by the distant or domestic avocations of their great enemy. At length, on every side, the sinking state was encircled and pressed by a hostile line, and the truce was violated by the Franks, whose existence it protected. A soldier of fortune, Reginald of Chatillon, had seized a fortress on the edge of the desert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, insulted Mahomet, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. Saladin condescended to complain, rejoined in the demand of justice, and at the head of fourscore thousand horse and foot invaded the Holy Land. The choice of Tiberias for his first siege was suggested by the count of Tripoli, to whom it belonged, and the king of Jerusalem was persuaded to drain his garrisons, and to arm his people, for the relief of that important place. By the advice of the perfidious Raymond, the Christians were betrayed into a camp destitute of water: he flood on the first onset, with the curses of both nations. Lusignan was q^uietly thrown, with the loss of thirty thousand men; and the wood of the true cross, a dire misfortune! was left in the power of the infidels.* The royal captive was

¹ Templarii ut apes bombabant et Hospitalarii ut venti stridebant, et barones su exitu ostendebant, et Turcopuli (the Christian light troops) semet ipsi in ignem injiciebant (Isaiah de Expugnacione Rudatice, p. 18, apud Schultze), a specimen of Arabian eloquence, somewhat different from the style of Xenophon.

² The Latins affirm, the Arabians insinuate the treason of Raymond, but had he really embraced their religion, he would have been a saint and a hero in the eyes of the latter.

* Raymond's advice would have prevented the abandonment of a secure camp abounding

conducted to the tent of Saladin; and as he fainted with thirst and terror, the generous victor presented him with a cup of sherbet, cooled in snow, without suffering his companion, Reginald of Chatillon, to partake of this pledge of hospitality and pardon. "The person and dignity of a king," said the sultan, "are sacred, but this unpius robber must instantly acknowledge the prophet, whom he has blasphemed, or meet the death which he has so often deserved." On the proud or conscientious refusal of the Christian warrior, Saladin struck him on the head with his scimitar, and Reginald was despatched by the guards. The trembling Lusignan was sent to Damascus, to an honourable prison and speedy ransom; but the victory was stained by the execution of

* Renaud, Reginald, or Arnold de Chatillon, is celebrated by the Latins in his life and death, but the circumstances of the latter are more distinctly related by Iohann and Abulfeda and Joinville (Hist. de St. Louis, p. 70) alludes to the practice of Saladin, of never putting to death a prisoner who had tasted his bread and salt. Some of the companions of Arnold had been slain, burned, and almost crucified, in a valley of Mecca, ubi sacrificia metantur (Abulfeda, p. 32).

with water near Bepphoris. The rash and insolent valour of the master of the order of Knights Templars, which had before exposed the Christians to a fatal defeat at the brook Kishon, forced the feeble king to annul the determination of a council of war, and advance to a camp in an enclosed valley among the mountains, near Hittin, without water. Raymond did not fly till the battle was irretrievably lost, and then the Saracens came to have opened their ranks to allow him free passage. The charge of suggesting the siege of Tiberias appears unfounded. Raymond, no doubt, played a double part: he was a man of strong sagacity, who foresaw the desperate nature of the contest with Saladin, and avowed by every means to maintain the truce; and, though he joined both his arms and his still more valuable counsels to the Christian army, yet kept up a kind of amicable correspondence with the Mohammedans. See Wilken vol. III. part II. p. 246, et seq. Michaud, vol. II. p. 278 et seq. Michaud is still more friendly than Wilken to the memory of Count Raymond, who died suddenly, shortly after the battle of Hittin. He quotes a letter written in the name of Saladin by the Cadi Alfidel, to show that Raymond was considered by the Mohammedans their most dangerous and detested enemy. "No person of distinction among the Christians escaped, except the count (of Tripoli) whom God curse. God made him die shortly afterwards, and sent him from the kingdom of death to hell."

—M.

two hundred and thirty knights of the hospital, the intrepid champions and martyrs of their faith. The kingdom was left without a head; and of the two grand masters of the military orders, the one was slain and the other was a prisoner. From all the cities, both of the sea-coast and the inland country, the garrisons had been drawn away for this fatal field. Tyre and Tripoli alone could escape the rapid march of Saladin, and three months after the battle of Tiberias, he appeared arms before the gates of Jerusalem.

No might expect, that the siege of a city so venerable on earth and in heaven, so interesting to Europe and Asia, would rekindle the last sparks of enthusiasm, and that of sixty thousand Christians, every man would be a soldier, and every soldier a candidate for martyrdom. But Queen Sybilla trembled for herself and her captive husband; and the barons and knights, who had escaped from the sword and chains of the Turks, displayed the same factious and selfish spirit in the public ruin. The most numerous portion of the inhabitants was composed of the Greek and Oriental Christians, whom experience had taught to prefer the Mohammedan before the Latin yoke,* and the holy sepulchre attracted a bare and needy crowd, without arms or courage, who subsisted only on the charity of the pilgrims. Some feeble and hasty efforts were made for the defence of Jerusalem; but in the space of fourteen days, a victorious army drove back the walls of the besieged, planted their engines, opened the wall to the breadth of fifteen cubits, applied their scaling ladders, and erected on the breach twelve banners of the prophet and the sultan. It was in vain that a bare-foot procession of the queen, the women, and the monks, implored the Son of God to save his tomb and his inheritance from

His conquest of the city of Jerusalem.

* Vertot, who well describes the loss of the kingdom and city (Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. I. li. p. 220 278) inserts two original epistles of a knight templar.

* Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 548.

impious violation. Their sole hope was in the mercy of the conqueror, and to their first suppliant deputation that mercy was sternly denied. "He had sworn to avenge the patience and long-suffering of the Moslems; the hour of forgiveness was elapsed, and the moment was now arrived to expiate, in blood, the innocent blood which had been spilt by Godfrey and the first crusaders." But a desperate and successful struggle of the Franks admonished the sultan that his triumph was not yet secure: he listened with reverence to a solemn adjuration in the name of the common Father of mankind, and a sentiment of human sympathy mollified the rigour of fanaticism and conquest. He consented to accept the city, and to spare the inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his dominion, but it was stipulated, that in forty days all the Franks and Latins should evacuate Jerusalem, and be safely conducted to the sea-ports of Syria and Egypt, that ten pieces of gold should be paid for each man, five for each woman, and one for every child, and that those who were unable to purchase their freedom should be detained in perpetual slavery. Of some writers it is a favourite and invidious theme to compare the humanity of Saladin with the massacre of the first crusade. The difference would be merely personal, but we should not forget that the Christians had offered to capitulate, and that the Mohammedans of Jerusalem sustained the last extremities of an assault and storm. Justice is indeed due to the fidelity with which the Turkish conqueror fulfilled the conditions of the treaty, and he may be deservedly praised for the glance of pity which he cast on the misery of the vanquished. Instead of a rigorous exaction of his debt, he accepted a sum of thirty thousand byzants, for the ransom of seven thousand poor, two or three thousand more were dismissed by his gratuitous clemency, and the number of slaves was reduced to eleven or fourteen thousand persons. In his interview with the

queen, his weils, and even his tears, suggested the kindest consolations: his liberal aims were distributed among those who had been made orphans or widows by the fortune of war, and while the knights of the hospital were in arms against him, he allowed their more pious brethren to continue, during the term of a year, the care and service of the sick. In these acts of mercy the virtue of Saladin deserves our admiration and love: he was above the necessity of dissimulation, and his stern fanaticism would have prompted him to dissemble, rather than to affect, this profane compassion for the enemies of the Koran. After Jerusalem had been delivered from the presence of the strangers, the sultan made his triumphant entry, his banners waving in the wind, and to the harmony of martial music. The great mosque of Omar, which had been converted into a church, was again consecrated to one God and his prophet Mahomet: the walls and pavement were purified with rose-water; and a pulpit, the labour of Nouredin, was erected in the sanctuary. But when the golden cross that glittered on the dome was cast down, and dragged through the streets, the Christians of every sect uttered a lamentable groan, which was answered by the joyful shouts of the Moslems. In four ivory chests the patriarch had collected the crosses, the images, the vessels, and the relics of the holy place: they were seized by the conqueror, who was desirous of presenting the caliph with the trophies of Christian idolatry. He was persuaded, however, to entrust them to the patriarch and prince of Antioch, and the pious pledge was redeemed by Richard of England, at the expense of fifty two thousand byzants of gold.

The nations might fear and hope the immediate and final expulsion of the Latins from Syria; which was yet delayed above a century after the

The third crusade, by sea
A.D. 1188

¹ For the conquest of Jerusalem, Bohadin (p. 67 78) and Abulfeda (p. 40 43) are our Moslem witnesses. Of the Christian, Bernard Thesaurarius (c. 161-167) is most copious and authentic, see likewise Matthew Paris (p. 120-124).

death of Saladin.¹ In the career of victory, he was first checked by the resistance of Tyre; the troops and garrisons, which had capitulated, were imprudently conducted to the same port: their numbers were adequate to the defence of the place, and the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat inspired the disorderly crowd with confidence and union. His father, a venerable pilgrim, had been made prisoner in the battle of Tiberias; but that disaster was unknown in Italy and Greece, when the son was urged by ambition and piety to visit the inheritance of his royal nephew, the infant Baldwin. The view of the Turkish banners warned him from the hostile coast of Jaffa, and Conrad was unanimously hailed as the prince and champion of Tyre, which was already beleagued by the conqueror of Jerusalem. The firmness of his zeal, and perhaps his knowledge of a generous foe, enabled him to brave the threats of the sultan, and to declare, that should his aged parent be exposed before the walls, he himself would discharge the first arrow, and glory in his descent from a Christian martyr.² The Egyptian fleet was allowed to enter the harbour of Tyre; but the chain was suddenly drawn, and five galleys were either sunk or taken: a thousand Turks were slain in a sally, and Saladin, after burning his engines, concluded a glorious campaign, by a disgraceful retreat to Damascus. He was soon assailed by a more formidable tempest. The pathetic narratives, and even the pictures, that represented in lively colours the servitude and profanation of Jerusalem, awakened the torpid sensibility of Europe. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and the kings of France and England, assumed the cross, and the tardy magnitude of their armaments was anticipated by the maritime states

of the Mediterranean and the Ocean. The skilful and provident Italians first embarked in the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. They were speedily followed by the most eager pilgrims of France, Normandy, and the Western Isles. The powerful succour of Flanders, Frise, and Denmark, filled near a hundred vessels, and the northern warriors were distinguished in the field by a lofty stature and a ponderous battle-axe.³ Their increasing multitudes could no longer be confined within the walls of Tyre, or remain obedient to the voice of Conrad. They pitied the misfortunes, and revered the dignity, of Lusignan, who was released from prison, perhaps, to divide the army of the Franks. He proposed the recovery of Ptolemais, or Acre, thirty miles to the south of Tyre, and the place was first invested by two thousand horse and thirty thousand foot under his nominal command. I shall not expatiate on the story of this memorable siege, which lasted near two years, and consumed, in a narrow space, the forces of Europe and Asia. Never did the flame of enthusiasm burn with fiercer and more destructive rage, nor could the true believers, a common appellation, who consecrated their own martyrs refuse some applause to the mistaken zeal and courage of their adversaries. At the sound of the holy trumpet, the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces, assembled under the servant of the prophet.⁴ His camp was pitched and removed within a few miles of Acre, and he laboured, night and day, for the relief of his brethren and the annoyance of the Franks. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, with such vicissitude of fortune, that in one attack, the sultan forced his way into the city-

¹ The sieges of Tyre and Acre are most copiously described by Bernard Thesaurarius (de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ, c. 167-179), the author of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* (p. 1140-1172, in Hongarizius), Abulfeda (p. 43-50), and Bohadin (p. 75-177).

² I have followed a moderate and probable representation of the fact by Vertot, who adopts without reluctance a romantic tale, the old marquis is actually exposed to the darts of the besieged.

³ Northmanni et Gothi, et ceteri populi in sularum quoque inter occidentem et septentrionem sitæ sunt, gens bellicosa, corporis proceri, mortis intrepide, loricibus armati, navibus rotundis, quas *lanchie* dicuntur, advectæ.

⁴ The historian of Jerusalem (p. 1108) adds the nations of the East from the Tigris to India, and the swarthy tribes of Moors and Getulians, so that Asia and Africa fought against Europe.

that in one sally, the Christians penetrated to the royal tent. By the means of divers and pigeons, a regular correspondence was maintained with the besieged, and, as often as the sea was left open, the exhausted garrison was withdrawn, and a fresh supply was poured into the place. The Latin camp was thinned by famine, the sword and the climate, but the tents of the dead were replenished with new pilgrims, who exaggerated the strength and speed of their approaching countrymen. The vulgar were astonished by the report, that the pope himself, with an innumerable crusade, was advanced as far as Constantinople. The march of the emperor filled the East with more serious alarms: the obstacles which he encountered in Asia, and perhaps in Greece, were raised by the policy of Saladin. His joy on the death of Barbarossa was measured by his esteem; and the Christians were rather dismayed than encouraged at the sight of the duke of Swabia and his way-worn remnant of five thousand Germans. At length, in the spring of the second year, the royal fleets of France and England cast anchor in the bay of Acre, and the siege was more vigorously prosecuted by the youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip Augustus and Richard Plantagenet. After every resource had been tried, and every hope was exhausted, the defenders of Acre, submitted to their fate, a capitulation was granted, but their lives and liberties were taxed at the hard conditions of a ransom of two hundred thousand marks of gold, the deliverance of one hundred nobles, and fifteen hundred inferior captives, and the restoration of the wood of the holy cross. Some doubts in the agreement, and some delay in the execution, rekindled the fury of the Franks, and three thousand Moslems, almost in the sultan's view, were beheaded by the command of the sanguinary Richard. By the conquest

¹ Bohadin, p. 180, and the massacre is neither denied nor blamed by the Christian historians. *Alacriter juam complentes* (the English soldiers), says Galfridus & Vinesauf (l. iv. c. 4, p. 846), who fixes at 2700 the number of victims, who are multiplied to 5000 by Roger Hoveden (p. 697, 698). The humanity or

of Acre, the Latin powers acquired a strong town and a convenient harbour; but the advantage was most dearly purchased. The minister and historian of Saladin computes, from the report of the enemy, that their numbers, at different periods, amounted to five or six hundred thousand; that more than one hundred thousand Christians were slain, that a far greater number was lost by disease or shipwreck, and that a small portion of this mighty host could return in safety to their native countries.¹

Philip Augustus, and Richard the First are the only kings of France and England who have fought under the same banners, but

Richard of England, in Palestine, A.D. 1191 &c.

the holy service, in which they enlisted, was incessantly disturbed by their national jealousy, and the two factions, which they protected in Palestine, were more averse to each other than to the common enemy. In the eyes of the Orientals, the French monarch was superior in dignity and power; and, in the emperor's absence, the Latins revered him as their temporal chief. His exploits were not adequate to his fame. Philip was brave, but the statesman predominated in his character; he was soon weary of sacrificing his health and interest on a barren coast, the surrender of Acre became the signal of his departure, nor could he justify this unpopular desertion, by leaving the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, for the service of the Holy Land. The king of England, though inferior in dignity, surpassed his rival in wealth

² *avarice* of Philip Augustus was persuaded to ransom his prisoners (Jacob & Vitrac, l. i. c. 98, p. 1122).

³ Bohadin, p. 14. He quotes the judgment of Ballanus, and the prince of Sidon, and adds, *ex illo mundo quasi hominum paucissime redierunt*. Among the Christians who died before St. John d'Acre, I find the English names of De Ferrers earl of Derby (Dugdale, Baronage, part i. p. 250), Mowbray (idem, p. 124), De Mandevill, De Fiennes, St. John, Scrope, Bigot Talbot, &c.

⁴ *Magnus hic apud eos, interque reges eorum tum virtute, tum majestate eminens* . . . *summus rerum arbiter* (Bohadin, p. 189). He does not seem to have known the names either of Philip or Richard.

and military renown; and if heroism be confined to brutal and ferocious valour, Richard Plantagenet will stand high among the heroes of the age. The memory of *Cœur de Lion*, of the lion-hearted prince, was long dear and glorious to his English subjects; and, at the distance of sixty years, it was celebrated in proverbial sayings by the grandsons of the Turks and Saracens, against whom he had fought: his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if a horse suddenly started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, Dost thou think king Richard that bush?¹ His cruelty to the Mohammedans was the effect of temper and zeal, but I cannot believe that a soldier, so free and fearless in the use of a lance, would have descended to whet a dagger against his valiant brother Conrad of Montferrat, who was slain at Tyre by some secret assassins.² After the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip, the king of England led the crusaders to the recovery of the seacoast, and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. A march of

hundred miles from Acre to Ascalon was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days. In the disorder of his troops, Saladin remained on the field with seventeen guards, without lowering his standard, or suspending the sound of his brazen kettle drum: he again rallied and renewed the charge; and his preachers or herakhs called aloud on the *umma*, manfully to stand up against the Christian idolaters. But the progress of these idolaters was irresistible, and it was only by demolishing the walls and buildings of Ascalon, that the sultan could prevent them from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt. During a severe winter, the armies slept, but in the spring, the Franks advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, under the leading standard of the English king, and his active spirit intercepted a convoy, or caravan, of seven thousand camels. Saladin had fixed his station in the holy city, but the city was struck with consternation and discord: he fasted, he prayed; he preached, he offered to share the dangers of the siege, but his Mamalukes, who remembered the fate of their companions at Acre, pressed the sultan with loyal or seditious clamours, to reserve his person and their courage for the future defence of the religion and empire. The Moslems were delivered by the sudden, or, as they deemed, the miraculous, retreat of the Christians,³ and the laurels of Richard were blasted by the prudence, or envy, of his companions. The hero, ascending a hill, and veiling his face,

¹ Rex Angliæ, præstransus . . . rege Gallo- rum minor apud eos celebratur ratione rognatque dignitate sed tum divitiis florantior, tum bellica virtute multo satque nobilior (Bohadin, p. 161). A stranger might admire those riches, the national historians will tell with what lawless and wasteful oppression they were collected.

² Joinville, p. 17. Cuides tu que ce soit le roi Richard?

³ Yet he was guilty in the opinion of the Moslems: who attest the confession of the assassins, that they were sent by the king of England (Bohadin, p. 225), and his only defence is an absurd and palpable forgery (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 155 163), a pretended letter from the prince of the assassins, the Shérif, or old man of the mountain who justified Richard by assuming to himself the guilt or merit of the murder.

* Von Hammer (Geschichte der Assassinen, p. 202), sums up against Richard, Wilken (vol. iv. p. 486), as strongly for acquittal. Michaud, vol. ii. p. 420, delivers no decided opinion. His crime was also attributed to Saladin, who is said, by an Oriental authority (the continuator of Tabari), to have employed the assassins to murder both Conrad and Richard. It is a melancholy admission but it must be acknowledged, that such an act would be less inconsistent with the character of the Christian than of the Mohammedan king.—M

¹ See the distress and pious firmness of Saladin, as they are described by Bohadin (p. 74, 245 247) who himself harangued the defenders of Jerusalem, their fears were not unknown to the enemy (Jacob. à Vitriaco, lib. i. c. 100, p. 112; Vinisaut, l. v. c. 50, p. 70).

² Yet unless the sultan, or an Ayoubide prince, remained in Jerusalem, nec Curdi Turci, nec urci Tossent obtinere Curdis (Bohadin, p. 246). He draws aside a corner of the political curtain.

³ Bohadin (p. 237), and even Jeffrey de Vinisaut, l. vi. c. 18, p. 403 409, ascribe the retreat to Richard himself, and Jacobus à Vitriaco observes, that in his impatience to depart, in al- tium virum mutatus est (p. 1123). Yet Joinville, a French knight, accuses the envy of Hugh duke of Burgundy (p. 116), without supposing, like Matthew Paris, that he was bribed by Saladin.

exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Those who are unwilling to rescue, are unworthy to view, the sepulchre of Christ!" After his return to Acre, on the news that Jaffa was surprised by the sultan, he sailed with some merchant vessels, and leaped foremost on the beach: the castle was relieved by his presence, and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The discovery of his weakness provoked them to return in the morning, and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates with only seventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he sustained their charge, and we learn from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career. Am I writing the history of Orlando or Amadis?

During these hostilities, a languid and tedious negotiation¹ between the Franks and Moslems was started, and

continued, and broken, and again resumed, and again broken. Some acts of royal courtesy, the gift of snow and fruit, the exchange of Norway hawks and Arabian horses, softened the asperity of religious war from the vicissitude of success, the monarchs might learn to suspect that Heaven was neutral in the quarrel, nor, after the trial of each other, could either hope for a decisive victory.² The health both of

¹ The expeditions to Ascalon, Jerusalem, and Jaffa are related by Bohadin (p. 184-240), and Abulfeda (p. 51, 52). The author of the Itinerary or the monk of St. Albans cannot exaggerate the cadhi's account of the prowess of Richard (Vinsauf, l. vi. c. 14-24, p. 412-421, Hist. Major, p. 137-143), and on the whole of this war, there is a marvellous agreement between the Christian and Mohammedan writers, who mutually praise the virtues of their enemies.

² See the progress of negotiation and hostility in Bohadin (p. 207-240), who was himself an actor in the treaty. Richard declared his intention of returning with new armies to the conquest of the Holy Land, and Saladin answered the menace with a civil compliment (Vinsauf, l. vi. c. 28, p. 423).

³ The most copious and original account of this holy war is Galfredi à Vinisaufr Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in Terram

Richard and Saladin appeared to be in a declining state; and they respectively suffered the evils of distant and domestic warfare. Plantagenet was impatient to punish a perfidious rival who had invaded Normandy in his absence; and the indefatigable sultan was subdued by the cries of the people, who was the victim, and of the soldiers, who were the instruments, of his martial zeal. The first demands of the king of England were the restitution of Jerusalem, Palestine, and the true cross, and he firmly declared, that himself and his brother pilgrims would end their lives in the pious labour, rather than return to Europe with ignominy and remorse. But the conscience of Saladin refused, without some weighty compensation, to restore the idols, or promote the idolatry, of the Christians, he asserted, with equal firmness, his religious and civil claim to the sovereignty of Palestine, descanted on the importance and sanctity of Jerusalem, and rejected all terms of the establishment, or partition, of the Latins. The marriage which Richard proposed, of his sister with the sultan's brother, was defeated by the difference of faith, the princess abhorred the embraces of a Turk, and Adel, or Saphadin, would not easily renounce a plurality of wives. A personal interview was declined by Saladin, who alleged their mutual ignorance of each other's language, and the negotiation was managed with much art and delay by the interpreters and envoys. The final agreement was equally disapproved by the zealots of both parties, by the Roman pontiff and the caliph of Bagdad. It was stipulated that Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre should be open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Christians, that, after the demolition of Ascalon, they should inclusively possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre; that the count of Tripoli and the prince of An-

Jerusalemorum, in six books, published in the second volume of Gale's Scriptores Hist. Anglicae (p. 247-420). Roger Hoveden and Matthew Paris afford likewise many valuable materials, and the former describes, with accuracy, the discipline and navigation of the English fleet.

too should be comprised in the truce, and that, during three years and three months, all hostilities should cease. The principal chiefs of the two armies swore to the observance of the treaty, but the monarchs were satisfied with giving their word and their right hand; and the royal majesty was excused from an oath, which always implies some suspicion of falsehood and dishonour. Richard embarked for Europe, to seek a long captivity and a premature grave, and the space of a few months concluded

Death of Saladin, the life and glories of
A.D. 1193

Saladin. The Orientals describe his edifying death, which happened at Damascus, but they seem ignorant of the equal distribution of his aims among the three religions, or of the display of a shroud, instead of a standard, to admonish the East of the instability of human greatness. The unity of empire was dissolved by his death, his sons were oppressed by the stronger arm of their uncle Raphadin, the hostile interests of the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo,² were again revived, and the Franks or Latins stood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortresses along the Syrian coast.

The noblest monument of a conqueror's fame, and of the A.D. 1198 1218. terror which he inspired, is the Saladin tenth, a general tax, which was imposed on the laity, and even the clergy, of the Latin church, for the service of the Holy war. The practice was too lucrative to expire with the occasion; and this tribute became the foundation of all the tithes and tenths on ecclesiastical benefices which have been granted by the Roman pontiffs to Catholic sovereigns, or reserved for the immediate use of the apostolic see.³ This pecuniary enrol-

ment must have tended to increase the interest of the popes in the recovery of Palestine after the death of Saladin: they preached the crusade, by their epistles, their legates, and their missionaries, and the accomplishment of the pious work might have been expected from the zeal and talents of Innocent the Third.⁴ Under that young and ambitious priest, the successors of St Peter attained the full meridian of their greatness; and in a reign of eighteen years, he exercised a despotic command over the emperors and kings, whom he raised and deposed, over the nations, whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exercise of Christian worship. In the council of the Lateran he acted as the ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal, sovereign of the East and West. It was at the feet of his legate that John of England surrendered his crown, and Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity, the establishment of transubstantiation, and the origin of the inquisition. At his voice, two crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken, but, except a king of Hungary, the princes of the second order were at the head of the pilgrims: the forces were inadequate to the design, nor did the effects correspond with the hopes and wishes of the pope and the people.

The fourth crusade was diverted from Syria to Constantinople, and the conquest of the Greek or Roman empire by the Latins will form the proper and important subject of the next chapter. In the fifth,⁵ two hundred thousand Franks were landed at the eastern mouth of the

The fourth
crusade
A.D. 1203.

The fifth.
A.D. 1218

Levites tenth to the high priest (Selden on Tithes, see his Works, vol. iii. p. 11 p. 1083).

¹ See the Gesta Innocentii III. in Murat Script. Ker. Ital. (tom. i. p. 486 568).

² See the fifth crusade, and the siege of Damietta, in Jacobus a Vitracco (l. iii. p. 112. 114), in the Gesta Dei of Longarvus, an eye-witness, Bernard Thesaurarius (in Script. Minor. tom. vii. p. 825 846, c. 190 207), a contemporary, and Sanctus (Scripta fidel. Crucis l. iii. p. xi. (p. 49), a diligent compiler, and of the Arabians, Abulpharagus (Dynast. p. 294), and the extracts at the end of Joinville (p. 634, 37, 540, 547, &c.).

¹ Even Vossius (tom. i. p. 251) adopts the foolish notion of the indifference of Saladin, who professed the Koran with his last breath.

² See the succession of the Ayyubites, in Abulpharagus (Dynast. p. 277, &c.), and the titles of M. du Guignes, l'Art de vérifier les Dates, and the Bibliothèque Orientale.

³ Thomasin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. p. 311 374) has copiously treated of the origin, abuses, and restrictions of these tenths. A theory was started, but not pursued, that they were rightfully due to the pope, a tenth of the

Nile. They reasonably hoped that Palestine must be subdued in Egypt, the seat and storehouse of the sultan; and, after a siege of sixteen months, the Moslems deplored the loss of Damietta. But the Christian army was ruined by the pride and insolence of the legate Pelagius, who, in the pope's name, assumed the character of general; the sickly Franks were encompassed by the waters of the Nile and the Oriental forces, and it was by the evacuation of Damietta that they obtained a safe retreat, some concessions for the pilgrims, and the tardy restitution of the doubtful relic of the true cross. The failure may in some measure be ascribed to the abuse and multiplication of the crusades, which were preached at the same time against the Pagans of Livonia, the Moors of Spain, the Albigens of France, and the kings of Sicily of the Imperial family.¹ In these meritorious services, the volunteers might acquire at home the same spiritual indulgence, and a larger measure of temporal rewards, and even the popes, in their zeal against a domestic enemy, were sometimes tempted to forget the distress of their Syrian brethren. From the last age of the crusades they derived the occasional command of an army and revenue, and some deep reasoners have suspected that the whole enterprise, from the first synod of Placentia, was contrived and executed by the policy of Rome. The suspicion is not founded, either in nature or in fact. The successors of St Peter appear to have followed, rather than guided, the impulse of manners and prejudice, without much foresight, of the seasons, or cultivation of the soil, they gathered the ripe and spontaneous fruits of the superstition of the times. They gathered these fruits without toil or personal danger in the council of the Lateran, Innocent the Third declared an ambiguous resolution of animating the crusaders by his example,

¹ To those who took the cross against Mainfroy, the pope (A.D. 1255) granted plenissimum peccatorum remissionem. Fideles mirabuntur quod tantum eis promitteret pro sanguine Christianorum effundendo quantum pro cruore infidelium aliquando (Matthew Paris, p. 785). A high flight for the reason of the thirteenth century.

but the pilot of the sacred vessel could not abandon the helm; nor was Palestine ever blessed with the presence of a Roman pontiff.

The persons, the families, and estates of the pilgrims, were under the immediate protection of the popes, and these spiritual patrons soon claimed the prerogative of directing their operations, and enforcing, by commands and censures, the accomplishment of their vow. Frederic the Second,² the grandson of Barbarossa, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the church. At the age of twenty-one years, and in obedience to his guardian, Innocent the Third, he assumed the cross. the same promise was repeated at his royal and imperial coronations, and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem for ever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash engagements of his youth. his liberal sense and knowledge taught him to despise the phantoms of superstition and the crowns of Asia. he no longer entertained the same reverence for the successors of Innocent, and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity, and, after the delays and excuses of twelve years, they urged the emperor, with entreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. In the harbours of Sicily and Apulia, he prepared a fleet of one hundred galleys, and one hundred vessels, that were framed to transport and land two thousand five hundred knights, with their

The Emperor
Frederic II. in
Palestine.
A.D. 1228.

² This simple idea is agreeable to the good sense of Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccl. p. 332), and the fine philosophy of Hume (Hist. of England, vol. 1 p. 340).

³ The original materials for the crusade of Frederic II. may be drawn from Richard de St Germano (in Muratori, Script. rerum Ital. tom. vii. p. 1002-1013), and Matthew Paris (p. 238, 301, 300, 302, 304). The most rational moderns are Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. xvi.), Vertot (Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. I. l. iii.), Giannone (Storia Civile di Napoli, tom. II. l. xvi.), and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. x.).

horses and attendants; his vassals of Naples and Germany formed a powerful army; and the number of English crusaders was magnified to sixty thousand by the report of fame. But the inevitable, or affected, slowness of these mighty preparations, consumed the strength and provisions of the more indigent pilgrims: the multitude was thinned by sickness and desertion; and the sultry summer of Calabria anticipated the mischiefs of a Syrian campaign. At length the emperor hoisted sail at Brundisium, with a fleet and army of forty thousand men, but he kept the sea no more than three days, and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow Frederic was excommunicated by Gregory the Ninth, for presuming, the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope.¹ While he sailed under the banner of the cross, a crusade was preached against him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the injuries which he had suffered. The clergy and military orders of Palestine were previously instructed to renounce his communion and dispute his commands, and in his own kingdom, the emperor was forced to consent that the orders of the camp should be issued in the name of God and of the Christian republic. Frederic entered Jerusalem in triumph; and with his own hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the holy sepulchre.² But the patriarch cast an interdict on the church, which his piety had profaned; and the knights of the hospital and temple informed the sultan how easily he might be surprised and slain in his unguarded visit to the river Jordan. In such a state of fanaticism and faction, victory was hopeless, and defence was difficult, but the conclusion of an advantageous peace may be imputed to the discord of the Mohammedans, and their personal

esteem for the character of Frederic. The enemy of the church is accused of maintaining with the miscreants an intercourse of hospitality and friendship, unworthy of a Christian; of despising the barrenness of the land; and of indulging a profane thought, that if Jehovah had seen the kingdom of Naples he never would have selected Palestine for the inheritance of his chosen people. Yet Frederic obtained from the sultan the restitution of Jerusalem, of Bethlem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon: the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city, an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the sectaries of Jesus and those of Mahomet; and, while the former worshipped at the holy sepulchre, the latter might pray and preach in the mosque of the temple, from whence the prophet undertook his nocturnal journey to heaven. The clergy deplored this scandalous toleration, and the weaker Moslems were gradually expelled, but every rational object of the crusades was accomplished without bloodshed, the churches were restored, the monasteries were replenished, and, in the space of fifteen years, the Latins of Jerusalem exceeded the number of six thousand. This peace and prosperity, for which they were ungrateful to their benefactor, was terminated by the irruption of the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians.³ Flying from the arms of the Moguls, these shepherds* of the Caspian rolled headlong on Syria; and the union of the Franks with the sultans of Aleppo, Hems, and Damascus, was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent. Whatever stood against them was cut off by the sword, or dragged into captivity: the military orders were almost exterminated in a single battle, and in the pillage of the city, in the pro-

¹ The clergy artfully confounded the mosque or church of the temple with the holy sepulchre, and their wilful error has deceived both Vertot and Muratori.

² The irruption of the Carizmians, or Corasmins, is related by Matthew Paris (p. 546, 547), and by Joinville, Nangis, and the Arabians (p. 111, 112, 191, 192, 522, 530).

³ They were in alliance with Ayub, sultan of Syria. Wilken, vol. vi. p. 630—M

¹ Poor Muratori knows what to think, but knows not what to say. "Chino qñi il capo," &c. p. 4.

fanation of the holy sepulchre, the Latins confess and regret the modesty and discipline of the Turks and Saracens

Of the seven crusades, the two last

St. Louis and
the sixth crusade.
A.D. 1248-1254

were undertaken by Louis the Ninth, king of France; who lost his liberty in Egypt, and his life on the coast of Africa. Twenty eight years after his death, he was canonised at Rome; and sixty-five miracles were readily found, and solemnly attested, to justify the claim of the royal saint.¹ The voice of history renders a more honourable testimony, that he united the virtues of a king, a hero, and a man, that his martial spirit was tempered by the love of private and public justice, and that Louis was the father of his people, the friend of his neighbours, and the terror of the infidels. Superstition alone, in all the extent of her baleful influence,² corrupted his understanding and his heart: his devotion stooped to admire and imitate the begging friars of Francis and Dominic: he pursued with blind and cruel zeal the enemies of the faith, and the best of kings twice descended from his throne to seek the adventures of a spiritual knight errant. A monkish historian would have been content to applaud the most despicable part of his character, but the noble and gallant Joinville,³ who shared the friendship and captivity of Louis, has traced with the pencil of nature the free portrait of his virtues as well as of his failings.

¹ Read, if you can, the *Life and Miracles of St. Louis*, by the confessor of Queen Margaret (p. 291-523, Joinville, du Louvre).

² He believed all that mother church taught (Joinville, p. 10), but he cautioned Joinville against disputing with infidels. "L'homme lay (said he in his old language) quand il ot medire de la loy Crestienne, ne doit pas defendre la loy Crestienne ne mais que de l'espee, de quoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut entrer" (p. 12).

³ I have two editions of Joinville, the one (Paris, 1668) most valuable for the observations of Ducange, the other (Paris au Louvre, 1701) most precious for the pure and authentic text, a MS. of which has been recently discovered. The last editor proves, that the history of St. Louis was finished A.D. 1300, without explaining, or even admiring, the age of the author, which must have exceeded ninety years (Preface, p. xi Observations de Ducange, p. 17).

From this intimate knowledge we may learn to suspect the political views of deprecating their great vassals, which are so often imputed to the royal authors of the crusades. Above all the princes of the middle ages, Louis the Ninth successfully laboured to restore the prerogatives of the crown, but it was at home, and not in the East, that he acquired for himself and his posterity his vow was the result of enthusiasm and sickness, and if he were the promoter, he was likewise the victim, of this holy madness. For the invasion of Egypt, France was exhausted of her troops and treasures; he covered the sea of Cyprus with eighteen hundred sails; the most modest enumeration amounts to fifty thousand men, and if we might trust his own confession, as it is reported by Oriental vanity, he disembarked nine thousand five hundred horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, who performed their pilgrimage under the shadow of his power.⁴

In complete armour, the oriflamme waving before him, Louis leaped foremost on the beach; and the strong city of Damietta, which had cost his predecessors a siege of sixteen months, was abandoned on the first assault by the trembling Moslems. But Damietta was the first and the last of his conquests; and in the fifth and sixth crusades, the same causes, almost on the same ground, were productive of similar calamities.⁵ After a ruinous

He takes
Damietta.
A.D. 1249.

delay, which introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemical disease, the Franks advanced from the sea-coast towards the capital of Egypt, and strove to surmount the unreasonable inundation of the Nile, which opposed their progress. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights

⁴ Joinville, p. 33 Arabic Extracts, p. 649.

⁵ The last editors have enriched Joinville with large and curious extracts from the Arabic historians, Masrizi, Abulfeda, &c. See likewise Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 322-325) who calls him by the corrupt name of *Radafrans*, Matthew Paris (p. 683, 684) has described the rival folly of the French and English who fought and fell at Massoura.

* Compare Wilken, vol. vii. p. 94—M.

of France displayed their invincible contempt of danger, and discipline his brother, the count of Artois, stormed with inconsiderate valour the town of Massoura, and the carrier pigeons announced to the inhabitants of Cairo, that all was lost. But a soldier, who afterwards usurped the sceptre, rallied the flying troops the main body of the Christians was far behind their vanguard, and Artois was overpowered and slain. A shower of Greek fire was incessantly poured on the invaders; the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian galleys, the open country by the Arabs, all provisions were intercepted; each day aggravated the sickness and famine, and about the same time a retreat was found to be necessary and impracticable. The Oriental writers confess, that Louis might have escaped, if he would have deserted his subjects. he was made prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles; all who could not redeem their lives by service or ransom were inhumanly massacred, and the walls of Cairo were decorated with a circle of Christian heads.¹ The king of

His captivity
in Egypt.
A.D. 1250.

France was loaded with chains; but the generous victor, a great grandson of the brother of Saladin, sent a robe of honour to his royal captive, and his deliverance, with that of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta,² and the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. In a soft and luxurious climate, the degenerate children of the companions of Nouredin and Saladin were incapable of resisting the flower of European chivalry. they triumphed by the arms of their slaves or Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who at a tender age had been purchased of the Syrian merchants, and were educated in the

camp and palace of the sultan. But Egypt soon afforded a new example of the danger of praetorian bands, and the rage of these ferocious animals, who had been let loose on the strangers, was provoked to devour their benefactor. In the pride of conquest, Touran Shaw, the last of his race, was murdered by his Mamalukes and the most daring of the assassins entered the chamber of the captive king, with drawn scimitars, and their hands imbed in the blood of their sultan. The firmness of Louis commanded their respect,³ their avarice prevailed over cruelty and zeal, the treaty was accomplished, and the king of France, with the relics of his army, was permitted to embark for Palestine. He wasted four years within the walls of Acre, unable to visit Jerusalem, and unwilling to return without glory to his native country.

The memory of his defeat excited Louis, after sixteen years of wisdom and repose, to undertake the seventh and last of the crusades. His finances were restored, his kingdom was enlarged, a new generation of warriors had arisen, and he embarked with fresh confidence at the head of six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. The loss of Antioch had provoked the enterprise, a wild hope of baptizing the king of Tunis tempted him to steer for the African coast, and the report of an immense treasure reconciled his troops to the delay of their voyage to the Holy Land. Instead of a pro-

His death before
Tunis in the
seventh crusade,
A.D. 1270.

selyte, he found a siege the French panted and died on the burning sands. St. Louis expired in his tent; and no sooner had he closed his eyes, than his son and successor gave the signal of the retreat.⁴ "It is thus,"

¹ Savary, in his agreeable *Lettre sur l'Egypte*, has given a description of Damietta (tom. I. l. ix. p. 200), and a narrative of the expedition of St. Louis (xv. p. 306-350).

² For the ransom of St. Louis, a million of byzants was asked and granted, but the sultan's generosity reduced that sum to 800,000 byzants, which are valued by Joinville at 400,000 French livres of his own time, and expressed by Matthew Paris by 100,000 marks of silver (Pucelage, *Dissertation sur Joinville*).

³ The idea of the emirs to choose Louis for their sultan is seriously attested by Joinville (p. 77, 78), and does not appear to me so absurd as to M. de Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, tom. II. p. 380, 387). The Mamalukes themselves were strangers, rebels, and equals they had felt his violence, they hoped his conversion, and such a notion, which was not seconded, might be made, perhaps by a secret Christian, in their tumultuous assembly.

⁴ See the expedition in the *Annals of St. Louis*. Wilken, vol. vii. p. 267, thinks the proposition could not have been made in earnest.—M

says a lively writer, "that a Christian king died near the ruins of Cartouge, waging war against the sectaries of Mahomet, in a land to which Dido had introduced the deities of Syria."

A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet such has been the state of Egypt above five hundred years. The most illustrious sultans of the Baharite and Borgite dynasties² were themselves promoted from the Tartar and Circassian bands; and the four-and-twenty beys, or military chiefs, have ever been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants. They produce the great charter of their liberties, the treaty of Selim the First with the republic,³ and the Othman emperor still accepts from Egypt a slight acknowledgment of tribute and subjection. With some breathing intervals of peace and order, the two dynasties are marked as a period of rapine and bloodshed,⁴ but their throne, however shaken, reposed on the two pillars of discipline and valour, their sway extended over Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, and Syria: their Mamalukes were multiplied from eight hundred to

twenty five thousand horse and their numbers were increased by a provincial militia of one hundred and seven thousand foot, and the occasional aid of sixty-six thousand Arabs.⁵ Princes of such power and spirit could not long endure on their coast a hostile and independent nation; and if the ruin of the Franks was postponed about forty years, they were indebted to the cares of an unsettled reign, to the invasion of the Moguls, and to the occasional aid of some warlike pilgrims. Among these, the English reader will observe the name of our first Edward, who assumed the cross in the lifetime of his father Henry. At the head of a thousand soldiers, the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland delivered Acre from a siege, marched as far as Nazareth with an army of nine thousand men; emulated the fame of his uncle Richard; extorted, by his valour, a ten years' truce;⁶ and escaped, with a dangerous wound, from the dagger of a fanatic assassin.⁷ Antioch,⁸ whose situation had been less exposed to the calamities of the holy war, was finally occupied and ruined by Bonocdar, or Bibars, sultan of Egypt and Syria, the Latin principality was extinguished, and the first seat of the Christian name was despoiled by the slaughter of seventeen, and the captivity of one hundred thousand of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and

Louis, by William de Nangis p. 270 237. And the Arabic Extracts, p. 545-555, of the Louvre edition of Joinville.

¹ Voltaire, Hist. Générale, tom. II p. 391.

² The chronology of the two dynasties of Mamalukes, the Baharites, Turks or Tartars of Kijak, and the Borgites, Circassians, is given by Pocock (Prolegom. ad Abulpharag p. 631) and De Guignes (tom. I p. 264-270), their history from Abulfeda, Macrizi, &c., to the beginning of the fifteenth century, by the same M. de Guignes (tom. IV p. 110-124).

³ Savary, Lettres sur l'Égypte, tom. II lettre xv p. 189-208. I much question the authenticity of this copy, yet it is true that sultan Melik concluded a treaty with the Circassians or Mamalukes of Egypt, and left them in possession of arms, riches, and power. See a new Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane, composed in Egypt, and translated by M. Digon (tom. I p. 56-58, Paris, 1781), a curious, authentic, and national history.

⁴ Si totum quo regnum occuparunt tempus respicias, præsertim quod inopropius, reperies illud bellis pugnis, injuriis, ac rapinis refertum (Al Jaunahi, apud Pocock, p. 81). The reign of Mahomet (A.D. 1311-1341) affords a happy exception (De Guignes, tom. IV p. 208-210).

⁵ They are now reduced to 8,500, but the expenses of such Mamalukes may be rated at 100,000 louis, and Egypt groans under the avarice and insolence of these strangers (Voyages de Volney, tom. I p. 80-187).

⁶ See Carter's History of England, vol. II p. 165-175, and his original author, Thomas Wilken and Walter Hemmingford (Ibid. c. 31, 35) in Gale's Collection (tom. II p. 97, 180-192). They are both ignorant of the Princess Eleanor's piety in sucking the poisoned wound, and saving her husband at the risk of her own life.

⁷ Sanutus, Secret. Fidei, l. III p. xii c. 2, and De Guignes, Hist. des Ilus, tom. IV p. 143, from the Arabic historians.

⁸ Gibbon colours rather highly the success of Edward. Wilken is more accurate, vol. VII, p. 593, &c.—M.

† The sultan Bibars was concerned in this attempt at assassination. Wilken, vol. VII p. 602. Ptolemaeus Lucensis is the earliest authority for the devotion of Eleanor. Ibid. 495—M.

Jaffa, and the stronger castle of the Hospitallers and Templars, successively fell, and the whole existence of the Franks was confined to the city and colony of St. John of Acre, which is sometimes described by the more classic title of Ptolemais.

After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre, which is distant about seventy miles, became the metropolis of the Latin Christians, and was adorned with strong and stately buildings, with aqueducts, an artificial port, and a double wall. The population was increased by the incessant streams of pilgrims and fugitives, in the pauses of hostility the trade of the East and West was attracted to this convenient station, and the market could offer the produce of every clime and the interpreters of every tongue. But in this conflux of nations, every vice was propagated and practised of all the disciples of Jesus and Mahomet, the male and female inhabitants of Acre were esteemed the most corrupt, nor could the abuse of religion be corrected by the discipline of law. The city had many sovereigns, and no government. The kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, of the house of Lusignan, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli and Sidon, the great masters of the hospital, the temple, and the Teutonic order, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the pope's legate, the kings of France and England, assumed an independent command; seventeen tribunals exercised the power of life and death, every criminal was protected in the adjacent quarter, and the perpetual jealousy of the nations often burst forth in acts of violence and blood. Some adventurers, who disgraced the ensign of the cross, compensated their want of pay by the plunder of the Mohammedan villages, nineteen Syrian merchants, who traded under the public faith, were despoiled and hanged by the Christians, and the denial of satisfaction justified the arms of the sultan Khalil. He marched against Acre, at the head of sixty thousand horse and one hundred and

forty thousand foot his train of artillery (if I may use the word) was numerous and weighty the separate timbers of a single engine were transported in one hundred waggons; and the royal historian Abulfeda, who served with the troops of Hama, was himself a spectator of the holy war. Whatever might be the vices of the Franks, their courage was rekindled by enthusiasm and despair, but they were torn by the discord of seventeen chiefs, and overwhelmed on all sides by the powers of the sultan. After a siege of thirty-three days, the double wall was forced by the Moslems, the principal tower yielded to their engines, and the Mamalukes made a

The loss of Acre and the Holy Land
A.D. 1291.

general assault, the city was stormed, and death or slavery was the lot of sixty thousand Christians. The convent, or rather fortress, of the Templars resisted three days longer, but the great master was pierced with an arrow, and, of five hundred knights, only ten were left alive, less happy than the victims of the sword, if they lived to suffer on a scaffold in the unjust and cruel proscription of the whole order. The king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the hospital, effected their retreat to the shore, but the sea was rough, the vessels were insufficient and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the isle of Cyprus, which might comfort Lusignan for the loss of Palestine. By the command of the sultan, the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished a motive of avance or fear still opened the holy sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims, and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's drattle.

¹ See the final expulsion of the Franks, in Sanutus, l. i. p. xi. c. 11. 22. Abulfeda, Mevridi, &c. in De Gulicis, tom. iv. p. 162, 164, and Vertot, tom. i. l. iii. p. 407. 428.

² After these chapters of Gibbon, the masterly prize composition, "Essai sur l'influence des Croisades sur l'Europe, par A. H. Heeren traduit de l'Allemand par Charles Villars, Paris, 1803," or the original German, in Heeren's "Vermischte Schriften," may be read with great advantage. —M.

¹ The state of Acre is represented in all the chronicles of the times, and most accurately in John Villani, l. vii. c. 144, in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xiii. p. 337. 338.

CHAPTER LX

SCHEM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS—STATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE—REVOLT OF THE BULGARIANS—ISAAC ANGELUS DETHRONED BY HIS BROTHER ALEXIUS—ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE—ALLIANCE OF THE FRENCH AND VENE-TIANS WITH THE SON OF ISAAC—THEIR NAVAL EXPEDITION TO CONSTANTINOPLE—THE TWO SIEGES AND FINAL CONQUEST OF THE CITY BY THE LATINS.

THE restoration of the Western em-
schism of the pire by Charlemagne was
speedily followed by the
separation of the Greek and Latin
churches.¹ A religious and national
animosity still divides the two largest
communions of the Christian world,
and the schism of Constantinople, by
alienating her most useful allies, and
provoking her most dangerous enemies,
has precipitated the decline and fall of
the Roman empire in the East.

In the course of the present history the
their aversion to aversion of the Greeks for
the Latins the Latins has been often
visible and conspicuous. It was origi-
nally derived from the disdain of servi-
tude, inflamed, after the time of Con-
stantine, by the pride of equality or
dominion, and finally exasperated by
the preference which their rebellious
subjects had given to the alliance of
the Franks. In every age the Greeks
were proud of their superiority in pro-
fane and religious knowledge they had
first received the light of Christianity,
they had pronounced the decrees of the
seven general councils, they alone pos-
sessed the language of Scripture and
philosophy, nor should the barbarians,
immersed in the darkness of the West,
presume to argue on the high and
mysterious questions of theological

¹ In the successive centuries, from the ninth
to the eighteenth, Moelheim traces the schism
of the Greeks with learning, clearness, and
partiality the *Diogenes* (Institut Hist. Eccl.
p. 277), Leo III. p. 303. Photius, p. 307, 308.
Michael Cerularius, p. 370, 371, &c.

² "Ανδρες θειοτατοι και ἀποστολικοι, ἀνδρι-
ες εναντιος ἀδελφωτης, της γαρ ἐκκλησιας μετ-
ρας ιερωνων γεννηματα (Phot. Epist. p. 47,
edit. Montacut). The Oriental patriarch con-
tinues to apply the images of thunder, earth
quake, hail, wild boar, precursors of Antichrist,
&c. &c.

science. Those barbarians despised in
their turn the restless and subtle levity
of the Orientals, the authors of every
heresy, and blessed their own simplici-
ty, which was content to hold the
tradition of the apostolic church. Yet
in the seventh century, the synods of
Spain, and afterwards of France, im-
proved or corrupted the Nicene creed,
on the mysterious subject of the third
person of the Trinity.¹ In the long
controversies of the East, ^{Procession of the}
the nature and generation ^{Holy Ghost.}
of the Christ had been scrupulously
defined; and the well-known relation
of father and son seemed to convey a
faint image to the human mind. The
idea of birth was less analogous to the
Holy Spirit, who, instead of a divine
gift or attribute, was considered by the
Catholics as a substance, a person, a
god, he was not begotten, but in the
orthodox style he *proceeded*. Did he
proceed from the Father alone, perhaps
by the Son? or from the Father *and*
the Son? The first of these opinions
was asserted by the Greeks, the second
by the Latins, and the addition to the
Nicene creed of the word *filioque*,
kindled the flame of discord between
the Oriental and the Gallic churches.
In the origin of the disputes the Roman
pontiffs affected a character of neu-
trality and moderation.² they con-

¹ The mysterious subject of the procession of
the Holy Ghost is discussed in the historical,
theological, and controversial sense, or
sense, by the Jesuit Petavius (Dogmata Theo-
logica, tom. II. l. vii. p. 382-410).

² Before the shrine of St. Peter, he placed
two shields of the weight of 94 pounds of pure
silver on which he inscribed the text of both
creeds (utroque symbolo) pro amore et caritate
orthodoxis fidelis (Anastas in Leon III. in
Muratori, tom. III. pars I. p. 208). His lan-
guage most clearly proves, that neither the

damned the innovation,¹ but they acquiesced in the sentiment, of their Transalpine brethren they seemed desirous of casting a veil of silence and charity over the superfluous research; and in the correspondence of Charlemagne and Leo the Third, the pope assumes the liberality of a statesman, and the prince descends to the passions and prejudices of a priest.² But the orthodoxy of Rome spontaneously obeyed the impulse of her temporal policy, and the *filioque*, which Leo wished to erase, was transcribed in the symbol and chanted in the liturgy of the Vatican. The Nicene and Athanasian creeds are held as the Catholic faith, without which none can be saved, and both Papists and Protestants must now sustain and return the anathemas of the Greeks, who deny the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father.

Such articles of faith are not susceptible of treaty, but the rules of discipline will vary in remote and independent churches, and the reason, even of divines, might allow, that the difference is inevitable and harmless. The craft or superstition of Rome has imposed on her priests and deacons the rigid obligation of celibacy; among the Greeks it is confined to the bishops, the loss is compensated by dignity or annihilated by age, and the parochial clergy, the papas, enjoy the conjugal society of the wives whom they have married before their entrance into holy orders. A question concerning the *Azyses* was fiercely debated in the eleventh century, and the essence of the Eucharist was supposed in the East and West to depend on the use of leavened or unleavened bread. Shall I mention in a serious history the furious reproaches that were urged against the

Latins, who for a long while remained on the defensive.³ They neglected to abstain, according to the apostolical decree, from things strangled, and from blood: they fasted, a Jewish observance! on the Saturday of each week during the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese;⁴ their infirm monks were indulged in the taste of flesh, and animal grease was substituted for the want of vegetable oil: the holy chrism or unction in baptism was reserved to the episcopal order: the bishops, as the bridegrooms of their churches, were decorated with rings, their priests shaved their faces, and baptized by a single immersion. Such were the crimes which provoked the zeal of the patriarchs of Constantinople; and which were justified with equal zeal by the doctors of the Latin church.⁵

Bigotry and national aversion are powerful magnifiers of every object of dispute. But the immediate cause of the schism of the Greeks may be traced in the emulation of the leading prelates, who maintained the supremacy of the old metropolis superior to all, and of the reigning capital, inferior to none, in the Christian world. About the middle of the ninth century, Photius,⁶ an ambitious layman, the captain of the guards and principal secretary, was promoted by merit and favour to the more desirable office of patriarch of Constantinople. In science, even ecclesiastical science, he surpassed the clergy of the age and the purity of his morals has never been impeached: but his ordina-

¹ In France, after some harsher laws the ecclesiastical discipline is now relaxed: milk, cheese, and butter, are become a perpetual and eggs an annual indulgence in Lent (*Vie privée des Français*, tom II p. 27-33).

² The original monuments of the schism, of the charges of the Greeks against the Latins, are deposited in the epistles of Photius (*Byz. Encyclica*, II p. 47-61), and of Michael Cerularius (*Canoni Antiqui Lectiones*, tom III p. 1 p. 221-224, edit. Basnage, with the prolix answer of Cardinal Humbert).

³ The tenth volume of the Venice edition of the Councils contains all the acts of the synods, and history of Photius: they are abridged, with a faint tinge of prejudice or prudence, by Dupin and Fleury.

filioque nor the Athanasian creed were received at Rome about the year 830.

⁴ The Mikl or Charlemagne pressed him to declare, that all who rejected the *filioque*, or at least the doctrine, must be damned. All replies the pope, are not capable of reaching the *altiora mysteria*, qui poterit, et non voluerit, salvus esse non poterit (*Collect. Concil. tom IX p. 277-280*). The *poterit* would leave a large loophole of salvation.

tion was hasty, his rise was irregular; and Ignatius, his abdicated predecessor, was yet supported by the public compassion and the obstinacy of his adherents. They appealed to the tribunal of Nicholas the First, one of the proudest and most aspiring of the Roman pontiffs, who embraced the welcome opportunity of judging and condemning his rival of the East. Their quarrel was embittered by a conflict of jurisdiction over the king and nation of the Bulgarians, nor was their recent conversion to Christianity of much avail to either prelate, unless he could number the proselytes among the subjects of his power. With the aid of his court the Greek patriarch was victorious; but in the furious contest he deposed in his turn the successor of St Peter, and involved the Latin church in the reproach of heresy and schism. Photius sacrificed the peace of the world to a short and precarious reign: he fell with his patron, the Cæsar Bardas, and Basil the Macedonian performed an act of justice in the restoration of Ignatius, whose age and dignity had not been sufficiently respected. From his monastery, or prison, Photius solicited the favour of the emperor by pathetic complaints and artful flattery, and the eyes of his rival were scarcely closed, when he was again restored to the throne of Constantinople. After the death of Basil he experienced the vicissitudes of courts and the ingratitude of a royal pupil: the patriarch was again deposed, and in his last solitary hours he might regret the freedom of a secular and studious life. In each revolution, the breath, the nod, of the sovereign had been accepted by a submissive clergy, and a synod of three hundred bishops was always prepared to hail the triumph, or to stigmatise the fall, of the holy, or the execrable, Photius. By a delusive promise of succour or reward, the popes were tempted to countenance these various proceedings; and the synods of

¹ The synod of Constantinople, held in the year 860, is the eighth of the general councils, the last assembly of the East which is recognised by the Roman church. She rejects the synods of Constantinople of the years 867 and 879, which were, however, equally numerous and splendid, but they were favourable to Photius.

Constantinople were ratified by their epistles or legates. But the court and the people, Ignatius and Photius, were equally adverse to their claims, their ministers were insulted or imprisoned; the procession of the Holy Ghost was forgotten; Bulgaria was forever annexed to the Byzantine throne, and the schism was prolonged by their rigid censure of all the multiplied ordinations of an irregular patriarch. The darkness and corruption of the tenth century suspended the intercourse, without reconciling the minds, of the two nations. But when the Norman sword restored the churches of Apulia to the jurisdiction of Rome, the departing flock was warned, by a petulant epistle of the Greek patriarch, to avoid and abhor the errors of the Latins. The rising majesty of Rome could no longer brook the insolence of a rebel, and Michael Cerularius was excommunicated in the heart of Constantinople by the pope's legates. Shaking the dust from their feet, they deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a direful anathema,¹ which enumerates the seven mortal heresies of the Greeks, and devotes the guilty teachers, and their unhappy sectaries, to the eternal society of the devil and his angels. According to the emergencies of the church and state, a friendly correspondence was sometimes reestablished, the language of charity and concord was sometimes affected, but the Greeks have never recanted their errors, the popes have never repealed their sentence, and from this thunderbolt we may date the consummation of the schism. It was enlarged by each ambitious step of the Roman pontiffs: the emperors blushed and trembled at the ignominious fate of their royal brethren of Germany, and the people were scandalised by the temporal power and military life of the Latin clergy.²

The popes excommunicate the patriarch of Constantinople and the Greeks, A.D. 1054

¹ See this anathema in the Councils, tom. xi. p. 1475-1480.

² Anna Comæna (Alexiad, l. i. p. 31. 33) represents the abhorrence, not only of the church, but of the palace, for Gregory VII. the pope, and the Latin communion. The style of Cæcilius and Nicetas is still more

The aversion of the Greeks and Latins
 Identity of the
 Greeks and
 Latins.
 A.D. 1100-1200.

was nourished and manifested in the three first expeditions to the Holy Land. Alexius Comnenus contrived the absence at least of the formidable pilgrims, his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, conspired with the Moslems for the ruin of the greatest princes of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant policy was seconded by the active and voluntary obedience of every order of their subjects. Of this hostile temper, a large portion may doubtless be ascribed to the difference of language, dress, and manners, which severs and alienates the of the globe. The pride as well as the prudence, of the sovereign was deeply wounded by the intrusion of foreign armies, that claimed a right of traversing his dominions, and passing under the walls of his capital. His subjects were insulted and plundered by the rude strangers of the West, and the hatred of the pusillanimous Greeks was sharpened by secret envy of the bold and pious enterprises of the Franks. But these profane causes of national enmity were fortified and inflamed by the venom of religious zeal. Instead of a kind embrace, an hospitable reception from their Christian brethren of the East, every tongue was taught to repeat the names of schismatic and heretic, more odious to an orthodox ear than those of pagan and infidel. Instead of being loved for the general conformity of faith and worship, they were abhorred for some rules of discipline, some questions of theology, in which themselves or their teachers might differ from the Oriental church. In the crusade of Louis the Seventh, the Greek clergy washed and purified the altars which had been defiled by the sacrifice of a French priest. The compunction of Frederic Barbarossa deplored the injuries which they endured, both in word and deed, from the pecuniary income of the bishops and monks. Their prayers and sermons excited the people against the unprincipled barbarians; and the patriarch is accused of declaring, that the faithful might obtain the redemption of all their sins by the extirpation of the schismatics.¹ An enthusiast, named Dorotheus, alarmed the fears, and restored the confidence, of the emperor, by a prophetic assurance, that the German heretic, after assaulting the gate of Blachernes, would be made a signal example of the divine vengeance. The passage of these mighty armies were rare and perilous events, but the crusades introduced a frequent and familiar intercourse between the two nations, which enlarged their knowledge without abating their prejudices. The wealth and luxury of Constantinople demanded the productions of every climate; these imports were balanced by the art and labour of her numerous inhabitants; her situation invites the commerce of the world, and, in every period of her existence, that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners. After the decline of Amalfi, the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, introduced their factories and settlements into the capital of the empire; their services were rewarded with honours and immunities; they acquired the possession of lands and houses, their families were multiplied by marriages with the natives, and, after the toleration of a Mohammedan mosque, it was impossible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite. The two wives of Manuel

vehement. Yet how calm is the voice of history compared with that of polemics!

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ians; and the patriarch is accused of declaring, that the faithful might obtain the redemption of all their sins by the extirpation of the schismatics.¹ An enthusiast, named Dorotheus, alarmed the fears, and restored the confidence, of the emperor, by a prophetic assurance, that the German heretic, after assaulting the gate of Blachernes, would be made a signal example of the divine vengeance. The passage of these mighty armies were rare and perilous events, but the crusades introduced a frequent and familiar intercourse between the two nations, which enlarged their knowledge without abating their prejudices. The wealth and luxury of Constantinople demanded the productions of every climate; these imports were balanced by the art and labour of her numerous inhabitants; her situation invites the commerce of the world, and, in every period of her existence, that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners. After the decline of Amalfi, the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, introduced their factories and settlements into the capital of the empire; their services were rewarded with honours and immunities; they acquired the possession of lands and houses, their families were multiplied by marriages with the natives, and, after the toleration of a Mohammedan mosque, it was impossible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite. The two wives of Manuel

¹ His anonymous historian (de Exped. Asiat. Fred. I. in Canab. Lectura Antiqu. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 511 edit. Basnage) mentions the sermons of the Greek patriarch, quomodo Graeci injunxerat in remissionem peccatorum periculis occidere et dolore de terra. Tergo ob servis (in Scriptores Breher tom. i. p. 409 edit. Struv), Graeci haereticos nos appellant clerici et monachi dictis et factis persequuntur. We may add the declaration of the Emperor Baldwin fifteen years afterwards. Ille est (q. 10) qui Latinos omnia non hominum nomine, sed cunctum d. garbatur quorum sanguinem effundit. — p. 100 inter meritis reputant. (Cass. Innocent III. c. 92, in Muratori,cript. Norum Italianum, tom. iii. pars i. p. 100). There may be some exaggeration but it was an effectual for the action and reaction of hatred.

— See Anna Comnenae (Alexiad. l. vi. p. 161, 162) and a remarkable passage of Nicetas (in Manuel l. v. c. 9) who observes of the Venetians, κατα σμνην και φρατρικας τιν Κυριατικους της εκκλησιας αλλαξαν, &c.

Comnenus¹ were of the race of the Franks the first, a sister-in-law of the Emperor Conrad, the second, a daughter of the prince of Antioch he obtained for his son Alexius a daughter of Philip Augustus king of France, and he bestowed his own daughter on a marquis of Montferrat, who was educated and dignified in the palace of Constantinople. The Greek encountered the arms, and aspired to the empire, of the West he esteemed the valour, and trusted the fidelity, of the Franks,² their military talents were unfitly recompensed by the lucrative offices of judges and treasurers, the policy of Manuel had solicited the alliance of the pope; and the popular voice accused him of a partial bias to the nation and religion of the Latins.³ During his reign, and that of his successor Alexius, they were exposed at Constantinople to the reproach of foreigners, heretics, and favourites, and this triple guilt was severely expiated in the tumult, which announced the return and elevation of Andronicus.⁴ The people rose in arms from the Asiatic ^{their massacre,} shore the tyrant de- ^{A.D. 1183.} spatched his troops and galleys to assist the national revenge, and the hopeless resistance of the strangers served only to justify the rage, and sharpen the daggers, of the assassins. Neither age, nor sex, nor the ties of friendship or kindred, could save the victims of national hatred, and avarice, and religious zeal the Latins were

¹ Ducange, *Pal. Byzant.* p. 186, 187.

² Nicetas in Manuel i. vii. c. 2. *Regnante enim (Manuele) apud eum tantum Latinus populus repererat gratiam ut nelectis (regeulis) suis tanquam viris mollibus et effeminatis solis Latinis graviora committeret negotia erga eos profusus liberalitate abundabat ex omni orbe ad eum tanquam ad benefactorem nobiles et ignobiles concurrerant.* William Tyr. xxi. c. 10.

³ The suspicions of the Greeks would have been confirmed, if they had seen the political questions of Manuel to Pope Alexander III. the enemy of his enemy Frederick I. in which the emperor declared his wish of uniting the Greeks, and Latins as one flock under one shepherd, &c. (*see Henry Hist. eccl. a. 1177 p. 157, 158, 159*).

⁴ *The Greek and Latin narratives of Nicetas in Alex. Comnenus c. 10, and William of Tyre (L. xxii. c. 1013), the first soft and concise, the second bold copious, and tragical*

slaughtered in their houses and in the streets, their quarter was reduced to ashes; the clergy were burnt in their churches, and the sick in their hospitals; and some estimate may be formed of the slain from the clemency which sold above four thousand Christians in perpetual slavery to the Turks. The priests and monks were the loudest and most active in the destruction of the schismatics; and they chanted a thanksgiving to the Lord, when the head of a Roman cardinal, the pope's legate, was severed from his body, fastened to the tail of a dog, and dragged, with savage mockery through the city. The more diligent of the strangers had retreated, on the first alarm, to their vessels, and escaped through the Hellespont from the scene of blood. In their flight, they burnt and ravaged two hundred miles of the sea coast, inflicted a severe revenge on the guiltless subjects of the empire; marked the priests and monks as their peculiar enemies, and compensated, by the accumulation of plunder, the loss of their property and friends. On their return, they exposed to Italy and Europe the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and malice, of the Greeks, whose vices were painted as the genuine characters of heresy and schism. The scruples of the first crusaders had neglected the fairest opportunities, of securing, by the possession of Constantinople, the way to the Holy Land a domestic revolution invited, and almost compelled, the French and Venetians to relieve the conquest of the Roman Empire of the East.

In the series of the Byzantine princes, I have exhibited the hypocrisy and ambition, the ^{Seize and character of Isaac Angelus A.D. 1185} tyranny and fall of Andronicus, the last male of the Comnenian family who reigned at Constantinople. The revolution, which cast him headlong from the throne, saved and exalted Isaac Angelus,¹ who

¹ The history of the reign of Isaac Angelus is composed, in three books, by the senator Nicetas (p. 228, 230), and his officer of household or principal secretary, and judge of the veil or palace, could not bribe the impartiality of the historian. He wrote, it is true, after the fall and death of his benefactor

descended by the female from the same Imperial dynasty. The successor of a second Nero might have found it an easy task to deserve the esteem and affection of his subjects. they sometimes had reason to regret the administration of Andronicus. The sound and vigorous mind of the tyrant was capable of discerning the connection between his own and the public interest; and while he was feared by all who could inspire him with fear, the unsuspected people, and the remote provinces, might bless the inexorable justice of their master. But his successor was vain and jealous of the supreme power, which he wanted courage and abilities to exercise, his vices were pernicious, his virtues (if he possessed any virtues) were useless, to mankind, and the Greeks, who imputed their calamities to his negligence, denied him the merit of any transient or accidental benefits of the times. Isaac slept on the throne, and was awakened only by the sound of pleasure. his vacant hours were amused by comedians and buffoons, and even to these buffoons the emperor was an object of contempt. his feasts and buildings exceeded the examples of royal luxury. the number of his eunuchs and domestics amounted to twenty thousand, and a daily sum of four thousand pounds of silver would swell to four millions, stealing the annual expense of his household and table. His poverty was relieved by oppression, and the public discontent was inflamed by equal abuses in the collection, and the application, of the revenue. While the Greeks numbered the days of their servitude, a flattering prophet, whom he rewarded with the dignity of patriarch, assured him of a long and glorious reign of thirty two years, during which he should extend his sway to Mount Libanus, and his conquests beyond the Euphrates. But his only step towards the accomplishment of the prediction was a splendid and scandalous embassy to Saladin,¹ to de-

mand the restitution of the holy sepulchre, and to propose an offensive and defensive league with the enemy of the Christian name. In these unworthy hands of Isaac and his brother, the remains of the Greek empire crumbled into dust. The island of Cyprus, whose name excites the ideas of elegance and pleasure, was usurped by his namesake a Comnenian prince, and by a strange concatenation of events, the sword of our English Richard bestowed that kingdom on the house of Lusignan, a rich compensation for the loss of Jerusalem.

The honour of the monarchy, and the safety of the capital, were deeply wounded by the Revolt of the Bulgarians, A.D. 1186 revolt of the Bulgarians and Walachians. Since the victory of the second Basil, they had supported, above a hundred and seventy years, the loose dominion of the Byzantine princes, but no effectual measures had been adopted to impose the yoke of laws and manners on these savage tribes. By the command of Isaac, their sole means of subsistence, their flocks and herds, were driven away, to contribute towards the pomp of the royal nuptials; and their fierce warriors were exasperated by the denial of equal rank and pay in the military service. Peter and Asan, two powerful chiefs, of the race of the ancient kings, asserted their own rights and the national freedom. their demonic impostors proclaimed to the crowd, that their glorious patron St. Demetrius had for ever deserted the cause of the Greeks. and the conflagration spread from the banks of the Danube to the hills of Macedonia and Thrace. After some faint efforts, Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced in their independence, and the Imperial troops were soon discouraged by the bones of their fellow soldiers, that were scattered along the passes of Mount Hæmus. By the arms and policy of John or Joannices, the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established. The subtle barbarian sent an embassy

¹ See Bohadin, Vit. Saladin p. 129 131, 226, 227. Sultens. The ambassador of Isaac was equally versed in the Greek, French, and Arabic languages, a rare instance in those times. His embassies were received with honour, dismissed without effect, and reported with scandal in the West.

² Ducange, Familie Dairath p. 318, 319, 320. The original correspondence of the Bulgarian king and the Roman Pontiff is inserted in the Gesta Innocent III. c. 60, 5. p. 513.

to Innocent the Third, to acknowledge himself a genuine son of Rome in descent and religion; and humbly received from the pope the licence of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin archbishop or patriarch. The Vatican exulted in the spiritual conquest of Bulgaria, the first object of the schism; and if the Greeks could have preserved the prerogatives of the church, they would gladly have resigned the rights of the monarchy.

The Bulgarians were malicious enough to pray for the long life of Isaac Angelus, the surest pledge of their freedom and prosperity.

Yet their chiefs could involve in the same indiscriminate contempt the family and nation of the emperor. "In all the Greeks," said Asan to his troops, "the same climate, and character, and education will be productive of the same fruits. Behold my lance," continued the warrior, "and the long steamers that float in the wind. They differ only in colour; they are formed of the same silk, and fashioned by the same workman, nor has the stripe that is stained in purple any superior price or value above its fellows." Several of these candidates for the purple successively rose and fell under the empire of Isaac, a general who had repelled the fleets of Sicily, was driven to revolt and ruin by the ingratitude of the prince, and his luxurious repose was disturbed by secret conspiracies and popular insurrections. The emperor was saved by accident, or the merit of his servants: he was at length oppressed by an ambitious brother,

who, for the hope of a precarious diadem, forgot the obligations of nature, of loyalty, and of friendship. While Isaac in the Thracian valleys pursued the idle and solitary pleasures of the chase, his brother, Alexius Angelus, was invested with the purple, by the unanimous suffrage of the camp, the capital and the clergy subscribed to their choice, and the vanity of the new sovereign rejected the name of his fathers for the lofty and royal appellation of the Comnenian race. On the despicable character of Isaac I have exhausted the language of contempt; and can only add, that in a run of eight years, the baser Alexius was supported by the masculine vices of his wife Euphrosyne. The first intelligence of his fall was conveyed to the late emperor by the hostile aspect and pursuit of the guards, no longer his own: he fled before them above fifty miles as far as Stagyræ in Macedonia, but the fugitive, without an object or a follower, was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war, but as the army was encamped on the sea shore, an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth, and, in the disguise of a common sailor, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the isle of Sicily. After saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploring the protection of Pope Innocent the Third, Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans.

¹ The pope acknowledges his pedigree a nobili urbis Romæ prociplia genitores tui origines in traxerunt. This tradition, and the strong resemblance of the Latin and Walachian idioms, is explained by M. D'Anville (*Partie I Europe*, p. 283-284). The Italian colonies of the Duc of Ispahan were swept away by the tide of emigration from the Danube to the Volga, and brought back by another wave from the Volga to the Danube. Possible, but strange!

² This parable is in the best savage style, but I wish the Walach had not introduced the classic name of Mysians, the experiment of the magnet or loadstone, and the passage of an old comic poet (Nicetas, in Alex. Comnenus, l. i. p. 299, 300).

¹ The Latins aggravate the ingratitude of Alexius, by supposing that he had been released by his brother Isaac from Turkish captivity. This pathetic tale had doubtless been repeated at Venice and Zara, but I do not readily discover its grounds in the Greek historians.

² See the reign of Alexius Angelus, or Comnenus, in the three books of Nicetas, p. 291-352.

But in his passage* through Italy, he heard that the flower of Western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land, and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom, that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of

a third prophet, less extravagant, perhaps, than Peter the hermit, but far below St Bernard in the merit of an orator and a statesman. An illiterate priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly,¹ forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant missionary. The fame of his sanctity and miracles was spread over the land: he declaimed, with severity and vehemence, against the vices of the age, and his sermons, which he preached in the streets of Paris, converted the robbers, the usurers, the prostitutes, and even the doctors and scholars of the university. No sooner did Innocent the Third ascend the chair of St Peter, than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade.² The eloquent pontiff described the ruin of Jerusalem, the triumph of the Pagans, and the shame of Christendom: his liberality proposed the redemption of sins, a plenary indulgence to all who should serve in Palestine, either a year in person, or two years by a substitute,³ and among his legates and orators who blew the sacred trumpet, Fulk of Neuilly was

¹ See Menry, Hist. Eccles. tom xvi p 73, &c. and Villahardouin, No. 1 with the observations of Ducange, which I always mean to quote with the original text.

² The contemporary life of Pope Innocent III published by Baluze and Muratori (Scriptores Hicron Italiesum, tom iii pars 1 p 486-608), is most valuable for the important and original documents which are inserted in the text. The bull of the crusade may be read, a. 84, 86.

³ Por ce que cil pardon, fut issi gran, si s'en esmeurent mult li eues des gens, et mult a en croiserent, porce que li pardons ere si gran Villahardouin, No. 1. Our philosophers may refine on the causes of the crusades, but such were the genuine feelings of a French knight

the loudest and most successful. The situation of the principal monarchs was averse to the pious summons. The Emperor Frederic the Second was a child, and his kingdom of Germany was disputed by the rival houses of Brunswick and Swabia, the memorable factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Philip Augustus of France had performed, and could not be persuaded to renew, the perilous vow; but as he was not less ambitious of praise than of power, he cheerfully instituted a perpetual fund for the defence of the Holy Land. Richard of England was satiated with the glory and misfortunes of his first adventure, and he presumed to deride the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, who was not abashed in the presence of kings. "You advise me," said Plantagenet, "to dismiss my three daughters, pride, avarice, and incontinence, I bequeath them to the most deserving, my pride to the knights-templars, my avarice to the monks of Cîteaux, and my incontinence to the prelates." But the preacher was heard and obeyed by the great vassals, the princes of the second order; and Theobald, or Thibaut, count of Champagne, was the foremost in the holy race. The valiant youth, at the age of twenty-two years, was encouraged by the domestic examples of his father, who marched in the second crusade, and of his elder brother, who had ended his days in Palestine with the title of King of Jerusalem. two thousand two hundred knights owed service and homage to his peerage.¹ the nobles of Champagne excelled in all the exercises of war,² and, by his marriage with the heiress of Navarre, Thibaut could draw a band of hardy Gascons from either side of the Pyrenean mountains. His companion in arms was Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, like himself of royal lineage, for both the princes were nephews, at

¹ This number of fiefs (of which 1800 owed liege homage) was enrolled in the church of St Stephen at Troyes, and attested A.D. 1213, by the marshal and butler of Champagne (Ducange, Observ. p 25-6).

² Campanie militie privilegio ingularius excellit in tyrocinis pro-lutions armorum, &c. Ducange, p 240, from the old Chronicle of Jerusalem, A. D. 1177-1190.

the same time, of the kings of France and England. In a crowd of prelates and barons, who imitated their zeal, I distinguish the birth and merit of Matthew of Montmorency; the famous Simon of Montfort, the scourge of the Albigeois, and a valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin,¹ marshal of Champagne,² who has condescended, in the rude idiom of his age and country,³ to write or dictate⁴ an original narrative of the councils and actions in which he bore a memorable part. At the same time, Baldwin count of Flanders, who had married the sister of Thibaut, assumed the cross at Bruges, with his brother Henry and the principal knights and citizens of that rich and industrious province.⁵ The vow which the chiefs had pronounced in churches, they ratified in tournaments: the operations of the war were debated in full and frequent assemblies, and it was resolved to seek the deliverance of Palestine in Egypt, a country, since Saladin's death, which was almost ruined by famine and civil war. But the fate of so many royal armies displayed the toils and perils of a land expedition; and if the Flemings

¹ The name of Villehardouin was taken from a village and castle in the diocese of Troyes, near the river Aube, between Bar and Arcis. The family was ancient and noble, the elder branch of our historian existed after the year 1400, the younger, which acquired the principality of Achaia, merged in the house of Savoy (Ducange, p. 235, 236).

² This office was held by his father and his descendants, but Ducange has not hunted it with his usual sagacity. I find that, in the year 1306, it was in the family of Confins, but these provincial have been long since eclipsed by the national marshals of France.

³ This language, of which I shall produce some specimens is explained by Vigenere and Ducange in a version and glossary. The president Des Broseaux (*Mechanisme des Langues*, tom. ii. p. 84), gives it as the example of a language which has ceased to be French, and is understood only by grammarians.

⁴ His age, and his own expression, *moi qui eeste oeuvre dote* (No. 62, &c.), may justify the suspicion (more probable than Mr. Wood's on Homer), that he could neither read nor write. Yet Champagne may boast of the two first historians, the noble authors of French prose, Villehardouin and Joinville.

⁵ The crusade and reigns of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin and his brother Henry, are the subject of a particular history by the Jesuit Douthemans (Constantinopolis Belgica, Turnaci, 1638, in 4to), which I have only seen with the eyes of Ducange.

dwelt also, by the ocean, the French barons were destitute of ships and ignorant of navigation. They embraced the wise resolution of choosing six deputies or representatives, of whom Villehardouin was one, with a discretionary trust to direct the motions, and to pludge the faith, of the whole confederacy. The maritime states of Italy were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors with their arms and horses, and the six deputies proceeded to Venice to solicit, on motives of piety or interest, the aid of that powerful republic.

In the invasion of Italy by Attila, I have mentioned¹ the flight of the Venetians from the State of the fallen cities of the continent, and their obscure shelter in the chain of islands that line the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf. In the midst of the waters, free, indigent, laborious, and inaccessible, they gradually coalesced into a republic: the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was superseded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. On the verge of the two empires, the Venetians exult in the belief of primitive and perpetual independence.² Against the Latins, their antique freedom has been asserted by the sword, and may be justified by the pen. Charlemagne himself resigned all claims of sovereignty to the islands of the Adriatic Gulf: his son Pepin was repulsed in the attacks of the *lagunas* or canals, too deep for the cavalry, and too shallow for the vessels; and in every age, under the German Cesars, the lands of the republic have been clearly distinguished from the kingdom of Italy. But the inhabitants of Venice were considered by themselves, by strangers, and by their sovereigns, as an Italian able portion of the Greek empire.³ In

¹ History, &c. vol. vi. p. 119, 123.

² The foundation and independence of Venice, and Pepin's invasion, are discussed by Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. A. D. 810, No. 4, &c.) and Beretti (*Disert. Chorograph. Italiae medii Aevi*, in Muratori, Script. tom. x. p. 133). The two critics have a slight bias, the Frenchman adverse, the Italian favourable, to the republic.

³ When the son of Charlemagne asserted his

the ninth and tenth centuries, the proofs of their subjection are numerous and unquestionable; and the vain titles, the servile honours of the Byzantine court, so ambitiously solicited by their dukes, would have degraded the magistrates of a free people. But the bands of this dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice and the weakness of Constantinople. Obedience was softened into respect, privilege ripened into prerogative, and the freedom of domestic government was fortified by the independence of foreign dominion. The maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia bowed to the sovereigns of the Adriatic; and when they armed against the Normans in the cause of Alexius, the emperor applied, not to the duty of his subjects, but to the gratitude and generosity of his faithful allies. The sea was their patrimony; the western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Gibraltar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa, but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their riches increased with the increasing demand of Europe. their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity, and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to

avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of a hundred galleys, and the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans, were encountered by her naval arms. The Franks of Syria were assisted by the Venetians in the reduction of the sea-coast, but their zeal was neither blind nor disinterested, and in the conquest of Tyre, they shared the sovereignty of a city, the first seat of the commerce of the world. The policy of Venice was marked by the avarice of a trading, and the insolence of a maritime power, yet her ambition was prudent; nor did she often forget that if armed galleys were the effect and safeguard, merchant vessels were the cause and supply, of her greatness. In her religion, she avoided the schisms of the Greeks, without yielding a servile obedience to the Roman pontiff, and a free intercourse with the infidels of every clime appears to have allayed sometimes the fever of superstition. Her primitive government was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy; the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly, as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince, but in the frequent revolutions of the state, he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or injustice of the multitude. The twelfth century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which has reduced the doge to a pageant, and the people to a cipher.¹

When the six ambassadors of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice, they were hospitably entertained in the palace of St Mark, by the reigning duke; his name was Henry

Alliance of the
French and
Venetians
AD 1201.

right of sovereignty, he was answered by the loyal Venetians, *ὅτι ἡμεῖς δουλοὶ Σουλτάνου εἰσὶν καὶ τῷ Πατριάρχῃ Βασιλεως* (Constantin Porphyrogenit. de administrat. imperii, pars ii c. 23, p. 86), and the report of the ninth establishes the fact of the tenth century, which is confirmed by the embassy of Liutprand of Cremona. The annual tribute, which the emperor allows them to pay to the king of Italy, alleviates, by doubling, their servitude, but the hateful word *doulo* must be translated, as in the charter of 827 (Laugier, Hist. de Venise, tom. i. p. 67, &c.), by the softer appellation of *subditi*, or *subjects*.

¹ See the twenty fifth and thirtieth dissertations of the *Antiquitates medii ævi* of Muratori. From Anderson's History of Commerce, I understand that the Venetians did not trade to England before the year 1323. The most flourishing state of their wealth and commerce in the beginning of the fifteenth century, is agreeably described by the Abbé Dubos (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 143 & 140).

¹ The Venetians have been slow in writing and publishing their history. Their most ancient monuments are, 1 The rude Chronicle (perhaps of John Sagorinus (Venetia, 1765 in octavo), which represents the state and manners of Venice in the year 1008. 2 The larger history of the doge (1342 1354), Andrew Dandolo, published for the first time in the twelfth tom of Muratori, A.D. 1728. The History of Venice by the Abbé Laugier (Paris, 1728) is a work of some merit, which I have chiefly used for the constitutional part.*

* It is scarcely necessary to mention the valuable work of Count Daru, "Histoire de

Dandolo; and he shone in the last period of human life as one of the most illustrious characters of the times. Under the weight of years, and after the loss of his eyes,* Dandolo retained a sound understanding and a manly courage: the spirit of a hero, ambitious to signalise his reign by some memorable exploits, and the wisdom of a patriot, anxious to build his fame on the glory and advantage of his country. He praised the bold enthusiasm and liberal confidence of the barons and their deputies in such a cause, and with such associates, he should aspire, were he a private man, to terminate his life, but he was the servant of the republic, and some delay was requisite to consult on this arduous business, the judgment of his colleagues. The proposal of the French was first debated by the six *sages* who had been recently appointed to control the administration of the doge: it was next disclosed to the forty members of the council of state, and finally communicated to the legislative assembly of four hundred and fifty representatives, who were annually chosen in the six quarters of the city

* Henry Dandolo was eighty four at his election (A.D. 1192), and ninety seven at his death (A.D. 1205). See the Observations of Ducange sur Villehardouin, No. 204. But this extraordinary longevity is not observed by the original writers, nor does there exist another example of a hero near a hundred years of age. Theophrastus might afford an instance of a writer of ninety nine, but instead of *ιστορικὸν* (Proem ad Character), I am much inclined to read *ιστορικὸν*, with his last editor Fischer, and the first thoughts of Casanbon. It is scarcely possible that the powers of the mind and body should support themselves till such a period of life.

† The modern Venetians (Laugier, tom. ii. p. 119) accuse the Emperor Manuel, but the calumny is refuted by Villehardouin and the older writers, who suppose that Dandolo lost his eyes by a wound (No. 34, and Ducange). *

Venise," of which I hear that an Italian translation has been published, with notes defensive of the ancient republic. I have not yet seen this work.—M.

* The accounts differ, both as to the extent and the cause of his blindness. According to Villehardouin and others, the sight was totally lost, according to the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo (Murat. tom. xii. p. 323), he was visually debilitated. See Wilson, vol. v. p. 143.—M.

In peace and war, the doge was still the chief of the republic, his legal authority was supported by the personal reputation of Dandolo: his arguments of public interest were balanced and approved, and he was authorised to inform the ambassadors of the following conditions of the treaty.¹ It was proposed that the crusaders should assemble at Venice, on the feast of St John of the ensuing year; that flat-bottomed vessels should be prepared for four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand squires, with a number of ships sufficient for the embarkation of four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand foot: that during a term of nine months they should be supplied with provisions, and transported to whatsoever coast the service of God and Christendom should require, and that the republic should join the armament with a squadron of fifty galleys. It was required that the pilgrims should pay, before their departure, a sum of eighty-five thousand marks of silver, and that all conquests, by sea and land, should be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were hard, but the emergency was pressing, and the French barons were not less profuse of money than of blood. A general assembly was convened to ratify the treaty: the stately chapel and place of St Mark were filled with ten thousand citizens; and the noble deputies were taught a new lesson of humbling themselves before the majesty of the people. "Illustrious Venetians," said the marshal of Champagne, "we are sent by the greatest and most powerful barons of France, to implore the aid of the master of the sea for the deliverance of Jerusalem." They have enjoined us to fall prostrate at your feet, nor will we rise from the ground, till you have promised to avenge with us the injuries of Christ." The eloquence of their words and tears,² their

¹ See the original treaty in the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 323-330.

² A reader of Villehardouin must observe the frequent tears of the marshal and his brother knights. *Bechies que la ot mainte lerne plorde de pitie* (No. 17), *mult plorant* (ibid.), *mainte lerne plorde* (No. 34), *si orent mult pitie et plorarent mult durement* (No. 60), *i ot*

martial aspect, and suppliant attitude, were applauded by a universal shout, as it were, says Jeffrey, by the sound of an earthquake. The venerable doge ascended the pulpit to urge their request by those motives of honour and virtue, which alone can be offered to a popular assembly: the treaty was transcribed on parchment, attested with oaths and seals, mutually accepted by the weeping and joyful representatives of France and Venice, and despatched to Rome for the approbation of Pope Innocent the Third. Two thousand marks were borrowed of the merchants for the first expenses of the armament. Of the six deputies, two repassed the Alps to announce their success, while their four companions made a fruitless trial of the zeal and emulation of the republics of Genoa and Pisa.

The execution of the treaty was still
 Assembly and departure of the crusade from Venice
 A.D. 1202, oppressed by unforeseen difficulties and delays. The marshal, on his re-

turn to Troyes, was embraced and approved by Thibaut count of Champagne, who had been unanimously chosen general of the confederates. But the health of that valiant youth already declined, and soon became hopeless, and he deplored the untimely fate, which condemned him to expire, not in a field of battle, but on a bed of sickness. To his brave and numerous vassals, the dying prince distributed his treasures: they swore in his presence to accomplish his vow and their own, but some there were, says the marshal, who accepted his gifts and forfeited their word. The more resolute champions of the cross held a parliament at Soissons for the election of a new general, but such was the incapacity, or jealousy, or reluctance, of the princes of France, that none could be found fit for the enterprise and willing to assume the conduct of the enterprise. They acquiesced in the choice of a stranger, of Bouffaco marquis of Montferrat, descended of a race of heroes, and himself of conspicuous fame in the wars and

negotiations of the times;¹ nor could the piety or ambition of the Italian chief decline this honourable invitation. After visiting the French court, where he was received as a friend and kinsman, the marquis, in the church of Soissons, was invested with the cross of a pilgrim and the staff of a general, and immediately repassed the Alps, to prepare for the distant expedition of the East. About the festival of the Pentecost he displayed his banner, and marched towards Venice at the head of the Italians. he was preceded or followed by the counts of Flanders and Blois, and the most respectable barons of France, and their numbers were swelled by the pilgrims of Germany,² whose object and motives were similar to their own. The Venetians had fulfilled, and even surpassed, their engagements: stables were constructed for the horses, and barracks for the troops; the magazines were abundantly replenished with forage and provisions, and the fleet of transports, ships, and galleys, was ready to hoist sail, as soon as the republic had received the price of the freight and the armament. But that price far exceeded the wealth of the crusaders who were assembled at Venice. The Flemings, whose obedience to their count was voluntary and precarious, had embarked in their vessels for the long navigation of the ocean and Mediterranean, and many of the French and Italians had preferred a cheaper and more convenient passage from Marseilles and Apulia to the Holy Land. Each pilgrim might complain, that after he had furnished his own contribution, he was made responsible for the deficiency of his absent brethren: the gold and silver plate of the chiefs, which they freely delivered to the treasury of St. Mark, was a generous but inadequate sacrifice, and after all

¹ By a victory (A.D. 1191) over the citizens of Antioch, by a crusade to Palestine, and by an embassy from the pope to the German princes (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. x. p. 163, 202).

² See the crusade of the Germans in the *Historia C.P. of Gunther* (*Caesaris Antiqua Lect.* tom. iv. p. v. viii.), who celebrates the pilgrimage of his abbot Martin, one of the preaching rivals of Fulco of Neuilly. His monastery, of the Cistercian order, was situate in the diocese of Basel.

mainte larme plorée de pitié (No. 202). They weep on every occasion of grief, joy, or devotion.

their efforts, thirty four thousand marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum. The obstacle was removed by the policy and patriotism of the doge, who proposed to the barons, that if they would join their arms in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till some wealthy conquest should afford the means of satisfying the debt. After much scruple and hesitation, they chose rather to accept the offer than to relinquish the enterprise, and the first hostilities of the fleet and army were directed against Zara, a strong city of the Sclavonian coast, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary. The crusaders burst the chain of boom of the harbour, landed their horses, troops, and military engines, and compelled the inhabitants, after a defence of five days, to surrender at discretion: their lives were spared, but the revolt was punished by the pillage of their houses and the demolition of their walls. The season was far advanced, the French and Venetians resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour and plentiful country: but their repose was disturbed by national and tumultuous quarrels of the soldiers and mariners. The conquest of Zara had scattered the seeds of discord and scandal: the aims of the allies had been stained in their outset with the blood, not of infidels, but of Christians: the king of Hungary and his new subjects were themselves

Siege of Zara.

enlisted under the banner of the cross; and the scruples of the devout were magnified by the fear or lassitude of the reluctant pilgrims. The pope had excommunicated the false crusaders who had pillaged and massacred their brethren, and only the marquis Boucicault and Simon of Montfort escaped these spiritual thunders, the one by his absence from the siege, the other by his final departure from the camp. Innocent might absolve the simple and submissive penitents of France, but he was provoked by the stubborn reason of the Venetians, who refused to confess their guilt, to accept their pardon, or to allow, in their temporal concerns, the interposition of a priest.

The assembly of such formidable powers by sea and land had revived the hopes of young Alexius, and both at Venice and Zara, he solicited the arms of the crusaders, for his own restoration and his father's deliverance. The royal youth was recommended by Philip king of Germany: his prayers and presence excited the compassion of the camp, and his cause was embraced and pleaded by the marquis of Montfort and the doge of Venice. A double alliance, and the dignity of Cæsar, had connected with the Imperial family the two elder

Alliance of the crusaders with the Greek prince and the young Alexius.

¹ See the whole transaction, and the sentiments of the pope, in the *Fulgures of Innocent III.* Gesta, c. 80-83.

² A modern reader is surprised to hear of the Valet de Constantinople, as applied to young Alexius, on account of his youth, like the *infants* of Spain and the *nobilissimus puer* of the Romans. The *pages* and *miles* of the knights were as noble as themselves (Vilhardouin and Ducange, No. 30).

³ The Emperor Isaac is styled by Villehardouin, *Sarac* (No. 46, &c.), which may be derived from the French *Sarr* or the Greek *Kup* (*cupios*) melted into his proper name, the farther corruptions of *Lusac* and *Conserac* will instruct us what licence may have been used in the old dynasties of Assyria and Egypt.

⁴ Montfort protested against the siege Guido, the abbot of Vanx de Cernay, in the name of the pope, interdicted the attack on a Christian city, and the immediate surrender of the town was thus delayed for five days of fruitless resistance. Wilken, vol. v. p. 167. See likewise, at length, the history of the interdict issued by the pope. Ibid.—M

¹ Jaderra, now Zara, was a Roman colony, which acknowledged Augustus for its parent. It is now only two miles round, and contains five or six thousand inhabitants, but the fortifications are strong, and it is joined to the main land by a bridge. See the travels of the two companions, Spion and Wheeler (Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce, &c., tom. I. p. 64-70 Journey into Greece, p. 8-14) the last of whom, by mistaking *Sedetia* for *Sedetis*, values an arch with statues and columns at twelve pounds. If, in his time, there were no trees near Zara, the cherry trees were not yet planted which produce our incomparable *maraschino*.

² Kalena (Hist. Crit. Reg. Hungaricæ, Stirp. Arpad. tom. IV. p. 168-653) collects all the facts and testimonies most adverse to the conquerors of Zara.

brother of Isaac. He expected to derive a kingdom from the important service, and the more generous ambition of Dandolo was eager to secure the inestimable benefits of trade and dominion that might accrue to his country.¹ Their influence procured a favourable audience for the ambassadors of Alexius, and if the magnitude of his offers excited some suspicion, the motives and rewards which he displayed might justify the delay and diversion of those forces which had been consecrated to the deliverance of Jerusalem. He promised, in his own and his father's name, that as soon as they should be seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would terminate the long schism of the Greeks, and submit themselves and their people to the lawful supremacy of the Roman church. He engaged to recompense the labours and merits of the crusaders, by the immediate payment of two hundred thousand marks of silver, to accompany them in person to Egypt, or, if it should be judged more advantageous, to maintain, during a year, ten thousand men, and, during his life, five hundred knights, for the service of the Holy Land. These tempting conditions were accepted by the republic of Venice, and the eloquence of the doge and marquis persuaded the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterprise. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was confirmed by their oaths and seals, and each individual,

¹ Reinier and Conrad, the former married Maria, daughter of the Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, the latter was the husband of Theodora Angela, sister of the Emperors Isaac and Alexius. Conrad abandoned the Greek court and princess for the glory of defending Syria against Saladin (Ducange, *Fam Byzant* p. 187, 203).

² Nicetas (in Alexio Comnenos, l. iii. c. 9) accuses the doge and Venetians as the first authors of the war against Constantinople, and considers only as a *νῆμα τῆς συμφορᾶς*, the arrival and shameful offers of the royal exile.^{*}

^{*} He admits, however, that the Angeli had committed depredations on the Venetian trade, and the emperor himself had refused the payment of part of a stipulated compensation for the seizure of the Venetian merchandise by the Emperor Manuel. Nicetas, in loc. cit.

according to his situation and character, was swayed by the hope of public or private advantage, by the honour of restoring an exiled monarch; or by the sincere and probable opinion, that their efforts in Palestine would be fruitless and unavailing, and that the acquisition of Constantinople must precede and prepare the recovery of Jerusalem. But they were the chiefs or equals of a valiant band of freemen and volunteers, who thought and acted for themselves. The soldiers and clergy were divided, and, if a large majority subscribed to the alliance, the numbers and arguments of the dissidents were strong and respectable. The boldest hearts were appalled by the report of the naval power and impregnable strength of Constantinople; and their apprehensions were disguised to the world, and perhaps to themselves, by the more decent objections of religion and duty. They alleged the sanctity of vow, which had drawn them from their families and homes to the rescue of the holy sepulchre, nor should the dark and crooked counsels of human policy divert them from a pursuit, the event of which was in the hands of the Almighty. Their first offence, the attack of Zara, had been severely punished by the reproach of their conscience and the censures of the pope, nor would they again imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow Christians. The apostle of Rome had pronounced, nor would they usurp the right of avenging with the sword the schism of the Greeks and the doubtful usurpation of the Byzantine monarch. On these principles or pretences, many pilgrims, the most distinguished for their valour and piety, withdrew from the camp, and their retreat was less pernicious than the open or secret opposition of a discontented party, that laboured, on every occasion, to separate the army and disappoint the enterprise.

Villehardouin and Gunther represent the sentiments of the two parties. The Abbot Martin left the army at Zara, proceeded to Palestine, was sent ambassador to Constantinople, and became a reluctant witness of the second siege.

Voyage from
Zara to Con-
stantinople

Notwithstanding this defection, the departure of the fleet and army was vigorously pressed by the Venetians, whose zeal for the service of the royal youth concealed a just resentment to his nation and family. They were mortified by the recent preference which had been given to Pisa, the rival of their trade, they had a long arrears of debt and injury to liquidate with the Byzantine court, and Dandolo might not discourage the popular tale, that he had been deprived of his eyes by the Emperor Manuel, who perfidiously violated the sanctity of an ambassador. A similar armament, for ages, had not rode the Adriatic: it was composed of one hundred and twenty flat bottomed vessels or *palaniers* for the horses, two hundred and forty transports filled with men and arms; seventy storeships laden with provisions, and fifty stout galleys, well prepared for the encounter of an enemy. While the wind was favourable, the sky serene, and the water smooth, every eye was fixed with wonder and delight on the scene of military and naval pomp which overspread the sea. The shields of the knights and squires, at once an ornament and a defence, were arranged on either side of the ships, the banners of the nations and families were displayed from the stern, our modern artillery was supplied by three hundred engines for casting stones and darts: the fatigues of the way were cheered with the sound of music, and the spirits of the adventurers were raised by the mutual assurance, that forty thousand Christian heroes were equal to the conquest of the world.* In the navigation¹ from

¹ The birth and dignity of Andrew Dandolo gave him the motive and the means of searching in the archives of Venice the memorable story of his ancestor. His brevity seems to excuse the copious and more recent narratives of Hanault (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxii.), Blondus, Sabellius, and Rhamnusius.

- Villehardouin, No. 92. His feelings and expressions are original: he often weeps, but he rejoices in the glories and perils of war with a spirit unknown to a literary writer.

* In this voyage, almost all the geographical

* This description rather belongs to the first

setting sail of the expedition from Venice, before the siege of Zara. The armament did not return to Venice.—M.

Venice and Zara, the fleet was successfully steered by the skill and experience of the Venetian pilots. At Durazzo, the confederates first landed on the territories of the Greek empire, the isle of Corfu afforded a station and repose: they doubled, without accident, the perilous cape of Malea, the southern point of Peloponnesus or the Morea; made a descent in the islands of Negropont and Andros, and cast anchor at Abydos on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. These preludes of conquests were easy and bloodless: the Greeks of the provinces, without patriotism or courage, were crushed by an irresistible force: the presence of the lawful heir might justify their obedience; and it was rewarded by the modesty and discipline of the Latins. As they penetrated through the Hellespont, the magnitude of their navy was compressed in a narrow channel, and the face of the waters was darkened with innumerable sails. They again expanded in the basin of the Propontis, and traversed that placid sea, till they approached the European shore, at the abbey of St Stephen, three leagues to the west of Constantinople. The prudent doge dissuaded them from dispersing themselves in a populous and hostile land; and, as their stock of provisions was reduced, it was resolved, in the season of harvest, to replenish their storeships in the fertile islands of the Propontis. With this resolution, they directed their course, but a strong gale, and their own impatience, drove them to the eastward, and so near did they run to the shore and the city, that some volleys of stones and darts were exchanged between the ships and the rampart. As they passed along, they gazed with admiration on the capital of the East, or, as it should seem, of the earth, rising from her seven hills, and towering over the continents of

names are corrupted by the Latins. The modern appellation of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, is derived from its *Eurypus*, *Euryus*, *Negri po*, *Negropont*, which distinguishes our maps (l'Anaville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 288).

setting sail of the expedition from Venice, before the siege of Zara. The armament did not return to Venice.—M.

Europe and Asia. The swelling domes and lofty spires of five hundred palaces and churches were gilded by the sun and reflected in the waters. the walls were crowded with soldiers and spectators, whose numbers they beheld, of whose temper they were ignorant, and each heart was chilled by the reflection, that, since the beginning of the world, such an enterprise had never been undertaken by such a handful of warriors. But the momentary apprehension was dispelled by hope and valour, and every man, says the marshal of Champagne, glanced his eye on the sword or lance which he must speedily use in the glorious conflict. The Latins cast anchor before Chalcedon, the mariners only were left in the vessels the soldiers, horses, and arms, were safely landed, and in the luxury of an Imperial palace, the barons tasted the first fruits of their success. On the third day, the fleet and army moved towards Soutari, the Asiatic suburbs of Constantinople a detachment of five hundred Greek horse was surprised and defeated by fourscore French knights, and in a halt of nine days, the camp was plentifully supplied with forage and provisions.

In relating the invasion of a great empire, it may seem strange that I have not described the obstacles which should have checked the progress of the strangers. The Greeks, in truth, were an unwarlike people; but they were rich, industrious, and subject to the will of a single man. had that man been capable of fear, when his enemies were at a distance, or of courage, when they approached his person. The first rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians was despised by the usurper Alexius, his flatterers persuaded him, that in this contempt he was bold and sincere, and each evening in the close of the banquet he thickly dismissed the barbarians of the West. These barbarians had been justly terrified by the report of his rival power,

¹ Et sacilliz que il ni ot si hardi cui le cuer ne fremlat (c. 66). (Chascuns reuerdoit mes armes que par tens en arons mestier (c. 67). Such is the honesty of courts,

and the sixteen hundred fishing boats of Constantinople¹ could have manned a fleet, to sink them in the Adriatic, or stop their entrance in the mouth of the Hellespont. But all force may be annihilated by the negligence of the prince and the venality of his ministers. The great duke, or admiral, made a scandalous, almost a public, auction of the sails, the masts, and the rigging the royal forests were reserved for the more important purpose of the chase; and the trees, says Nicetas, were guarded by the eunuchs, like the groves of religious worship.² From his dream of pride, Alexius was awakened by the siege of Zara, and the rapid advances of the Latins, as soon as he saw the danger was real, he thought it inevitable, and his vain presumption was lost in abject despondency and despair. He suffered these contemptible barbarians to pitch their camp in the sight of the palace, and his apprehensions were thinly disguised by the pomp and menace of a suppliant embassy. The sovereign of the Romans was astonished (his ambassadors were instructed to say) at the hostile appearance of the strangers. If these pilgrims were sincere in their vow for the deliverance of Jerusalem, his voice must applaud, and his treasures should assist, their pious design; but should they dare to invade the sanctuary of empire, their numbers, were they ten times more considerable, should not protect them from his just resentment. The answer of the dogs and barons was simple and magnanimous. "In the cause of honour and justice," they said, "we despise the usurper of Greece, his threats, and his offers. Our friendship and our allegiance are due to the lawful heir, to the young prince, who is seated among us and to his father, the Emperor Isaac, who has been deprived of his sceptre, his freedom, and his eyes, by the crime

¹ I tandem urbem plus nolis navibus et totorum abundare quam illos in toto imperio. Hicbat enim mille et sexcentas naves et naves. Iam isanti in six natorum habebant infanti multi admas et portum tuta iulium. Gantier, Hist. C. 1. p. 8. p. 10.

² Καθάρσιον ἱερὸν ἀλσίων, ὡς καὶ διαφύλακτον παραδίδωμι ἐφιδόντο τούτων. Nicetas in Alex. Commeno, l. iii. c. 9. p. 143.

Venetian fleet, safe and triumphant, rode at anchor in the port of Constantinople. By these daring achievements, a remnant of twenty thousand Latins solicited the licence of besieging a capital which contained above four hundred thousand inhabitants, able, though not willing, to bear arms in the defence of their country. Such an account would indeed suppose a population of near two millions, but whatever abatement may be required in the numbers of the Greeks, the *belief* of those numbers will equally exalt the fearless spirit of their assailants.

In the choice of the attack, the French and Venetians were divided by their habits of life and warfare. The former affirmed with

First siege and conquest of Constantinople by the Latins

truth, that Constantinople was most accessible on the side of the sea and the harbour. The latter might assent with honour, that they had long enough trusted their lives and fortunes to frail bark and a precarious element, and loudly demanded a trial of knighthood, a firm ground, and a close onset, either on foot or horseback. After a prudent compromise, of employing the two nations by sea and land, in the service best suited to their character, the fleet covering the army, they both proceeded from the entrance to the extremity of the harbour: the stone bridge of the river was hastily repaired, and the six battles of the French formed their encampment against the front of the capital, the basis of the triangle which runs about four miles from the port to the Propontis.² On the edge of a broad

graphy of the harbour. The south east would have been a more effectual wind.

¹ Quatre cens mil homes ou plus (Villehardouin, No. 134), must be understood of men of a military age. Le Beau (Hist. du Bas Empire, tom. xx. p. 417), allows Constantinople a million of inhabitants, of whom 600,000 horse and an infinite number of foot soldiers. In its present decay the capital of the Ottoman empire may contain 400,000 souls (Pell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 401, 402) but as the Turks keep no registers, and as circumstances are full of vicissitudes, it is impossible to ascertain (Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 13, 19), the real populousness of their cities.

² On the most correct plans of Constantinople, I know not how to measure more than

ditch, at the foot of a lofty rampart, they had leisure to contemplate the difficulties of their enterprise. The gates to the right and left of their narrow camp poured forth frequent sallies of cavalry and light infantry, which cut off their stragglers, swept the country of provisions, sounded the alarm five or six times in the course of each day, and compelled them to plant a palisade, and sink an entrenchment, for their immediate safety. In the supplies and convoys the Venetians had been too sparing, or the Franks too voracious: the usual complaints of hunger and scarcity were heard, and perhaps felt: their stock of flour would be exhausted in three weeks, and their disgust of salt meat tempted them to taste the flesh of their horses. The trembling usurper was supported by Theodore Lascaris, his son-in-law, a valiant youth, who aspired to save and to rule his country; the Greeks, regardless of that country, were awakened to the defence of their religion, but their firmest hope was in the strength and spirit of the Varangian guards, of the Danes and English, as they are named in the writers of the times.³ After ten days' incessant labour, the ground was levelled, the ditch filled, the approaches of the besiegers were regularly made, and two hundred and fifty engines of assault exercised their various powers to clear the rampart, to batter the walls, and to sap the foundations. On the first appearance of a breach, the scaling ladders were applied: the numbers that defended the vantage-ground repulsed and oppressed the adventurous Latins, but they admired the resolution of fifteen knights and sergeants, who had gained the ascent, and maintained their perilous station till they were precipitated or made prisoners by the im-

4000 paces. Yet Villehardouin computes it three leagues (No. 90), were not deceived he must reckon a mille league of 1000 paces, which might be used in Champagne.

³ The guards the Varangians, as Villehardouin (No. 91, 92) calls them, were famous avengers of blood. Whichever had been their origin, the French pilgrim could not be mistaken in the nations of which they were at that time composed.

perial guards. On the side of the harbour the naval attack was more successfully conducted by the Venetians, and that industrious people employed every resource that was known and practised before the invention of gunpowder. A double line, three bow-shots in front, was formed by the galleys and ships, and the swift motion of the former was supported by the weight and loftiness of the latter, whose decks, and poops, and turret, were the platforms of military engines, that discharged their shot over the heads of the first line. The soldiers, who leaped from the galleys on shore, immediately planted and ascended their scaling-ladders, while the large ships, advancing more slowly into the intervals, and lowering a draw bridge, opened a way through the air from their masts to the rampart. In the midst of the conflict, the doge, a venerable and conspicuous form, stood aloft in complete armour, on the prow of his galley. The great standard of St. Mark was displayed before him, his threats, promises, and exhortations, urged the diligence of the rowers, his vessel was the first that struck; and Dandolo was the first warrior on the shore. The nations admired the magnanimity of the blind old man, without reflecting that his age and infirmities diminished the price of life, and enhanced the value of immortal glory. On a sudden, by an invisible hand (for the standard bearer was probably slain), the banner of the republic was fixed on the rampart. twenty five towers were rapidly occupied, and, by the cruel expedient of fire, the Greeks were driven from the adjacent quarter. The doge had despatched the intelligence of his success, when he was checked by the danger of his confederates. Nobly declaring that he would rather die with the palatins than gain a victory by their destruction, Dandolo relinquished his advantage, recalled his troops, and hastened to the scene of action. He found the six weary divisions of the French over-pressed by sixty squadrons of the Greek cavalry, the least of which was more numerous than the largest of their divi-

sions. Shame and despair had provoked Alexius to the last effort of a general sally; but he was awed by the firm order and manly aspect of the Latins, and after skirmishing at a distance, withdrew his troops in the close of the evening. The silence or tumult of the night exasperated his fears, and the timid usurper, collecting a treasure of ten thousand pounds of gold, basely deserted his wife, his people, and his fortune, threw himself into a bark, stole through the Bosphorus, and landed in shameful safety in an obscure harbour of Thrace. As soon as they were apprised of his flight, the Greek nobles sought pardon and peace in the dungeon where the blind Isaac expected each hour the visit of the executioner. Again saved and exalted by the vicissitude of fortune, the captive in his imperial robes was replaced on the throne, and surrounded with prostrate slaves, whose real terror and affected joy he was incapable of discerning. At the dawn of day hostilities were suspended, and the Latin chiefs were surprised by a message from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to reward his generous deliverers.¹

But these generous deliverers were unwilling to release their ^{Restoration of the Emperor Isaac Angelus, and his son Alexius.} hostage, till they had obtained from his father the payment, or at least the promise, of their recompense. They chose four ambassadors, Matthew of Montmorency, our historian the marshal of Champagne, and two Venetians, to congratulate the emperor. The gates were thrown open on their approach, the streets on both sides were lined with the battle axes of the Danish and English guard, the presence-chamber glittered with gold and jewels, the false substitutes of virtue and power by the

¹ For the first siege and conquest of Constantinople, see Maynard's *History of the Crusades*, to Innocent III. c. 11, c. 12, c. 13, c. 14. Villahermos, No. 753. *Nicetas* p. 154. *Alexio Comneni* l. vi. c. 10, p. 319. *Dandolo*, in *Chron.* p. 322. *Gunther*, and his *biographer*, were not yet returned from their journey to Jerusalem, or St. John d'Acre, where the greatest part of the company had died of the plague.

side of the blind Isaac, his wife was seated, the sister of the king of Hungary, and by her appearance, the noble matrons of Greece were drawn from their domestic retirement, and mingled with the circle of senators and soldiers. The Latins, by the mouth of the marshal, spoke like men, conscious of their merits, but who respected the work of their own hands; and the emperor clearly understood, that his son's engagements with Venice and the pilgrims must be ratified without hesitation or delay. Withdrawing into a private chamber with the empress, a chamberlain, an interpreter, and the four ambassadors, the father of young Alexius inquired with some anxiety into the nature of his stipulations. The submission of the Eastern empire to the pope, the succour of the Holy Land, and a present contribution of two hundred thousand marks of silver "These conditions are weighty," was his prudent reply "they are hard to accept, and difficult to perform. But no conditions can exceed the measure of your services and deserts." After this satisfactory assurance, the barons mounted on horseback, and introduced the heir of Constantinople to the city and palace. his youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was solemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St Sophia. In the first days of his reign, the people, already blessed with the restoration of plenty and peace, were delighted by the joyful catastrophe of the tragedy; and the discontent of the nobles, their regret, and their fears, were covered by the polished surface of pleasure and loyalty. The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital, might have been pregnant with mischief and danger, and the suburb of Galata, or Pera, was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. But the liberty of trade and familiar intercourse was allowed between the friendly nations; and each day the pilgrims were tempted by devotion or curiosity to visit the churches and palaces of Constantinople. Their rude minds, insensible perhaps of the finer

arts, were astonished by the magnificent scenery and the poverty of the native towns enhanced the populousness and riches of the first metropolis of Christendom.¹ Descending from his state, young Alexius was prompted by interest and gratitude to repeat his frequent and familiar visits to his Latin allies; and in the freedom of the table, the gay petulance of the French sometimes forgot the emperor of the East.² In their most serious conferences, it was agreed, that the reunion of the two churches must be the result of patience and time, but avarice was less tractable than zeal, and a large sum was instantly disbursed to appease the wants, and silence the importunity of the crusaders.³ Alexius was alarmed by the approaching hour of their departure: their absence might have relieved him from the engagement which he was yet incapable of performing, but his friends would have left him, naked and alone, to the caprice and prejudice of a perfidious nation. He wished to bribe their stay, the delay of a year, by undertaking to defray their expense, and to satisfy, in their name, the freight of the Venetian vessels. The offer was agitated in the council of the barons, and after a repetition of their debates and scruples, a majority of votes again acquiesced in the advice of the doge and the prayer of the young emperor. At the price of sixteen hun-

¹ Compare, in the rude energy of Villehardouin (No 94, 100), the inside and outside views of Constantinople, and their impression on the minds of the pilgrims. *cette ville (says he) que de toutes les autres est souveraine. See the parallel passages of Fulcherius Carnotensis, Hist. Hierosol. l. i. c. 4, and Will. Tyr. li. 3. xx. 24.*

² As they played at dice, the Latins took off his diadem, and clapped on his head a wretched or hairy cap, *τὸ μαλακιστέρον καὶ γρηναίον κατ'ἰβήσαντο ἐπ'αυτὸν* (Nicetas, p. 353). If these merry companions were Venetians, it was the insolence of trade and a commonwealth.

³ Villehardouin, No 101. Dandolo, p. 322. The doge affirms, that the Venetians were paid more slowly than the French, but he owns, that the histories of the two nations differed on that subject. Had he read Villehardouin? The Greeks complained, however, *quod totius Græciæ opes transfunderet* (Gunther, Hist. C. P. c. 13). See the lamentations and invectives of Nicetas (p. 355).

dred pounds of gold, he prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat to lead him with an army round the provinces of Europe, to establish his authority, and pursue his uncle, while Constantinople was awed by the presence of Baldwin and his confederates of France and Flanders. The expedition was successful, the blind emperor exulted in the success of his arms, and listened to the predictions of his flatterers, that the same Providence which had raised him from the dungeon to the throne, would heal his gout, restore his sight, and watch over the long prosperity of his reign. Yet the mind of the suspicious old man was tormented by the rising glories of his son, nor could his pride conceal from his envy, that while his own name was pronounced in faint and reluctant acclamations, the royal youth was the theme of spontaneous and universal praise.

By the recent invasion, the Greeks

Quarrel of the
Greeks and
Latins.

were awakened from a dream of nine centuries; from the vain presumption that the capital of the Roman empire was impregnable to foreign arms. The strangers of the West had violated the city, and bestowed the sceptre, of Constantine their Imperial clients soon became as unpopular as themselves the well known vices of Latin were rendered still more contemptible by his infirmities, and the young Alexius was hated as an apostate, who had renounced the manners and religion of his country. His secret covenant with the Latins was divulged or suspected, the people, and especially the clergy, were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition; and every convent, and every shop, resounded with the danger of the church, and the tyranny of the pope.* An empty

* The reign of Alexius Comnenus occupies three books in Nicetas, p. 201-352. The short restoration of Isaac and his son is despatched in five chapters, p. 372-382.

* When Nicetas reproaches Alexius for his impious league, he bestows the harshest names on the pope's new religion: *μᾶλλον καὶ ἄνωγος τὰς . . . σαλπαστῆς εὐδίας . . . τῶν τοῦ Πάπας προσημίων καὶ σημείων . . . μετέδωκεν καὶ ἐπαπέμεινε τῶν σαλαίων Ἑσπερίων*

treasury could ill supply the demands of regal luxury and foreign extortion the Greeks refused to avert, by a general tax, the impending evils of servitude and pillage; the oppression of the rich excited a more dangerous and personal resentment, and if the emperor melted the plate, and despoiled the images, of the sanctuary, he seemed to justify the complaints of heresy and sacrilege. During the absence of marquis Boniface and his Imperial pupil, Constantinople was visited with a calamity which might be justly imputed to the zeal and indiscretion of the Flemish pilgrims. In one of their visits to the city, they were scandalised by the aspect of a mosque or synagogue, in which one God was worshipped, without a partner or a son. Their effectual mode of controversy was to attack the infidels with the sword, and their habitation with fire. but the infidels, and some Christian neighbours, presumed to defend their lives and properties: and the flames, which bigotry had kindled, consumed the most orthodox and innocent structures. During eight days and nights, the conflagration spread above a league in front, from the harbour to the Propontis, over the thickest and most populous regions of the city. It is not easy to count the stately churches and palaces that were reduced to a smoking ruin, to value the merchandise that perished in the trading streets, or to number the families that were involved in the common destruction. By this outrage, which the doge and the barons in vain affected to disclaim, the name of the Latins became still more unpopular, and the colony of that nation, above fifteen thousand persons, consulted their safety in a hasty retreat from the city to the protection of their standard in the suburb of Pera. The emperor returned in triumph; but the firmest and most dexterous policy

is (p. 348). Such was the sincere language of every Greek to the last gasp of the empire.

* Nicetas (p. 355) is positive in the charge, and specifies the Flemings (*Φλαμίνιοι*), though he is wrong in supposing it an ancient name. Villehardouin (No. 107) exculpates the barons, and is ignorant (perhaps affectedly ignorant) of the names of the guilty.

would have been insufficient to steer him through the tempest, which overwhelmed the person and government of that unhappy youth. His own inclination, and his father's advice, attached him to his benefactors; but Alexius hesitated between gratitude and patriotism, between the fear of his subjects and of his allies. By his feeble and fluctuating conduct he lost the esteem and confidence of both, and while he invited the marquis of Montferrat to occupy the palace, he suffered the nobles to conspire, and the people to arm, for the deliverance of their country. Regardless of his painful situation, the Latin chiefs repeated their demands, resented his delays, suspected his intentions, and exacted a decisive answer of peace or war. The haughty summons was delivered by three French knights and three Venetian deputies, who girded their swords, mounted their horses, pierced through the angry multitude, and entered, with a fearless countenance, the palace and presence of the Greek emperor. In a peremptory tone, they recapitulated their services and his engagements, and boldly declared, that unless their just claims were fully and immediately satisfied, they should no longer hold him either as a sovereign or a friend. After this defiance, the first that had ever wounded an Imperial ear, they departed without betraying any symptoms of fear, but their escape from a civil palace and a furious city astonished the ambassadors themselves, and their return to the camp was the signal of mutual hostility.

Among the Greeks, all authority and wisdom were overborne by the impetuous multitude, who mistook their rage for valour, their numbers for strength, and their fanaticism for the support and inspiration of Heaven. In the eyes of both nations Alexius was false and contemptible: the base and

spurious race of the Angel was rejected with clamorous disdain, and the people of Constantinople encompassed the senate, to demand at their hands a more worthy emperor. To every senator, conspicuous by his birth or dignity, they successively presented the purple by each senator the deadly garment was repulsed the contest lasted three days, and we may learn from the historian Nicetas, one of the members of the assembly, that fear and weakness were the guardians of their loyalty. A phantom, who vanished in oblivion, was forcibly proclaimed by the crowd, but the author of the tumult, and the leader of the war, was a prince of the house of Duca; and his common appellation of Alexius must be discriminated by the epithet of Mourzoufle,¹ which in the vulgar idiom expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy eyebrows. At once a patriot and a courtier, the pernicious Mourzoufle, who was not destitute of cunning and courage, opposed the Latins both in speech and action, inflamed the passions and prejudices of the Greeks, and insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Alexius, who trusted him with the office of great chamberlain, and tinged his buskins with the colours of royalty. At the dead of night, he rushed into the bed chamber with an alarmed aspect, exclaiming, that the palace was attacked by the people and betrayed by the guards. Starting from his couch, the unsuspecting prince throw himself into the arms of his enemy, who had contrived his escape by a private staircase. But that staircase terminated in a prison. Alexius was seized, stripped, and loaded with chains, and after tasting some days the bitterness of death, he was poisoned, or strangled, or beaten with clubs, at the command, or in the presence, of the

Alexius and his father deposed by Mourzoufle.

¹ Compare the suspicions and complaints of Nicetas (p. 379-382) with the blunt charges of Baldwin of Flanders (Gesta Innocent. III. c. 99, p. 534), cum patriarcha et molo nobilium . nobis promissis perjurus et mandas.

¹ His name was Nicolas Canabus he deserved the praise of Nicetas and the vengeance of Mourzoufle (p. 382).

- Villichardus (No 116), speaks of him as a favourite, without knowing that he was a prince of the blood, *Alysius* and *Ducas* Ducange, who pries into every corner, believes him to be the son of Isaac Duca Sebastocrator, and second cousin of young Alexius.

tyrant. The Emperor Isaac Angelus soon followed his son to the grave, and Mourzoufle, perhaps, might spare the superfluous crime of hastening the extinction of impotence and blindness.

The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed the nature of the quarrel. It was no longer the disagreement of allies who over-valued their services, or neglected their obligations: the French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, dropped a tear on the untimely fate of their companion, and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. Yet the prudent doge was still inclined to negotiate, he asked as a debt, a subsidy, or a fine, fifty thousand pounds of gold, about two millions sterling; nor would the conference have been abruptly broken, if the zeal, or policy, of Mourzoufle had not refused to sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the state.¹ Amidst the invectives of his foreign and domestic enemies, we may discern that he was not unworthy of the character which he had assumed, of the public champion; the second stage of Constantinople was far more laborious than the first; the treasury was replenished, and discipline was restored, by a severe inquisition into the abuses of the former reign, and Mourzoufle, an iron mace in his hand, visiting the posts, and affecting the port and aspect of a warrior, was an object of terror to his soldiers, at least, and to his kinsmen. Before and after the death of Alexius, the Greeks made two vigorous and well-conducted attempts to burn the navy in the harbour, but the skill and courage of the Venetians repulsed the fire-ships, and the vagrant flames wasted themselves without injury in the sea.² In a nocturnal sally

the Greek emperor was vanquished by Henry, brother of the count of Flanders: the advantages of number and surprise aggravated the shame of his defeat: his buckler was found on the field of battle; and the Imperial standard,³ a divine image of the Virgin, was presented, as a trophy and a relic, to the Cistercian monks, the disciples of St. Bernard. Near three months, without excepting the holy season of Lent, were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land fortifications had been found impregnable; and the Venetian pilots represented that, on the shore of the Propontis, the anchorage was unsafe, and the ships must be driven by the current far away to the straits of the Hellespont; a prospect not unpleasing to the reluctant pilgrims, who sought every opportunity of breaking the army. From the harbour, therefore, the assault was determined by the assailants, and expected by the besieged, and the emperor had placed his scarlet pavilions on a neighbouring height, to direct and animate the efforts of his troops. A fearless spectator, whose mind could entertain the ideas of pomp and pleasure, might have admired the long array of two embattled armies, which extended above half a league, the one on the ships and galleys, the other on the walls and towers raised above the ordinary level by several stages of wooden turrets. Their first fury was spent in the discharge of darts, stones, and fire, from the engines, but the water was deep; the French were bold; the Venetians were skilful, they approached the walls, and a desperate conflict of swords, spears, and battle-axes, was fought on the trembling bridges that grappled the floating to the stable batteries. In more than a hundred places, the assault was urged, and the defence was sustained, till the superiority of ground and numbers finally prevailed, and the Latin trumpets

¹ This negotiation, probable in itself, and attested by Nicetas (p. 365), is omitted as scandalous by the delicacy of Dandolo and Villehardouin.

² Baldwin mentions both attempts to fire the fleet (Gest. c. 92, p. 534, 535), Villehardouin (No. 118 116) only describes the first. It is remarkable, that neither of these warriors observe any peculiar properties in the Greek fire.

³ Wilken places it before the death of Alexius, vol. v. p. 276.—M

³ Ducange (No. 119) pours forth a torrent of learning on the *Gonfalon Imperial*. This banner of the Virgin is shown at Venice as a trophy and relic. If it be genuine, the pious doge must have cheated the monks of Cîteaux.

sounded a retreat. * On the ensuing days, the attack was renewed with equal vigour, and a similar event; and, in the night, the dogs and the barons held a council, apprehensive only for the public danger: not a voice pronounced the words of escape or treaty; and each warrior, according to his temper, embraced the hope of victory, or the assurance of a glorious death.† By the experience of the former siege, the Greeks were instructed, but the Latins were animated, and the knowledge that Constantinople might be taken, was of more avail than the local precautions which that knowledge had inspired for its defence. In the third assault, two ships were linked together to double their strength; a strong north wind drove them on the shore; the bishops of Troyes and Soissons led the van; and the auspicious names of the *pilgrim* and the *paradise* resounded along the line.‡ The episcopal banners were displayed on the walls; a hundred marks of silver had been promised to the first adventurers; and if their reward was intercepted by death, their names have been immortalised by fame.* Four towers were scaled; three gates were burst open, and the French knights, who might tremble on the waves, felt themselves invincible on horseback on the solid ground. Shall I relate that the thousands who guarded the emperor's person fled on the approach, and before the lance, of a single warrior? Their ignominious flight is attested by their countryman, Nicetas. an army of phantoms, marched with the French hero, and he was magnified to a giant in the eyes of the Greeks.‡ While the fugi-

tives deserted their posts and cast away their arms, the Latins entered the city under the banners of their leaders. the streets and gates opened for their passage; and either design or accident kindled a third conflagration, which consumed in a few hours the measure of three of the largest cities of France. In the close of evening, the barons checked their troops, and fortified their stations. they were awed by the extent and populousness of the capital, which might yet require the labour of a month, if the churches and palaces were conscious of their internal strength. But in the morning, a suppliant procession, with crosses and images, announced the submission of the Greeks, and deprecated the wrath of the conquerors: the usurper escaped through the golden gate the palaces of Blachernæ and Boucoleon were occupied by the count of Flanders and the marquis of Montferrat, and the empire, which still bore the name of Constantine, and the title of Roman, was subverted by the arms of the Latin pilgrims.‡

Constantinople had been taken by storm; and no restraints, Pillage of Constantinople except those of religion and humanity, were imposed on the conquerors by the laws of war. Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, still acted as their general, and the Greeks, who revered his name as that of their future sovereign, were heard to exclaim in a lamentable tone, "Holy marquis-king,

casion, the historian seems fonder of the marvellous, than of his country, or perhaps of truth. Baldwin exclaims in the words of the psalmist, *persequitur unus ex nobis centum alienos*.

† Villehardouin (No. 130) is again ignorant of the authors of this more legitimate fire, which is ascribed by Gunther to a quidam comes Teutonius (c. 14). They seem ashamed, the incendiaries!

‡ For the second siege and conquest of Constantinople, see Villehardouin (No. 113-132), Baldwin's second Epistle to Innocent III (Gesta, c. 92, p. 534-537), with the whole reign of Mourmoude, in Nicetas (p. 363-375), and borrow some hints from Landolo (Chron. Venet. p. 323-330) and Gunther (Hist. C. P. c. 14-15), who add the decorations of prophecy and vision. The former produces an oracle of the Erythrean sybil, of a great armament on the Adriatic, under a blind chief, against Byzantium, &c. Curious enough, were the prediction anterior to the fact.

* Villehardouin (No. 126) confesses, that multæ ere grant perill, and Guntherus (Hist. C. P. c. 13), affirms, that nulla spes victoriæ ardire poterat. † Yet the knight despises those who thought of flight, and the monk praises his countrymen who were resolved on death.

‡ Baldwin, and all the writers, honour the names of these two galleys, *felici auspicio*.

§ With an allusion to Homer, Nicetas calls him *εὐρύπυρος*, nine organs, or eighteen yards high, a stature which would, indeed, have excited the terror of the Greek. On this occasion.

* Pietro Alberti, a Venetian noble, and Andrew d'Amboise, a French knight.—M.

have mercy upon us!" His prudence or compassion opened the gates of the city to the fugitives, and he exhorted the soldiers of the cross to spare the lives of their fellow Christians. The streams of blood that flow down the pages of Nicetas may be reduced to the slaughter of two thousand of his unresisting countrymen,¹ and the greater part was massacred, not by the strangers, but by the Latins, who had been driven from the city, and who exercised the revenge of a triumphant faction. Yet of these exiles, some were less mindful of injuries than of benefits, and Nicetas himself was indebted for his safety to the generosity of a Venetian merchant. Pope Innocent the Third accuses the pilgrims of respecting, in their lust, neither age nor sex, nor religious profession, and bitterly laments that the deeds of darkness, fornication, adultery, and incest, were perpetrated in open day, and that noble matrons and holy nuns were polluted by the groins and peasants of the Catholic camp.² It is indeed probable that the licence of victory prompted and covered a multitude of sins; but it is certain, that the capital of the East contained a stock of vernal or willing beauty, sufficient to satiate the desires of twenty thousand pilgrims, and female prisoners were no longer subject to the right or abuse of domestic slavery. The marquis of Montferrat was the patron of discipline and decency, the count of Flanders was the mirror of chastity: they had forbidden, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins or nuns; and the proclamation was sometimes invoked by the vanquished and

respected by the victors. Their cruelty and lust were moderated by the authority of the chiefs, and feelings of the soldiers; for we are no longer describing an irruption of the northern savages, and however ferocious they might still appear, time, policy, and religion, had civilised the manners of the French, and still more of the Italians. But a free scope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted, even in the holy week, by the pillage of Constantinople. The right of victory, unshackled by any promise or treaty, had confiscated the public and private wealth of the Greeks, and every hand, according to its size and strength, might lawfully execute the sentence and seize the forfeiture. A portable and universal standard of exchange was found in the coined and uncoined metals of gold and silver, which each captor, at home or abroad, might convert into the possessions most suitable to his temper and situation. Of the treasures, which trade and luxury had accumulated, the silks, velvets, furs, the gems, spices, and rich movables, were the most precious, as they could not be procured for money in the ruder countries of Europe. An order

Division of
the spoil.

of rapine was instituted; nor was the share of each individual abandoned to industry or chance. Under the tremendous penalties of perjury, excommunication and death, the Latins were bound to deliver their plunder into the common stock. Three churches were selected for the deposit and distribution of the spoil: a single share was allotted to a foot soldier, two for a sergeant on horseback, four to a knight, and larger proportions according to the rank and merit of the barons and princes. For violating this sacred engagement, a knight belonging to the count of St. Paul was hanged with his shield and coat of arms round his neck: his example might render similar offenders more artful and discreet; but avarice was more powerful than fear, and it is generally believed, that the

¹ *Ceciderunt tamen et die civium quasi duo millia, &c.* (Junther, c. 18.) Arithmetic is an excellent touchstone to try the amplifications of passion and rhetoric.

² *Quidam* (says Innocent III. *Gesta*, c. 94, p. 58) *non religioni, non retati, nec sexui peccaverunt sed fornicationes, adulteria, et incestus in oculis omnium exercentes, non solum maritatus et viduas, sed et matronas et virginis decore dicatas, exposuerunt apertis virgulis garcium.* Villehardouin takes no notice of these common incidents.

³ Nicetas saved, and afterwards married, a noble virgin (p. 380) whom a soldier, *ὁ ἄλλος πολλοὺς ἐκείνους ἐπιβρимуμένος*, had almost

violated in spite of the *ἐντολὴ, ἐντάλαμα εἰς γυναικῶς*.

secret far exceeded the acknowledged plunder. Yet the magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation. After the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, fifty thousand marks were deducted to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue of the French amounted to four hundred thousand marks of silver,² about eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, nor can I better appreciate the value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age, than by defining it as seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England.³

In this great revolution we enjoy the misery of the singular felicity of comparing the narratives of Villehardouin and Nicetas, the opposite feelings of the marshal of Champagne and the Byzantine senator.⁴ At the first view it should seem that the wealth of Constantinople was only transferred from one nation to another, and that the loss and sorrow of the Greeks is exactly balanced by the joy and advantage of the Latins. But in the miserable account of war, the gain is never equivalent to the loss, the pleasure to the pain the smiles of the Latins were transient and fallacious,

¹ Of the general mass of wealth, Gunther observes, ut de pauperibus et advenis civis ditissimi redderentur (Hist. C. P. c. 12). Villehardouin (No. 132), that since the creation, we fu tant gaingne dans une ville, Baldwin (Gesta, c. 92), ut tantum tota non videatur possidere Latinitas.

² Villehardouin, No. 133-135. Instead of 400,000, there is a various reading of 500,000. The Venetians had offered to take the whole booty, and to give 400 marks to each knight, 200 to each priest and horseman, and 100 to each foot soldier; they would have been great losers (Le Beau, Hist. du Bas Empire, tom. xx. p. 506. I know not from whence).

³ At the council of Lyons (A. D. 1245), the English ambassadors stated the revenue of the crown as below that of the foreign clergy, which amounted to 80,000 marks a year (Matthew Paris, p. 451. Hume's History of England, vol. ii. p. 170).

⁴ The disorders of the sack of Constantinople, and his own adventures, are feelingly described by Nicetas, p. 307-309, and in the Status Urb. C. P. p. 274-284. His complaints, even of marriage, are justified by Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92), but Villehardouin does not betray a symptom of pity or remorse.

the Greeks for ever wept over the ruins of their country; and their real calamities were aggravated by sacrifice and mockery. What benefits accrued to the conquerors from the three fires which annihilated so vast a portion of the buildings and riches of the city? What a stock of such things, as could neither be used nor transported, was maliciously or wantonly destroyed! How much treasure was idly wasted in gaming, debauchery, and riot! And what precious objects were bartered for a vile price by the impatience or ignorance of the soldiers, whose reward was stolen by the base industry of the last of the Greeks! These alone, who had nothing to lose, might derive some profit from the revolution, but the misery of the upper ranks of society is strongly painted in the personal adventures of Nicetas himself. His stately palace has been reduced to ashes in the second conflagration, and the senator, with his family and friends, found an obscure shelter in another house which he possessed near the church of St. Sophia. It was the door of this mean habitation that his friend, the Venetian merchant, guarded in the disguise of a soldier, till Nicetas could save, by a precipitate flight, the relics of his fortune and the chastity of his daughter. In a cold wintry season, these fugitives, nursed in the lap of prosperity, departed on foot, his wife was with child, the desertion of their slaves compelled them to carry their baggage on their own shoulders, and their women, whom they placed in the centre, were exhorted to conceal their beauty with dirt, instead of adorning it with paint and jewels. Every step was exposed to insult and danger. The threats of the strangers were less painful than the taunts of the plebeians, with whom they were now levelled; nor did the exiles breathe in safety till their mournful pilgrimage was concluded at Selymbria, above forty miles from the capital. On the way they overtook the patriarch, without attendance and almost without apparel, riding on an ass, and reduced to a state of apostolical poverty, which, had it been voluntary, might

perhaps have been meritorious. In the meanwhile, his desolate churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party zeal of the Latins. After stripping the gems and pearls, they converted the chalices into drinking-cups, then tables, on which they gamed and feasted, were covered with the pictures of Christ and the saints, and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of the Christian worship. In the cathedral of St. Sophia, the ample veil of the sanctuary was rent asunder for the sake of the golden fringe, and the altar, a monument of art and riches, was broken in pieces and shared among the captors. Their mules and horses were laden with the wrought silver and gilt carvings, which they tore down from the doors and pulpit, and if the beasts stumbled under the burden, they were stabbed by their impatient drivers, and the holy pavement streamed with their impure blood. A prostitute was seated on the throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sung and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals. Nor were the repositories of the royal dead secure from violation in the clutch of the Apostles, the tombs of the emperors were rifled, and it is said, that after six centuries the corpse of Justinian was found without any signs of decay or putrefaction. In the streets, the French and Flemings clothed themselves and their horses in painted robes and flowing head-dresses of linen; and the coarse intemperance of their feasts¹ insulted the splendid sobriety of the East. To expose the arms of a people of scribes and scholars, they affected to display a pen, an ink-horn, and a sheet of paper, without discerning that the instruments of science and valour were alike feeble and useless in the hands of the modern Greeks.

¹ If I rightly apprehend the Greek of Nicetas' receipts, their favourite dishes were boiled buttocks of beef, salt pork and peas, and soup made of garlic and sharp or sour herbs (p. 994).

Their reputation and their language encouraged them, however, to despise the ignorance, and to overlook the progress, of the Latins. In the love of the arts, the national difference was still more obvious and real, the Greeks preserved with reverence the works of their ancestors, which they could not imitate, and, in the destruction of the statues of Constantinople, we are provoked to join in the complaints and invectives of the Byzantine historian. We have seen how the rising city was adorned by the vanity and despotism of the Imperial founder in the ruins of paganism, some gods and heroes were saved from the axe of superstition; and the forum and hippodrome were dignified with the relics of a better age. Several of these are described by Nicetas,² in a florid and affected style; and, from his descriptions, I shall select some interesting particulars. 1. The victorious charioteers were cast in bronze, at their own, or the public, charge, and fitly placed in the hippodrome. They stood aloft in their chariots, wheeling round the goal the spectators could admire their attitude, and judge of the resemblance; and of these figures, the most perfect might have been transported from the Olympic stadium. 2. The sphinx, river-horse, and crocodile, denote the climate and manufacture of

¹ Nicetas uses very harsh expressions, *καὶ ἀγροικίας Βαρβαρὺς, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀναλφάβητους* (Fragment. apud Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 414). This reproach, it is true, applies most strongly to their ignorance of Greek and of Homer. In their own language, the Latins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not destitute of literature. See Harris's *Philological Inquiries*, p. iii. c. 9-11.

² Nicetas was of Chonæ in Phrygia (the old Colossæ of St Paul) he raised himself to the honours of senator, judge of the veil, and great logothete, beheld the fall of the empire, retired to Nice, and composed an elaborate history from the death of Alexius Comnenus to the reign of Henry.

³ A manuscript of Nicetas in the Bodleian library contains this curious fragment on the statues of Constantinople, which fraud, or shame, or rather carelessness, has dropped in the common editions. It is published by Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 406-416), and immoderately praised by the late ingenious Mr. Harris of Salisbury (*Philological Inquiries*, p. iii. c. 2 p. 801-812).

Egypt, and the spoils of that ancient province. 3. The she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; a subject alike pleasing to the *old* and the *new* Romans; but which could rarely be treated before the decline of the Greek sculpture. 4. An eagle holding and tearing a serpent in his talons; a domestic monument of the Byzantines, which they ascribed, not to a human artist, but to the magic power of the philosopher Apollonius, who, by this talisman, delivered the city from such venomous reptiles. 5. An ass and his driver; which were erected by Augustus in his colony of Nicopolis, to commemorate a verbal omen of the victory of Actium. 6. An equestrian statue, which passed, in the vulgar opinion, for Joshua, the Jewish conqueror, stretching out his hand to stop the course of the descending sun. A more classical tradition recognised the figures of Bellerophon and Pegasus; and the free attitude of the steed seemed to mark that he trod on air, rather than on the earth. 7. A square and lofty obelisk of brass; the sides were embossed with a variety of picturesque and rural scenes. birds singing, rustics labouring, or playing on their pipes; sheep bleating, lambs skipping, the sea, and a scene of fish and fishing, little naked cupids laughing, playing, and pelting each other with apples, and, on the summit, a female figure turning with the slightest breath, and thence denominated *the wind's attendant*. 8. The Phrygian shepherd presenting to Venus the prize of beauty, the apple of discord. 9. The incomparable statue of Helen; which is delineated by Nicetas in the words of admiration and love her well-turned feet, snowy arms, rosy lips, bewitching smiles, swimming eyes, arched eyebrows, the harmony of her shape, the lightness of her drapery, and her flowing locks that waved in the wind. a beauty that might have moved her barbarian destroyers to pity and remorse. 10. The manly, or divine, form of Hercules,¹ as he was restored

to life by the master-hand of Lysippus; of such magnitude, that his thumb was equal to the waist, his leg to the stature, of a common man,² his chest ample, his shoulders broad, his limbs strong and muscular, his hair curled, his aspect commanding. Without his bow, or quiver, or club, his lion's skin carelessly thrown over him, he was seated on an osier basket, his right leg and arm stretched to the utmost, his left knee bent, and supporting his elbow, his head reclining on his left hand, his countenance indignant and pensive. 11. A colossal statue of Juno, which had once adorned her temple of Samos, the enormous head by four yoke of oxen was laboriously drawn to the palace. 12. Another colossus, of Pallas or Minerva, thirty feet in height, and representing with admirable spirit the attributes and character of the martial maid. Before we accuse the Latins, it is just to remark, that this Pallas was destroyed after the first siege, by the fear and superstition of the Greeks themselves.³ The other statues of brass which I have enumerated were broken and melted by the unfeeling avarice of the crusaders: the cost and labour were consumed in a moment, the soul of genius evaporated in smoke, and the remnant of base metal was coined into money for the payment of the troops. Bronze is not the most durable of monuments from the marble forms of Phidias and Praxiteles, the Latins might turn aside with stupid contempt,³ but unless they were crushed by some acci-

the attitude of the statue in the latter, Hercules had not his club, and his right leg and arm were extended.

¹ I transcribe these proportions, which appear to me inconsistent with each other, and may possibly show, that the boasted taste of Nicetas was no more than affectation and vanity.

² Nicetas in Isaacus Angelo et Alexio, c. 3 p. 359. The Latin editor very properly observes, that the historian, in his bombast style, produces ex pulvis elephanti.

³ In two passages of Nicetas (edit Paris, p. 360. Fabric. p. 408), the Latins are branded with the lively reproach of *ei rei causa aurum: sed aurum: sed aurum*, and their avarice of brass is clearly expressed. Yet the Venetians had the merit of removing four bronze horses from Constantinople to the place of St. Mark (Sanuto, Vite del Doge, in Muratori, Script. Reip. Italicarum, tom. xxi. p. 534).

¹ To illustrate the statue of Hercules, Mr Harris quotes a Greek epigram, and engraves a beautiful gem, which does not, however, copy

dental injury, those useless stones stood secure on their pedestals.¹ The most enlightened of the strangers, above the gross and sensual pursuits of their countrymen, more piously exercised the right of conquest in the search and seizure of the relics of the saints.² Immense was the supply of heads and bones, crosses and images, that were scattered by this revolution over the churches of Europe, and such was the increase of pilgrimage and oblation, that no branch, perhaps, of more lucrative plunder was imported from the East.³ Of the writings of antiquity, many that still existed in the twelfth century are now lost. But the pilgrims were not solicitous to save or transport the volumes of an unknown tongue: the perishable substance of paper or parchment can only be preserved by the multiplicity of copies, the literature of the Greeks had almost centred in the metropolis, and, without computing the extent of our loss, we may drop a tear over the libraries that have perished in the triple fire of Constantinople.⁴

CHAPTER LXI.

PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE FRENCH AND VENETIANS—FIVE LATIN EMPERORS OF THE HOUSES OF FLANDERS AND COURTENAY—THEIR WARS AGAINST THE BULGARIANS AND GREEKS—WEAKNESS AND POVERTY OF THE LATIN EMPIRE—RECOVERY OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE GREEKS—GENERAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRUSADES.

AFTER the death of the lawful prince, the French and Venetians, the Emperor Baldwin confident of justice and victory, agreed to divide and regulate their future possessions.⁵ It was stipulated by treaty, that twelve electors, six of either nation, should be nominated; that a majority should choose the emperor of the East: and that, if the votes were equal, the decision of chance should ascertain the successful candidate. To him, with all the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, they assigned the two palaces of Boucoleon and Blachernæ, with a fourth part of the Greek monarchy. It was defined that the three remaining portions should be equally

shared between the republic of Venice and the barons of France, that each feudatory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire; that the nation which gave an emperor, should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch, and that the pilgrims, whatever might be their impatience to visit the Holy Land, should devote another year to the con-

¹ Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xvi. p. 139-145.

² I shall conclude this chapter with the notice of a modern history, which illustrates the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, but which has fallen somewhat late into my hands. Paolo Ramusio, the son of the compiler of voyages, was directed by the senate of Venice to write the history of the conquest and this order, which he received in his youth, he executed in a mature age, by an elegant Latin work, *de Bello Constantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Commanis per Gallos et Venetos restituta* (Venet. 1635, in folio). Ramusio, or Rhamnusius, transcribed and translated, sequitur ad unguem, a MS. of Villehardouin, which he possessed but he enriches his narrative with Greek and Latin materials, and we are indebted to him for a correct state of the fleet the names of the fifty Venetian nobles who commanded the galleys of the republic, and the patriot opposition of Pantaleon Barbus to the choice of the doge for emperor.

¹ Winckelman, *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. iii. p. 209, 270.

² See the pious robbery of the abbot Martin, who transferred a rich cargo to his monastery of Paris, diocese of Basil (Gunter, *Hist. C P.* c. 19, 23, 24). Yet in secreting this booty, the saint incurred an excommunication, and perhaps broke his oath.

³ See the original treaty of partition, in the Venetian Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 328-330, and the subsequent election in Villehardouin, No. 136-140 with Ducange in his *Observations*, and the first book of his *Histoire de Constantinople, sous l'Empire des Français*.

ques, and defence of the Greek provinces. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, the treaty was confirmed, and executed, and the first and most important step was the creation of an emperor. The six electors of the French nation were all ecclesiastics, the abbot of Loces, the archbishop elect of Acre in Palestine, and the bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, and Bithlehem, the last of whom exercised in the camp the office of pope's legate; their profession and knowledge were respectable, and as they could not be the objects, they were best qualified to be the authors, of the choice. The six Venetians were the principal servants of the state, and in this list the noble families of Querini and Contarini are still proud to discover their ancestors. The twelve assembled in the chapel of the palace, and after the solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost they proceeded to deliberate and vote. A just impulse of respect and gratitude prompted them to crown the virtues of the doge his wisdom had inspired their enterprise, and the most youthful knights might envy and applaud the exploits of blindness and age. But the patriot Dandolo was devoid of all personal ambition, and fully satisfied that he had been judged worthy to reign. His nomination was over-ruled by the Venetians themselves - his countrymen, and perhaps his friends, represented, with the eloquence of truth, the mischiefs that might arise to national freedom and the common cause, from the union of two incompatible characters, of the first magistrate of a republic and the emperor of the East. The exclusion of the doge left room for the more equal merits of Boniface and Baldwin, and at their names all meaner candidates respectfully withdrew. The marquis of Montferrat was recommended by his mature age and fair reputation, by the choice of the adventurers, and the wishes of the Greeks;

¹ After mentioning the nomination of the doge by a French elector, his kinsman Andrew Dandolo approves his exclusion, quidam Venetorum fidelis et nobilis senex, usus orationis satis probabilis &c. which has been embroiled by modern writers from Blondus to Le Beau.

nor can I believe that Venice, the mistress of the sea, could be seriously apprehensive of a petty lord at the foot of the Alps. But the count of Flandria was the chief of a wealthy and warlike people he was valiant, pious, and chaste, in the prime of life, since he was only thirty two years of age, a descendant of Charlemagne, a cousin of the king of France, and a compeer of the prelates and barons who had yielded with reluctance to the command of a foreigner. Without the chapel, these barons, with the doge and marquis at their head, expected the decision of the twelve electors. It was announced by the bishop of Soissons, in the name of his colleagues, "Ye have sworn to obey the prince whom we should choose by our unanimous suffrage, Baldwin count of Flanders and Hainault is now your sovereign, and the emperor of the East." He was saluted with loud applause, and the proclamation was re-echoed through the city by the joy of the Latins, and the trembling adulation of the Greeks. Boniface was the first to kiss the hand of his rival, and to raise him on the buckler, and Baldwin was transported to the cathedral, and solemnly invested with the purple buskins. At the end of three weeks he was crowned by the legate, in the vacancy of a patriarch, but the Venetian clergy soon filled the chapter of St. Sophia, seated Thomas Morosini on the ecclesiastical throne, and employed every art to perpetuate in their own nation the honours and benefices of the Greek church. Without delay the successor of Constantine instructed Palestine, France, and Rome, of this memorable revolution.

¹ Nicetas (p. 384), with the vain ignorance of a Greek, describes the marquis of Montferrat as a maritime power *Λαμπαδαριος δι' ἐκείνης τῆς ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν θαλάσσης*. Was he deceived by the Byzantine theme of Lombardy, which extended along the coast of Calabria?

² They exacted an oath from Thomas Morosini to appoint no canons of St. Sophia the lawful electors, except Venetians who had lived ten years at Venice, &c. But the foreign clergy was envious, the pope disapproved this national monopoly, and of the six Latin patriarchs of Constantinople only the first and the last were Venetians.

To Palestine he sent, as a trophy, the gates of Constantinople, and the chain of the harbour; and adopted, from the Assises of Jerusalem, the laws or customs best adapted to a French colony and conquest in the East. In his epistles, the natives of France are encouraged to swell that colony, and to secure that conquest, to people a magnificent city and a fertile land, which will reward the labours both of the priest and the soldier. He congratulates the Roman pontiff on the restoration of his authority in the East, invites him to extinguish Greek schism by his presence in a general council, and implores his blessing and forgiveness for the disobedient pilgrims. Prudence and dignity are blended in the answer of Innocent.¹ In the subversion of the Byzantine empire, he arraigns the vices of man, and adores the providence of God: the conquerors will be absolved or condemned by their future conduct; the validity of their treaty depends on the judgment of St. Peter, but he inculcates their most sacred duty of establishing a just subordination of obedience and tribute, from the Greeks to the Latins, from the magistrates to the clergy, and from the clergy to the pope.

In the division of the Greek provinces,² the share of the Greek empire. Venetians was more ample than that of the Latin emperor. No more than one-fourth was appropriated to his domain; a clear moiety of the remainder was reserved for Venice; and the other moiety was distributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy. The venerable Dandolo was proclaimed despot of

Romania, and invested after the Greek fashion with the purple buskins. He ended at Constantinople his long and glorious life; and if the prerogative was personal, the title was used by his successors till the middle of the fourteenth century, with the singular though true addition of lords of one-fourth and a half of the Roman empire.³ The doge, a slave of state, was seldom permitted to depart from the helm of the republic, but his place was supplied by the *basil*, or regent, who exercised a supreme jurisdiction over the colony of Venetians. They possessed three of the eight quarters of the city, and his independent tribunal was composed of six judges, four counsellors, two chamberlains, two fiscal advocates, and a constable. Their long experience of the Eastern trade enabled them to select their portico with discernment: they had rashly accepted the dominion and defence of Adrianople; but it was the more reasonable aim of their policy to, form a chain of factories, and cities, and islands, along the maritime coast, from the neighbourhood of Ragusa to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The labour and cost of such extensive conquests exhausted their treasury. They abandoned their maxims of government, adopted a feudal system, and contented themselves with the homage of their nobles,⁴ for the possessions which these private vassals undertook to reduce and maintain. And thus it was, that the family of Sanut acquired the duchy of Naxos, which involved the greatest part of the Archipelago. For the price of ten thousand marks, the republic purchased of the marquis of Candia the fertile island of Crete or Candia with the ruins of a hundred cities;⁵ but its improve-

¹ Nicetas, p. 383.

² The Epistles of Innocent III are a rich fund for the ecclesiastical and civil institution of the Latin empire of Constantinople, and the most important of these epistles (of which the collection in 2 vols. in folio is published by Stephen Baluze) are inserted in his *Gesta*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. III. p. 1, c. 94-106.

³ In the treaty of partition, most of the names are corrupted by the scribes: they might be restored, and a good map, suited to the last age of the Byzantine empire, would be an improvement of geography. But, alas! D'Anville is no more!

⁴ Their style was dominus quartæ partis et dimidiæ imperii Romani, till Giovanni Dolfino, who was elected doge in the year 1356 (Sanuto, p. 530, 641). For the government of Constantinople, see Ducange, *Histoire de C P* i 37.

⁵ Ducange (*Hist. de C P* ii 4) has marked the conquests made by the state or nobles of Venice of the islands of Candia, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Seyro, Cos, and Lemnos.

⁶ Bonifacio sold the isle of Candia, August 12th A.D. 1364. See the act in Sanuto, p. 533 but I cannot understand how it could be his mother's.

ment was stinted by the proud and narrow spirit of an aristocracy, and the wisest senators would confess that the sea, not the land, was the treasury of St. Mark. In the moiety of the adventurers, the Marquis Boniface might claim the most liberal reward; and, besides the isle of Crete, his exclusion from the throne was compensated by the royal title and the provinces beyond the Hellespont. But he prudently exchanged that distant and difficult conquest for the kingdom of Thessalonica or Macedonia, twelve days' journey from the capital, where he might be supported by the neighbouring powers of his brother-in-law the king of Hungary. His progress was hailed by the voluntary or reluctant acclamations of the natives, and Greece, the proper and ancient Greece, again received a Latin conqueror,* who trod with indifference that classic ground. He viewed with a careless eye the beauties of the valley of Tempe; traversed with a cautious step the straits of Thermopylae; occupied the unknown cities of Thebes, Athens, and Argos, and assaulted the fortifications of Corinth and Napoli,³ which resisted his arms. The lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance, or choice, or subsequent exchange; and they abused, with in-

temperate joy, their triumph over the lives and fortunes of a great people. After a minute survey of the provinces, they weighed in the scales of avarice the revenue of each district, the advantage of the situation, and the ample or scanty supplies for the maintenance of soldiers and horses. Their presumption claimed and divided the long-lost dependencies of the Roman sceptre the Nile and Euphrates rolled through their imaginary realms; and happy was the warrior who drew for his prize the palace of the Turkish sultan of Iconium.¹ I shall not descend to the pedigree of families and the rent-roll of estates, but I wish to specify that the counts of Blois and St. Pol were invested with the duchy of Nice and the lordship of Demotica,² the principal fiefs were held by the service of constable, chamberlain, cup-bearer, butler, and chief cook; and our historian, Jeffrey de Villehardouin, obtained a fair establishment on the banks of the Hebrus, and united the double office of marshal of Champagne and Romania. At the head of his knights and archers, each baron mounted on horseback to secure the possession of his share, and their first efforts were generally successful. But the public force was weakened by their dispersion, and a thousand quarrels must arise under a law, and among men, whose sole umpire was the sword. Within three months after the conquest of Constantinople, the emperor and the king of Thessalonica drew their hostile followers into the field; they were reconciled by the authority of the doge, the advice of the marshal, and the firm freedom of their peers.³

portion, or how she could be the daughter of an Emperor Alexius.

¹ In the year 1212, the doge Peter Zani sent a colony to Candia, drawn from every quarter of Venice. But in their savage manners and frequent rebellions, the Candioti may be compared to the Cornicans under the yoke of Genga, and when I compare the accounts of Belon and Tournefort, I cannot discern much difference between the Venetian and the Turkish island.

² Villehardouin (No 169, 180, 173 177) and Nicetas (p. 337-344) describe the expedition into Greece of the Marquis Boniface. The Chronicle might derive its information from his brother Michael, archbishop of Athens, whom he paints as an orator, a statesman, and a saint. His encomium of Athens, and the description of Tempe, should be published from the Bodleian MS of Nicetas (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom vi p. 406), and would have deserved Mr Harris's inquiries.

³ Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, the ancient sea-port of Argos, is still a place of strength and consideration, situated on a rocky peninsula, with a good harbour (Chandler's Travels into Greece, p. 227).

¹ I have softened the expression of Nicetas, who strives to expose the presumption of the Franks. See de Hebus post C P expugnatum, p. 375-384.

² A city surrounded by the river Hebrus, and six leagues to the south of Adrianople, received from its double wall the Greek name of Didymoteichos, insensibly corrupted into Demotica and Dimot. I have preferred the more convenient and modern appellation of Demotica. This place was the last Turkish residence of Charles XII.

³ Their quarrel is told by Villehardouin (No 146-158) with the spirit of freedom. The merit and reputation of the marshal are acknowledged

Two fugitives, who had reigned at Constantinople, still asserted the title of emperor, and the subjects of their fallen throne might be moved to pity by the misfortunes of the elder Alexius, or excited to revenge by the spirit of Mourzoufle. A domestic alliance, a common interest, a similar guilt, and the merit of extinguishing his enemies, a brother and a nephew, induced the more recent usurper to unite with the former the relics of his power. Mourzoufle was received with smiles and honours in the camp of his father Alexius, but the wicked can never love, and should rarely trust, their fellow criminals; he was seized in the bath, deprived of his eyes, stripped of his troops and treasures, and turned out to wander an object of horror and contempt to those who with more propriety could hate, and with more justice could punish, the assassin of the Emperor Isaac and his son. As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse, was stealing over to Asia, he was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and condemned, after an open trial, to an ignominious death. His judges debated the mode of his execution, the axe, the wheel, or the stake, and it was resolved that Mourzoufle should ascend

by the Greek historian (p. 387), *μὴν ἀπὸ τοῖς τοῖς Ἀρμένιοις ἀναμύμων στρατιώταις*: unlike some modern heroes, whose exploits are only visible in their own memoirs.

¹ See the fate of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 308), Villehardouin (No. 141 145, 169), and Guentherus (c. 20, 21). Neither the marshal nor the monk afford a grain of pity for a tyrant or rebel, whose punishment however, was more unexampled than his crime.

² William de Champlite, brother of the count of Dijon, assumed the title of Prince of Achæia on the death of his brother, he returned, with regret, to France, to assume his paternal inheritance, and left Villehardouin his *voivode*, on condition that if he did not return within a year, Villehardouin was to retain the investiture. Brouzet & Add. to Le Beau, vol. xvii. p. 200. M. Brouzet adds, from the Greek chronicles edited by M. Buchon, the somewhat unknighly trick by which Villehardouin disembarassed himself from the troublesome claim of Robert, the cousin of the count of Dijon, to the succession. He contrived that Robert should arrive just fifteen days too late, and with the general concurrence of the assembled knights was him

self invested with the principality. Ibid. p. 203.—M.
the Theodosian column, a pillar of white marble of one hundred and forty-seven feet in height: From the summit he was cast down headlong, and dashed in pieces on the pavement, in the presence of innumerable spectators, who filled the forum of Taurus, and admired the accomplishment of an old prediction, which was explained by this singular event.² The fate of Alexius is less tragical: he was sent by the marquis a captive to Italy, and a gift to the king of the Romans; but he had not much to applaud his fortune, if the sentence of imprisonment and exile were changed from a fortress in the Alps to a monastery in Asia. But his daughter, before the national calamity, had been given in marriage to a young hero, who continued the succession, and restored the throne, of the Greek princes.³ The valour of Theodore Lascaris, —
signalled in the two sieges of Constantinople. —
After the flight of Mourzoufle, when the Latins were already

¹ The column of Arcadius, which represents in basso relievo his victories, or those of his father Theodosius, is still extant at Constantinople. It is described and measured, (yillus (Topograph. iv. 7), Banduri (ad l. 1. Antiquit. C. P. p. 607, &c.), and Lournetfort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. lettre vii. p. 231). [Compare Wilken, vol. v. p. 384. n.]

² The nonsense of (unlike and the modern Greeks concerning this *Imma felle* unworthy of notice, but it is singular enough, that fifty years before the Latin conquest, the poet Tzetzes (Chiliad. ix. 377) relates the dream of a matron, who saw in a vision the forum, and a man sitting on the column, clapping his hands, and uttering a loud exclamation.

³ The dynasties of Nice, Trebizond, and Epirus (of which Nicetas saw the ruin, in without much pleasure of hope) are termidly exploded, I clearly represent, in the *Handbook of* *Constantine of Ducanga*.

self invested with the principality. Ibid. p. 203.—M.

⁴ We read in the "Chronicle of the Conquest of Constantinople, and of the Establishment of the French in the Morea, translated by J. A. Buchon, Paris 1822, p. 64, that 11000, call the Philosopher, had prophesied that a pious emperor should be precipitated from the top of this column. The crusaders considered themselves under an obligation to fulfil this prophecy. It is noted, note on Le Beau, vol. xvii. p. 150. M. Brouzet announces that a complete edition of this work, of which the original Greek of the first book only has been published

in the city, he offered himself as their emperor to the soldiers and people; and his ambition, which might be virtuous, was undoubtedly brave. Could he have infused a soul into the multitude, they might have crushed the strangers under their feet. Their abject despair refused his aid, and Theodore retired to breathe the air of freedom in *Anatolia*, beyond the immediate view and pursuit of the conquerors. Under the title, at first of despot, and afterwards of emperor, he drew to his standard the bolder spirits, who were fortified against slavery by the contempt of life; and as every means was lawful for the public safety, implored without scruple the alliance of the Turkish sultan. Nice, where Theodore established his residence, *Irusa* and *Philadelpia*, *Smyrna* and *Ephesus* opened their gates to their deliverer. he derived strength and reputation from his victories, and even from his defeats; and the successor of *Constantine* preserved a fragment of the empire from the banks of the *Mæander* to the suburbs of *Nicomedia*, and at length of *Constantinople*. Another

The dukes and emperors of Trebizond.

portion, distant and obscure, was possessed by the lineal heir of the *Comneni*, a son of the virtuous *Mannuel*, a grandson of the tyrant *Andronicus*. His name was *Alexius*, and the epithet of great* was applied perhaps to his stature, rather than to his exploits. By the indulgence of the *Angeli*, he was appointed governor or duke of *Trebizond*† his birth gave him am-

* Except some facts in *Pachymer* and *Nicephorus Gregoras*, which will hereafter be used, the Byzantine writers disdain to speak of the empire of *Trebizond*, or principally of the *Lazi*, and among the Latins, it is conspicuous only in the romances of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. Yet the indefatigable *Lucan* has dug out (*Pain Byz.* p. 192) two authentic passages in *Vincent of Beauvais* (l. xxxi. c. 144), and the protonotary *Ogerius* (apud *Wadding*, A. D. 1270, No. 4).

by *M. Ruchon*, is in preparation, to form part of the new series of the Byzantine historians.—*M.*

* This was a title, not a personal appellation. *Joinville* speaks of the "Grant Comnenie, et sire de Traffessontes." *Fallmerayer*, p. 82.—*M.*

† On the revolutions of *Trebizond* under the later empire down to this period, see *Fallme-*

ration, the revolution independence; and, without changing his title, he reigned in peace from *Sinope* to the *Phasis*, along the coast of the Black Sea. His nameless son and successor* is described as the vassal of the sultan, whom he served with two hundred lances: that *Comnenian* prince was no more than duke of *Trebizond*, and the title of emperor was first assumed by the pride and envy of the grandson of *Alexius*. In the West, a third fragment was saved from the despot of common shipwreck by *Epirus*.

Michael, a bastard of the house of *Angeli*, who, before the revolution, had been known as a hostage, a soldier, and a rebel. His flight from the camp of the *Marquis Boniface* secured his freedom, by his marriage with the governor's daughter, he commanded the important place of *Durazzo*, assumed the title of despot,

rayner, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, ch. iii. The wife of *Mannuel* fled with her infant sons and her treasure from the relentless enmity of *Isaac Angelus*. *Fallmerayer* conjectures that her arrival enabled the Greeks of that region to make head against the formidable *Ihamar*, the Georgian queen of *Teflis*, p. 12. They gradually formed a dominion on the banks of the *Phasis*, which the distracted government of the *Angeli* neglected or were unable to suppress. On the capture of *Constantinople* by the Latins, *Alexius* was joined by many noble fugitives from *Constantinople*. He had always retained the names of *Cæsar* and *Basileus*. He now fixed the seat of his empire at *Trebizond*, but he had never abandoned his pretensions to the Byzantine throne, ch. iii. *Fallmerayer* appears to make out a triumphant case as to the assumption of the royal title by *Alexius* the First. Since the publication of *M. Fallmerayer's* work (München, 1827), *M. Tafel* has published, at the end of the *Uyukuk* of *Iustathius* a curious chronicle of *Trebizond* by *Michael Panaretas* (Frankfort, 1832). It gives the succession of the emperors, and some other curious circumstances of their wars with the several Mohammedan powers.—*M.*

* The successor of *Alexius* was his son in law *Andronicus I* of the *Comnenian* family, surnamed *Gidion*. There were five successions between *Alexius* and *John*, according to *Fallmerayer*, p. 103. The troops of *Trebizond* fought in the army of *Dschelaeddin*, the *Karlsinian*, against *Alai-eddin*, the *Muljikian* sultan of *Ioum*, but as allies rather than vassals, p. 107. It was after the defeat of *Dschelaeddin* that they furnished their contingent to *Alai eddin*. *Fallmerayer* struggles in vain to mitigate this mark of the subjection of the *Comneni* to the sultan, p. 116.—*M.*

founded a strong and conspicuous principality in Epirus, Aetolia, and Thessaly, which have ever been peopled by a warlike race. The Greeks, who had offered their service to their new sovereigns, were excluded by the haughty Latins¹ from all civil and military honours, as a nation born to tremble and obey. Their resentment prompted them to show that they might have been useful friends, since they could be dangerous enemies: their nerves were braced by adversity, whatever was learned or holy, whatever was noble or valiant, rolled away into the independent states of Trebizond, Epirus, and Nice, and a single patrician is marked by the ambiguous praise of attachment and loyalty to the Franks. The vulgar herd of the cities and the country would have gladly submitted to a mild and regular servitude and the transient disorders of war would have been obliterated by some years of industry and peace. But peace was banished, and industry was crushed, in the disorders of the feudal system. The Roman emperors of Constantinople, if they were endowed with abilities, were armed with power for the protection of their subjects, their laws were wise, and their administration was simple. The Latin throne was filled by a titular prince, the chief, and often the servant, of his licentious confederates. the fiefs of the empire, from a kingdom to a castle, were held and ruled by the sword of the barons; and their discord, poverty, and ignorance, extended the ramifications of tyranny to the most sequestered villages. The Greeks were oppressed by the double weight of the priest, who was invested with temporal power, and of the soldier, who was inflamed by fanatic hatred, and the insuperable bias of religion and

language for ever separated the stranger and the native. As long as the crusaders were united at Constantinople, the memory of their conquest, and the terror of their arms, imposed silence on the captive land: their dispersion betrayed the smallness of their numbers and the defects of their discipline; and some failures and mischances revealed the secret that they were not invincible. As the fear of the Greeks abated, their hatred increased. They murdered; they conspired; and before a year of slavery had elapsed, they implored, or accepted, the succour of a barbarian, whose power they had felt, and whose gratitude they trusted.²

The Latin conquerors had been saluted with a solemn ^{The Bulgarian war} and early embassy from ^{A.D. 1204.} John, or Joannice, or Calo-John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Walachians. He deemed himself their brother, as the votary of the Roman pontiff, from whom he had received the regal title and a holy banner; and in the subversion of the Greek monarchy, he might aspire to the name of their friend and accomplice. But Calo-John was astonished to find that the court of Flanders had assumed the pomp and pride of the successors of Constantine; and his ambassadors were dismissed with a haughty message, that the rebel must deserve a pardon by touching with his forehead the footstool of the Imperial throne. His resentment³ would have exhorted in acts of violence and blood; his cooler policy watched the rising discontent of the Greeks, affected a tender concern for their sufferings, and promised that their first struggles for freedom should be supported by his person and kingdom. The conspiracy was propagated by national hatred,

¹ The portrait of the French Latins is drawn in Nicolas by the hand of prejudice and resentment. *ὁ δὲ τῶν ἑλλήνων ἰδὼν εἰς Ἀπρίου ἔργα παρανευβιβλῆσθαι σφίσι ἀνίσταται ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τις τῶν χαρίων ἢ τῶν μισθῶν παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάρους τοῦτοις ἐπιτείνεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἔλασι τὸν θύσιον αὐτοῦ ἀνίσταται, καὶ τὸν χίλον ἔλασι τοῦ λόγου προτρέχοντα.* (P. 791, Ed. Bea.)

² I here begin to use, with freedom and confidence, the eight books of the *Histoire de l'Empire de France*, which Durand has given as a supplement to Villehardouin, and which, in a barbarous style, deserves the praise of an original and classic work.

³ In Calo-John's answer to the pope, we may find his claims and complaints (Oesta Innocent. III. c. 108, 109) he was cherished at Rome as a prodigal son.

the firmest land of association and secrecy, the Greeks were impatient to sheathe their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed, till Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported the flower of his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal, and the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and merciless revenge of their slaves. From Demotica, the first scene of the massacre, the surviving vassals of the count of St Pol escaped to Adrianople; but the French and Venetians, who occupied that city, were slain or expelled by the furious multitude, the garrisons that could effect their retreat fell back on each other towards the metropolis, and the fortresses, that separately stood against the rebels, were ignorant of each other's and of their sovereign's fate. The voice of fame and fear announced the revolt of the Greeks and the rapid approach of their Bulgarian ally, and Calo-John, not depending on the forces of his own kingdom, had drawn from the Scythian wilderness a body of fourteen thousand Comans, who drank, as it was said, the blood of their captives, and sacrificed the Christians on the altars of their gods.

Alarmed by this sudden and growing danger, the emperor dispatched a swift messenger to recall count Henry and his troops, and had Baldwin expected the return of his gallant brother, with a supply of twenty thousand Armenians, he might have encountered the invaders with equal numbers and a decisive superiority of arms and discipline. But the spirit of chivalry could seldom discriminate caution from cowardice; and the emperor took the field with a hundred and forty knights, and their train of archers and sergeants. The marshal who dissuaded and obeyed,

led the vanguard in their march to Adrianople the main body was commanded by the count of Blois, the aged doge of Venice followed with the rear; and their scanty numbers were increased from all sides by the fugitive Latins. They undertook to besiege the rebels of Adrianople; and such was the pious tendency of the crusaders, that they employed the holy week in pillaging the country for their subsistence, and in framing engines for the destruction of their fellow-Christians. But the Latins were soon interrupted and alarmed by the light cavalry of the Comans, who boldly skirmished to the edge of their imperfect lines, and a proclamation was issued by the marshal of Romania, that, on the trumpet's sound, the cavalry should mount and form; but that none, under pain of death, should abandon themselves to a desultory and dangerous pursuit. This wise injunction was first disobeyed by the count of Blois, who involved the emperor in his rashness and ruin. The Comans, of the Parthian or Tartar school, fled before their first charge; but after a career of two leagues, when the knights and their horses were almost breathless, they suddenly turned, rallied, and encompassed the heavy squadrons of the Franks. The count was slain on the field, the emperor was made prisoner, and if the one disdained to fly, if the other refused to yield, their personal bravery made a poor atonement for their ignorance, or neglect, of the duties of a general.

Proud of his victory and his royal prize, the Bulgarian advanced to relieve Adrianople and achieve the

¹ Nicetas, from ignorance or malice imputes the defeat to the cowardice of Dandolo (p. 383), but Villehardouin shares his own glory with his venerable friend, qui viola home ire et gote ne voist, mais mult ero sages et prus et vigueres (No. 133).

² Gibbon appears to me to have misapprehended the passage of Nicetas. He says, "that principal and subtlest mischief, that primary cause of all the horrible miseries suffered by the Romans," i.e. the Byzantines. It is an situation of malicious triumph against the Venetians to whom he always ascribes the capture of Constantinople.—M.

¹ The Comans were a Tartar or Turkman horde, which encamped in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on the verge of Moldavia. The greater part were Pagans, but some were Mohammedans, and the whole horde was converted to Christianity (A.D. 1370) by Louis King of Hungary.

destruction of the Latins. They must inevitably have been destroyed, if the marshal of Romania had not displayed a cool courage and consummate skill, uncommon in all ages, but most uncommon in those times, when war was a passion, rather than a science. His grief and fears were poured into the

Retreat of the
Latins

firm and faithful bosom of the doge; but in the camp he diffused an assurance of safety, which could only be realised by the general belief. All day he maintained his perilous station between the city and the barbarians. Villehardouin decamped in silence at the dead of night; and his masterly retreat of three days would have deserved the praise of Xenophon and the ten thousand. In the rear, the marshal supported the weight of the pursuit, in the front, he moderated the impatience of the fugitives, and wherever the Romans approached, they were repelled by a line of impenetrable spears. On the third day, the weary troops beheld the sea, the solitary town of Rodosto,¹ and their friends, who had landed from the Asiatic shore. They embraced, they wept, but they united their arms and counsels, and in his brother's absence, count Henry assumed the regency of the empire, at once in a state of childhood and caducity.² If the Comnens withdrew from the summer heats, seven thousand Latins, in the hour of danger, deserted Constantinople, their birthron, and their vows. Some partial success was overbalanced by the loss of one hundred and twenty knights in the field of Rustum, and of the Imperial domain, no more was left than the capital, with two or three adjacent fortresses on the shores of Europe and Asia. The king of Bul-

garia was a sisterless and inexorable; and Calo-John respectfully eluded the demands of the pope, who conjured his new proselyte to restore peace and the empire to the afflicted Latins. The deliverance of Baldwin was no longer, he said, in the power of man; that prince had died in prison, and the manner of his death is variously related by ignorance and credulity. The lovers of a tragic legend will be pleased to hear, that the royal captive was tempted by the amorous queen of the Bulgarians, that his

Death of the
emperor

chaste refusal exposed him to the falsehood of a woman and the jealousy of a savage, that his hands and feet were severed from his body, that his bleeding trunk was cast among the carcasses of dogs and horses, and that he breathed three days, before he was devoured by the birds of prey.³ About twenty years afterwards, in a wood of the Netherlands, a hermit announced himself as the true Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople and lawful sovereign of Flanders. He related the wonders of his escape, his adventures, and his penance, among a people prone to believe and to rebel, and in the first transport, Flanders acknowledged her long lost sovereign. A short examination before the French court detected the impostor, who was punished with an ignominious death, but the Flemings still adhered to the pleasing error, and the Countess Jane is accused by the gravest historians of sacrificing to her ambition the life of an unfortunate father.⁴

¹ After brushing away all doubtful and improbable chronostatals, we may prove the death of Baldwin, 1. By the firm belief of the French barons (Villehardouin, No. 229), 2. By the declaration of Calo-John himself, who excuses his not releasing the captive emperor *quia debitum carnis exsolvere cum carcere teneretur* (Gesta Innocent III. c. 159).²

³ See the story of this impostor from the French and Flemish writers in Ducange, Hist. de C.P. liv. 9, and the ridiculous fables that were believed by the monks of St. Alban's, in Matthew Paris, Hist. Major, p. 271, 272.

⁴ Compare von Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, vol. iii. p. 237. M. Petitot, in his preface to Villehardouin in the Collection des Mémores, relatives à l'Histoire de France, tom. 1. p. 54, expresses his belief in the truth of the story, but is hazarded.

¹ The truth of geography, and the original text of Villehardouin (No. 194), place Rodosto three days' journey (trois journées) from Adrianople, but Vissac, in his version, has most absurdly substituted *trois heures*, and this error, which is not corrected by Ducange, has entangled several moderns, whose names I shall spare.

² The reign and end of Baldwin are related by Villehardouin and Nicetas (p. 386-416) and their omissions are supplied by Ducange in his Observation and to the end of his first book.

In all civilised hostility, a treaty is established for the exchange or ransom of prisoners; and if their captivity be prolonged, their condition is known, and they are treated according to their rank with humanity or honour. But the savage Bulgarian was a stranger to the laws of war: his prisoners were involved in darkness and silence, and above a year elapsed before the Latins could be assured of the death of Baldwin, before his brother, the regent Henry, would consent to assume the title of emperor. His moderation was applauded by the Greeks as an act of rare and inimitable virtue. Their light and perfidious ambition was eager to seize or anticipate the moment of a vacancy, while a law of succession, the guardian both of the prince and people, was gradually defined and confirmed in the hereditary monarchies of Europe. In the support of the Eastern empire, Henry was gradually left without an associate, as the heroes of the crusade retired from the world or from the war. The doge of Venice, the venerable Dandolo, in the fulness of years and glory, sunk into the grave. The marquis of Montferrat was slowly recalled from the Peloponnesian war to the revenge of Baldwin and the defence of Thessalonica. Some nice disputes of feudal homage and service were reconciled in a personal interview between the pope and the king: they were firmly united by mutual esteem and the common danger, and their alliance was sealed by the nuptials of Henry with the daughter of the Italian prince. He soon deplored the loss of his friend and father. At the persuasion of some faithful Greeks, Boniface made a bold and successful incursion among the hills of Rhodope: the Bulgarians fled on his approach, they assembled to hinder his retreat. On the intelligence that his rear was attacked, without waiting for any defensive motion, he leaped on horseback, conched his lance, and drove the enemies before him, but in the rash pursuit he was pierced with a mortal wound, and the head of the

king of Thessalonica was presented to Calo-John, who enjoyed the honours, without the merit, of victory. It is here, at this melancholy event, that the pen or the voice of Jeffrey of Villehardouin seems to drop or to expire.¹ and if he still exercised his military office of marshal of Romania, his subsequent exploits are buried in oblivion.² The character of Henry was not unequal to his arduous situation. In the siege of Constantinople, and beyond the Hellespont, he had deserved the fame of a valiant knight and a skilful commander, and his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence and mildness unknown to his impetuous brother. In the double war against the Greeks of Asia, and the Bulgarians of Europe, he was over the foremost on shipboard or on horseback, and though he cautiously provided for the success of his arms, the drooping Latins were often roused by his example to save and to second their fearless emperor. But such efforts, and some supplies of men and money from France, were of less avail than the errors, the cruelty, and death, of their most formidable adversary. When the despair of the Greek subjects invited Calo-John as their deliverer, they hoped that he would protect their liberty and adopt their laws: they were soon taught to compare the degrees of national ferocity, and to execrate the savage conqueror, who no longer dissimulated his intention of dispeopling Thrace, of demolishing the cities, and of transplanting the inhabitants beyond the Danube. Many towns and villages of Thrace were already evacuated. A heap of ruins marked the place of

¹ Villehardouin, No. 257. quote, with regret, this lamentable conclusion, where we lose at once the original history, and the rich illustrations of Ducange. The last pages may derive some light from Henry's Epistles to Innocent III. (C. 124, c. 106. 107.)

² The marshal was alive in 1212, but he probably died soon afterwards, without returning to France (Ducange Observations sur Villehardouin, p. 234). His title of Meschmople, the gift of Boniface, was the ancient Maximianopolis which flourished in the time of Anastasius Mucelanus, among the cities of Thrace (sc. 111.)

Philippopolis, and a similar calamity was expected at Demotica and Adrianople, by the first authors of the revolt. They raised a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry, the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and trust them. No more than four hundred knights, with their sergeants and archers, could be assembled under his banner, and with this slender force he fought* and repulsed the Bulgarian, who, besides his infantry, was at the head of forty thousand horse. In this expedition, Henry felt the difference between a hostile and a friendly country: the remaining cities were preserved by his arms, and the savage, with shame and loss, was compelled to relinquish his prey. The siege of Thessalonica was the last of the evils which Calo-John inflicted or suffered: he was stabbed in the night in his tent, and the general, perhaps the assassin, who found him weltering in his blood, ascribed the blow with general applause to the lance of St. Demetrius. After several victories, the prudence of Henry concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus. If he ceded some doubtful limits, an ample kingdom was reserved for himself and his feudatories, and his reign, which lasted only ten years, afforded a short interval of prosperity and peace. Far above the narrow policy of Baldwin and Boniface, he freely entrusted to the Greeks the most important offices of the state and army, and this liberality of sentiment and practice was the more seasonable, as the princes of Nice and Epirus had already learned to

seduce and employ the mercenary valour of the Latins. It was the aim of Henry to unite and reward his deserved subjects of every nation and language; but he appeared less solicitous to accomplish the impracticable union of the two churches. Pelagius, the pope's legate, who acted as the sovereign of Constantinople, had interdicted the worship of the Greeks, and sternly imposed the payment of tithes, the double procession of the Holy Ghost, and a blind obedience to the Roman pontiff. As the weaker party, they pleaded the duties of conscience, and implored the rights of toleration. "Our bodies," they said, "are Caesar's, but our souls belong only to God." The persecution was checked by the firmness of the emperor, and if we can believe that the same prince was poisoned by the Greeks themselves, we must entertain a contemptible idea of the sense and gratitude of mankind. His valour was a vulgar attribute, which he shared with ten thousand knights, but Henry possessed the superior courage to oppose, in a superstitious age, the pride and avarice of the clergy. In the cathedral of St. Sophia he presumed to place his throne on the right hand of the patriarch, and this presumption excited the sharpest censure of Pope Innocent the Third. By a salutary edict, one of the first examples of the laws of mortmain, he prohibited the alienation of lands many of the Latins, desirous of returning to Europe, resigned, their estates to the church for a spiritual or temporal reward, these holy lands were immediately discharged from military service, and a colony of soldiers would have been gradually transformed into a college of priests.²

¹ The church of this patron of Thessalonica was served by the canons of the holy sepulchre, and contained a divine oil which distilled daily and stupendous miracles (Ducange Hist. de C. P. ii. 4).

* There was no battle. On the advance of the Latins, John suddenly broke up his camp and retreated. The Latins considered this unexpected deliverance almost a miracle. Le Beau suggests the possibility, that the defection of the Romans who usually quitted the camp during the heats of summer, may have caused the flight of the Bulgarians. Nicetas, c. 8. Villeh. i. l. i. c. 22. Le Beau, vol. xvi. p. 21. - 21

¹ Acropolita (c. 17), observes the persecution of the legate and the toleration of Henry (τὸν, as he calls him), καὶ ὁμοῦς συνιστάται.

² See the reign of Henry, in Ducange (Hist. de C. P. l. i. c. 35-41, l. ii. c. 122), who is much indebted to the Epistles of the Popes. Le Beau (Hist. du Bas Empire, tom. xxi. p. 120-122), has found, perhaps in Douthettman, some laws of Henry, which determined the service of fiefs, and the prerogatives of the emperor.

³ Or rather *Eppis* — 12.

The virtuous Henry died at Thessalonica, in the defence of that kingdom, and of an infant, the son of his friend Boniface. In the two first emperors of Constantinople the main line of the counts of Flanders was extinct. But their sister Yolande was the wife a French prince, the mother of a numerous progeny, and one of her daughters had married Andrew king of Hungary, a brave and pious champion of the cross. By seating him on the Byzantine throne, the barons of Romania would have acquired the forces of a neighbouring and warlike kingdom, but the prudent Andrew revered the laws of succession; and the Princess Yolande, with her husband Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, was invited by the Latins to assume the empire of the East. The royal birth of his father, the noble origin of his mother, recommended to the barons of France the first cousin of their king. His reputation was fair, his possessions were ample, and, in the bloody crusade against the Albigeois, the soldiers and the priests had been abundantly satisfied of his zeal and valour. Vanity might applaud the elevation of a French emperor of Constantinople; but prudence must pity, rather than envy, his treacherous and imaginary greatness. To assert and adorn his title, he was reduced to sell or mortgage the best of his patrimony. By these expedients, the liberality of his royal kinsman Philip Augustus, and the national spirit of chivalry, he was enabled to pass the Alps at the head of one hundred and forty knights, and five thousand five hundred sergeants and archers. After some hesitation, Pope Honorius the Third was persuaded to crown the successor of Constantine; but he performed the ceremony in a church without the walls, lest he should seem to imply or to bestow any right of sovereignty over the ancient capital of the empire. The Venetians had engaged to transport Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatic, and the empress, with her four children, to the Byzantine palace, but they required, as the price of their

service, that he should recover Durazzo from the despot of Epirus. Michael Angelus, or Comnenus, the first of his dynasty, had bequeathed the succession of his power and ambition to Theodore, his legitimate brother, who already threatened and invaded the establishments of the Latins. After discharging his debt by a fruitless assault, the emperor raised the siege to prosecute a long and perilous journey over land from Durazzo to Thessalonica. He was soon lost in the mountains of Epirus: the passes were fortified, his provisions exhausted, he was delayed and deceived by a treacherous negotiation, and, after Peter of Courtenay and the Roman legate had been arrested in a banquet, the French troops, without leaders or hopes, were eager to exchange their arms for the delusive promise of mercy and bread. The Vatican thundered, and the impious Theodore was threatened with the vengeance of earth and heaven, but the captive emperor and his soldiers were forgotten, and the reproaches of the pope are confined to the imprisonment of his legate. No sooner was he satisfied by the deliverance of the priest and a promise of spiritual obedience, than he pardoned and protected the despot of Epirus. His peremptory commands suspended the ardour of the Venetians and the king of Hungary; and it was only by a natural or untimely death that Peter of Courtenay was released from his hopeless captivity.*

¹ Acropolis (c. 14) affirms, that Peter of Courtenay died by the sword (*ἐπὶ μάχῃς γινώσκας*), but from his dark expressions, I should conclude a previous captivity, *ὡς πάλαι ἔχοντο διαμάχας καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐκείνην*. * The Chronicle of Auxerre delays the emperor's death till the year 1219, and Auxerre is in the neighbourhood of Courtenay.

² See the reign and death of Peter of Courtenay, in Ducange (*Hist. de C. P.* l. ii. c. 22-23), who feebly strives to excuse the neglect of the emperor by Haportus III.

* Whatever may have been the fact, this can hardly be made out from the expressions of Acropolis.—M

Peter of Courtenay emperor of Constantinople, A.D. 1217

His captivity and death A.D. 1217-1219

Robert, emperor
of Constantinople
A.D. 1221-1228

The long ignorance of his fate, and the presence of the lawful sovereign, of Yolande, his wife or widow, delayed the proclamation of a new emperor. Before her death, and in the midst of her grief, she was delivered of a son, who was named Baldwin, the last and most unfortunate of the Latin princes of Constantinople. His birth endeared him to the barons of Romania; but his childhood would have prolonged the troubles of a minority, and his claims were superseded by the elder claims of his brethren. The first of these, Philip of Courtenay, who derived from his mother the inheritance of Namur, had the wisdom to prefer the substance of a marquise to the shadow of an empire, and on his refusal, Robert, the second of the sons of Peter and Yolande, was called to the throne of Constantinople. Wounded by his father's mischance, he pursued his slow and secure journey through Germany and along the Danube a passage was opened by his sister's marriage with the king of Hungary, and the Emperor Robert was crowned by the patriarch in the cathedral of St Sophia. But his reign was an era of calamity and disgrace, and the colony, as it was styled, of New France yielded on all sides to the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. After a victory, which he owed to his perfidy rather than his courage, Theodore Angelus entered the kingdom of Thessalonica, expelled the feeble Demetrius, the son of the Marquis Boniface, erected his standard on the wall of Adrianople, and added, by his vanity, a third or a fourth name to the list of rival emperors. The relics of the Asiatic province were swept away by John Vatatzes, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, and who, in a triumphant reign of thirty-three years, displayed the virtues both of peace and war. Under his discipline, the swords of the French mercenaries were the most effectual instrument of his conquests, and their desertion from the service of their country was at once a symptom and a cause of the rising as-

endant of the Greeks. By the construction of a fleet, he obtained the command of the Hellespont, reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Venetians of Candia, and intercepted the rare and parsimonious succours of the West. Once, and once only, the Latin emperor sent an army against Vatatzes; and in the defeat of that army, the veteran knights, the last of the original conquerors, were left on the field of battle. But the success of a foreign enemy was less painful to the pusillanimous Robert than the insolence of his Latin subjects, who confounded the weakness of the emperor and of the empire. His personal misfortunes will prove the anarchy of the government and the ferociousness of the times. The amorous youth had neglected his Greek bride, the daughter of Vatatzes, to introduce into the palace a beautiful maid, of a private, though noble, family of Artois, and her mother had been tempted by the lustre of the purple to forfeit her engagements with a gentleman of Burgundy. His love was converted into rage, he assembled his friends, forced the palace gates, threw the mother into the sea, and inhumanly cut off the nose and lips of the wife or concubine of the empress. Instead of punishing the offender, the barons avowed and applauded the savage deed, which, as a prince and as a man, it was impossible that Robert should forgive. He escaped from the guilty city to implore the justice or compassion of the pope: the emperor was coolly exerted to return to his station, before he could obey, he sunk under the weight of grief, shame, and impotent resentment.¹

It was only in the age of chivalry, that valour could ascend ^{Baldwin II and} from a private station to ^{he of Brienne,} the thrones of Jerusalem ^{emperors of Constantinople} and Constantinople. The A.D. 1228-1237 titular kingdom of Jerusalem had de-

¹ Marinus Sanutus (*Secreta Fidei* lib. 1, c. 12, p. 73) is so delighted with this bloody deed, that he has transcribed it in his margin as a bonum exemplum. Yet he acknowledges the damnel for the lawful wife of Robert.

² See the reign of Robert, in Ducange (*Hist. de C.P.* l. iii. c. 12).

volved to Mary, the daughter of Isabella and Conrad of Montferrat, and the grand daughter of Almeric or Amaury. She was given to John of Brienne, of a noble family in Champagne, by the public voice, and the judgment of Philip Augustus, who named him as the most worthy champion of the Holy Land.¹ In the fifth crusade, he led a hundred thousand Latins to the conquest of Egypt by him the siege of Damietta was achieved, and the subsequent failure was justly ascribed to the pride and avarice of the legate. After the marriage of his daughter with Frederick the Second,² he was provoked by the emperor's ingratitude to accept the command of the army of the Church, and though advanced in life, and despoiled of loyalty, the sword and spirit of John of Brienne were still ready for the service of Christendom. In the seventh year of his brother's reign, Baldwin of Courtenay had not emerged from a state of childhood, and the barons of Romania felt the strong necessity of placing the sceptre in the hands of a man and a hero. The veteran king of Jerusalem might have disclaimed the name and office of Regent, they agreed to invest him for his life with the title and prerogatives of emperor, on the sole condition, that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed at a mature age to the throne of Constantinople. The expectation, both of the Greeks and Latins, was kindled by the renown, the choice, and the presence of John of Brienne, and they admired his martial aspect, his green and vigorous age of more than fourscore years, and his size and stature, which surpassed the common measure of mankind.³ But avarice, and the love of

ease, appear to have chilled the ardour of enterprise.* his troops were disbanded, and two years rolled away without action or honour, till he was awakened by the dangerous alliance of Vatatzes emperor of Nice, and of Azan king of Bulgaria. They besieged Constantinople by sea and land, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred ships of war, while the entire force of the Latin emperor was reduced to one hundred and sixty knights, and a small addition of sergeants and archers I tremble to relate, that instead of defending the city, the hero made a sally at the head of his cavalry, and that of forty eight squadrons of the enemy, no more than three escaped from the edge of his invincible sword. Faced by his example, the infantry and the citizens boarded the vessels that anchored close to the walls; and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Constantinople. At the summons of the emperor, the vassals and allies armed in her defence, broke through every obstacle that opposed their passage, and, in the succeeding year, obtained a second victory over the same enemies. By the rude poets of the age, John of Brienne is compared to Hector, Roland, and Judas Maccabeus¹ but their credit,

that time a boy, and educated at Constantinople. In 1233, when he was eleven years old, his father broke the Latin chain, left a splendid tune, and escaped to the Greek court of Nice, ere his son was raised to the highest honours.

Philip Mouskes bishop of Tournay (A.D. 1244 1282), has composed a poem, or rather a ring of verses, in bad old Flemish French, on the Latin emperors of Constantinople, which Ducange has published at the end of Villehardouin, see p. 224, for the prowess of John of Brienne.

N Ale, Feter, Roll' ne Ogiers
Ne Judas Machabeus li fiers
Tant ne fit d'armes en estors
Com fiat li Rois Jehans cel jors
Et li defors et li dedans
La par sa force et ses sens
Et li hardiment qu'il avoit

¹ Rex igitur Francie, deliberatione habita, respondit nuntius, se daturum hominem virilem partibus aptum, in armis probum (*preux*), in bellis securum, in agendis providum, Johannem comitem Briennensem. Sancti. Secret. Fidei. Hum. l. iii p. xi c. 4 p. 205. Matthew Paris, p. 169.

² Giannone (Istoria Civile, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 380 385) discusses the marriage of Frederick II. with the daughter of John of Brienne, and the double union of the crowns of Naples and Jerusalem.

³ Acropolis, c. 27. The historian was at

* John de Brienne, elected emperor 1229, waited two years in preparations, and did not arrive at Constantinople till 1231. Two years more glided away in inglorious inaction, he then made some ineffective warlike expeditions. Constantinople was not besieged till 1234.—M

and his glory, receives some abatement from the silence of the Greeks. The empire was soon deprived of the last of her champions; and the dying monarch was ambitious to enter paradise in the habit of a Franciscan friar.

In the double victory of John of Brienne, I cannot dis-
Baldwin II. AD 1237-1261 cover the name or exploits of his pupil Baldwin, who had attained the age of military service, and who succeeded to the imperial dignity on the decease of his adoptive father.¹ The royal youth was employed on a commission more suitable to his temper, he was sent to visit the Western courts, of the pope more especially, and of the king of France; to excite their pity by the view of his innocence and distress; and to obtain some supplies of men and money for the relief of the sinking empire. He thrice repeated these mendicant visits, in which he seemed to prolong his stay, and postpone his return, of the five and twenty years of his reign, a greater number were spent abroad than at home, and in no place did the emperor deem himself less free and secure than in his native country and his capital. On some public occasions, his vanity might be soothed by the title of Augustus, and by the honours of the purple, and at the general council of Lyons, when Frederic the Second was excommunicated and deposed, his Oriental colleague was enthroned on the right hand of the pope. But how often was the exile, the vagrant, the imperial beggar, humbled with scorn, insulted with pity, and degraded in his own eyes and those of the nations! In his first visit to England, he was stopped at Dover by a severe reprimand, that he should presume, without leave, to enter an independent kingdom. After some delay, Baldwin, however, was permitted to pursue his journey, was entertained with cold civility, and thankfully departed with

a present of seven hundred marks.² From the avarice of Rome, he could only obtain the proclamation of a crusade, and a treasure of indulgences, a coin, whose currency was depreciated by too frequent and indiscriminate abuse. His birth and misfortunes recommended him to the generosity of his cousin Louis the Ninth; but the martial zeal of the saint was diverted from Constantinople to Egypt and Palestine, and the public and private poverty of Baldwin was alleviated, for a moment, by the alienation of the marquise of Namur and the lordship of Courtenay, the last remains of his inheritance.³ By such shameful or ruinous expedients, he once more returned to Romania, with an army of thirty thousand soldiers, whose numbers were doubled in the apprehension of the Greeks. His first despatches to France and England announced his victories and his hopes; he had reduced the country round the capital to the distance of three days' journey, and if he succeeded against an important, though nameless, city (most probably Chiorli), the frontier would be safe and the passage accessible. But these expectations (if Baldwin was sincere) quickly vanished like a dream: the troops and treasures of France melted away in his unskilful hands; and the throne of the Latin emperor was protected by a dishonourable alliance with the Turks and Comans. To secure the former, he consented to bestow his niece on the unbelieving sultan of Cogni; to please the latter, he complied with their Pagan rites; a dog was sacrificed between the two armies, and the con-

¹ Matthew Paris relates the two visits of Baldwin II to the English court, p. 390, 637, his return to Greece armatus manu, p. 407, his letters of his women formidable, &c. p. 481 (a passage which had escaped Ducange), his expulsion, p. 856.

² Louis IX. disapproved and stopped the alienation of Courtenay (Ducange, l. iv c. 23). It is now annexed to the royal demesne but granted for a term (*engagé*) to the family of Bouainvilliers. Courtenay, in the election of Nemours in the Isle de France, is a town of 900 inhabitants, with the remains of a castle (*Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, tom. xiv p. 74-77).

¹ See the reign of John de Brienne, in Ducange, Hist. de C.F. l. III. c. 13-23.

² See the reign of Baldwin II till his expulsion from Constantinople, in Ducange, Hist. de C.F. l. iv c. 1-34, the end l. v c. 1-33.

tracting parties tasted each other's blood, as a pledge of their fidelity.¹ In the palace, or prison, of Constantinople the successor of Augustus demolished the vacant houses for winter-fuel, and stripped the lead from the churches for the daily expense of his family. Some usurious loans were dealt with a scanty hand by the merchants of Italy; and Philip, his son and heir, was pawned at Venice as the security for a debt.² Thirst, hunger, and nakedness, are positive evils, but wealth is relative; and a prince, who would be rich in a private station, may be exposed by the increase of his wants to all the anxiety and bitterness of poverty.

But in this abject distress, the emperor and empire were still possessed of an ideal treasure, which drew its fantastic value from the superstition of the Christian world. The merit of the true cross was somewhat impaired by its frequent division, and a long captivity among the infidels might shed some suspicion on the fragments that were produced in the East and West. But another relic of the Passion was preserved in the Imperial chapel of Constantinople; and the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of Christ was equally precious and authentic. It had formerly been the practice of the Egyptian debtors to deposit, as a security, the mummies of their parents; and both their honour and religion were bound for the redemption of the pledge. In the same manner, and in the absence of the emperor, the barons of Bohemia borrowed the sum of thirteen thousand one hundred and thirty-four pieces of gold³ on the credit of

the holy crown: they failed in the performance of their contract⁴ and a rich Venetian, Nicholas Querini, undertook to satisfy their impatient creditors, on condition that the relic should be lodged at Venice, to become his absolute property, if it were not redeemed within a short and definite term. The barons apprised their sovereign of the hard treaty and impending loss, and as the empire could not afford a ransom of seven thousand pounds sterling, Baldwin was anxious to snatch the prize from the Venetians, and to vest it with more honour and emolument in the hands of the most Christian king.⁵ Yet the negotiation was attended with some delicacy. In the purchase of relics, the saint would have started at the guilt of simony, but if the mode of expression were changed, he might lawfully repay the debt, accept the gift, and acknowledge the obligation. His ambassadors, two Dominicans, were despatched to Venice to redeem and receive the holy crown, which had escaped the dangers of the sea and the galleys of Vataces. On opening a wooden box, they recognised the seals of the doge and barons, which were applied on a shrine of silver; and within this shrine the monument of the Passion was enclosed in a golden vase. The reluctant Venetians yielded to justice and power: the Emperor Frederic granted a free and honourable passage; the court of France advanced as far as Troyes in Champagne, to meet with devotion this inestimable relic. It was borne in triumph through Paris by the king himself, barefoot, and in his shirt, and a free gift of ten thousand marks of silver reconciled Baldwin to his loss. The success of this transaction tempted the Latin emperor to offer with the same generosity the remaining furniture of his chapel.⁶

¹ For the translation of the holy crown, &c. from Constantinople to Paris see Ducange (*Hist. de C P* i iv c. 11-14 24, 30), and Henry (*Hist. Eccles. tom xvii p. 201-204*).

² *Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, tom. xliii p. 201-205. The *Lutrin* of Boileau exhibits the inside, the soul and manners of the *Sainte Chapelle*, and many facts relative to the institution are collected and explained by his commentators, Broussier and de St. Marc.

¹ Joinville, p. 104, edit du Louvre. A Coman prince, who died without baptism, was buried at the gates of Constantinople with a live retinue of slaves and horses.

² *Saint. Secret. Fidel. Crucis*, l. II p. iv c. 18, p. 73.

³ Under the words *Perperus Perpera Hyperperus*, Ducange is short and vague. *Monetas genus*. From a corrupt passage of Guntherus (*Hist. O P* a. 8, p. 10), I guess that the *Perpera* was the mummy aureus, the fourth part of a mark of silver, or about ten shillings sterling in value. In lead it would be terrible.

a large and authentic portion of the true cross; the holy linen of the Son of God, the lance, the sponge, and the chain, of his Passion, the rod of Moses, and part of the skull of St John the Baptist. For the reception of these spiritual treasures, twenty thousand marks were expended by St Louis on a stately foundation, the holy chapel of Paris, on which the muse of Boileau has bestowed a comic immortality. The truth of such remote and ancient relics, which cannot be proved by any human testimony, must be admitted by those who believe in the miracles which they have performed. About the middle of the last age, an inveterate ulcer was touched and cured by a holy pickle of the holy crown: the prodigy is attested by the most pious and enlightened Christians of France, nor will the fact be easily disproved, except by those who are armed with a general antidote against religious credulity.

The Latins of Constantinople were on all sides encompassed and pressed their sole hope, the last delay of their ruin, was in the division of their Greek and Bulgarian enemies, and of this hope they were deprived by the superior arms and policy of Vataces emperor of Nice. From the Propontis to the rocky coast of Pamphylia, Asia was peaceful and prosperous under his reign, and the events of every cam-

¹ It was performed A.D. 1650, March 24th, on the niece of Pascal, and that superior genius, with Arnauld, Nicole, &c., were on the spot, to believe and attest a miracle which confounded the Jesuits, and saved Port Royal (*Œuvres de Racine*, tom vi p. 176 187, in his *eloquent History of Port Royal*).

- Voltaire (*Siècle de Louis XIV* c. 37 *Œuvres*, tom ix p. 178, 179), strives to invalidate the fact but Hume (*Essays*, vol. ii p. 451, 484), with more skill and success, seizes the battery, and turns the cannon against his enemies.

² The gradual losses of the Latins may be traced in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the compilation of Ducange but of the Greek conquests he has dropped many circumstances, which may be recovered from the larger history of George Acropolita, and the three first books of Nicephorus Gregoras, two writers of the Byzantine series, who have had the good fortune to meet with learned editors, Leo Allatius at Rome, and John Boivin in the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris.

paign extended his influence in Europe. The strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace were rescued from the Bulgarians, and their kingdom was circumscribed by its present and proper limits, along the southern banks of the Danube. The sole emperor of the Romans could no longer brook that a lord of Epirus, a Comnenian prince of the West, should presume to dispute or share the honours of the purple, and the humble Demetrius changed the colour of his buskins, and accepted with gratitude the appellation of despot. His own subjects were exasperated by his baseness and incapacity: they implored the protection of their supreme lord. After some resistance, the kingdom of Thessalonica was united to the empire of Nice, and Vataces reigned without a competitor from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic gulf. The princes of Europe revered his merit and power, and had he subscribed an orthodox creed, it should seem that the pope would have abandoned with out reluctance the Latin throne of Constantinople. But the death of Vataces, the short and busy reign of Theodore his son, and the helpless infancy of his grandson John, suspended the restoration of the Greeks. In the next chapter, I shall explain their domestic revolutions, in this place, it will be sufficient to observe, that the young prince was oppressed by the ambition of his guardian and colleague Michael Palaeologus, who displayed the virtues and vices that belong to the founder of a new dynasty. The Em. Michael Paleologus Baldwin had slain the Greek emperor, transferred himself, that he, A.D. 1261 might recover some provinces or cities by an impotent negotiation. His ambassadors were dismissed from Nice with mockery and contempt. 'At every place which they named, Palaeologus alleged some special reason, which rendered it dear and valuable in his eyes: in the one he was born, in another he had been first promoted to military command; and in a third he had enjoyed, and hoped long to enjoy, the pleasures of the chase. "And what then do you propose to give us?" said the aston-

labod deputies. "Nothing," replied the Greek, "not a foot of land. If your master, be desirous of peace, let him pay me, as an annual tribute, the sum which he receives from the trade and customs of Constantinople. On these terms, I may allow him to reign. If he refuses, it is war. I am not ignorant of the art of war, and I trust the event to God and my sword." An expedition against the despot of Epirus was the first prelude of his arms. If a victory was followed by a defeat; if the race of the Comneni or Angeli survived in those mountains his efforts and his reign, the captivity of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, deprived the Latins of the most active and powerful vassal of their expiring monarchy. The republics of Venice and Genoa disputed, in the first of their naval wars, the command of the sea and the commerce of the East. Pride and interest attached the Venetians to the defence of Constantinople, their rivals were tempted to promote the designs of her enemies, and the alliance of the Genoese with the schismatic conqueror provoked the indignation of the Latin church.²

Intent on his great object, the Emperor Michael visited in person and strengthened the troops and fortifications of Thrace. The remains of the Latins were driven from their last possessions; he assaulted without success the suburb of Galata, and corresponded with a perfidious baron, who proved unwilling, or unable, to open the gates of the metropolis. The next spring, his favourite general, Alexius Strategopoulos, whom he had decorated with the title of Cæsar, passed the Hellespont with eight hundred horse and some infan-

try³ on a secret expedition. His instructions enjoined him to approach, to listen, to watch, but not to risk any doubtful or dangerous enterprise against the city. The adjacent territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea was cultivated by a hardy race of peasants and outlaws, exercised in arms, uncertain in their allegiance, but inclined by language, religion, and present advantage, to the party of the Greeks. They were styled the *volunteers*,⁴ and by their free service the army of Alexius, with the regulars of Thrace and the Coman auxiliaries,⁵ was augmented to the number of five and twenty thousand men. By the ardour of the volunteers, and by his own ambition, the Cæsar was stimulated to disobey the precise orders of his master, in the just confidence that success would plead his pardon and reward. The weakness of Constantinople, and the distress and terror of the Latins, were familiar to the observation of the volunteers; and they represented the present moment as the most propitious to surprise and conquest. A rash youth, the new governor of the Venetian colony, had sailed away with thirty galleys, and the best of the French knights, on a wild expedition to Daphnusium, a town on the Black Sea, at the distance of forty leagues,⁶ and the remaining Latins were without strength or suspicion. They were informed that Alexius had passed the Hellespont, but their apprehensions were lulled by

Constantinople
recovered by the
Greeks.
A.D. 1261.

¹ Some precautions must be used in reconciling the discordant numbers, the 800 soldiers of Nicetas, the 25,000 of Strategopoulos (apud Ducange, l. v. c. 24), the Greeks and Scythians of Acropolis and the numerous army of Michael, in the Epistles of Pope Urban IV. (l. 123).

² *Θελαματάρχης*. They are described and named by Pachymer (l. ii. c. 14).

³ It is needless to seek these Comans in the deserts of Tartary, or even of Moldavia. A part of the horde had submitted to John Vatatzes, and was probably settled as a nursery of soldiers on some waste lands of Thrace (Cantacuzen, l. i. c. 2).

⁴ According to several authorities, particularly Abulfaraj (Chron. Arab. p. 334), this was a stratagem on the part of the Greeks to weaken the garrison of Constantinople. The Greek commander offered to surrender the town on the appearance of the Venetians.—M.

¹ George Acropolita, c. 73, p. 89, 90, edit Paris.

² The Greeks, ashamed of any foreign aid, disguise the alliance and succour of the Genoese, but the fact is proved by the testimony of J. Villani (Chron. l. vi. c. 71, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 202, 203), and William de Nangis (Annales de St. Louis p. 248, in the Louvre Joinville), two impartial foreigners, and Urban IV. threatened to deprive Genoa of her archbishop.

the smallness of his original numbers, and their imprudence had not watched the subsequent increase of his army. If he left his main body to second and support his operations, he might advance unperceived in the night with a chosen detachment. While some applied scaling ladders to the lowest part of the walls, they were secure of an old Greek, who would introduce their companions through a subterraneous passage into his house, they could soon on the inside break an entrance through the golden gate, which had been long obstructed, and the conqueror would be in the heart of the city before the Latins were conscious of their danger. After some debate, the Cæsar resigned himself to the faith of the volunteers, they were trusty, bold, and successful, and in describing the plan, I have already related the execution and success. But no sooner had Alexius passed the threshold of the golden gate, than he trembled at his own rashness, he paused, he deliberated, till the desperate volunteers urged him forward by the assurance that in retreat lay the greatest and most inevitable danger. Whilst the Cæsar kept his regulars in firm array, the Romans dispersed themselves on all sides, an alarm was sounded, and the throats of fire and pillage compelled the citizens to a decisive resolution. The Greeks of Constantinople remembered their native sovereigns; the Genoese merchants their recent alliance and Venetian foes, every quarter was in arms, and the air resounded with a general acclamation of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans!" Their rival, Baldwin, was awakened by the sound; but the most pressing danger could not prompt him to draw his sword in the defence of a city which he deserted, perhaps, with more pleasure than regret; he fled from the palace to the sea shore, where he despatched the welcome sails of the fleet

returning from the vain and fruitless attempt on Daphnusia. Constantinople was irrecoverably lost, but the Latin emperor and the principal families embarked on board the Venetian galleys, and steered for the isle of Eubœa, and afterwards for Italy, where the royal fugitive was entertained by the pope and Sicilian king with a mixture of contempt and pity. From the ideas of Constantinople to his death, he consumed thirteen years soliciting the Catholic powers to join in his restoration, the lesson had been familiar to his youth nor was his last exile more indignant or shameful than his three former pilgrimages to the courts of Europe. His son Philip was the heir of an ideal empire, and the pretensions of his daughter Catherine were transported by her marriage to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, king of France. The house of Courtenay was represented in the female line by successive alliances, till the title of Emperor of Constantinople, too bulky and sonorous for a private name, modestly expired in silence and oblivion.

After this narrative of the expeditions of the Latins to Palestine and Constantinople, I cannot dismiss the subject without revolving the general consequences on the countries that were the scene, and on the nations that were the actors, of these memorable crusades.¹ As soon as the arms of the Franks were withdrawn, the impression, though not the memory, was erased in the Mohammedan realms of Egypt and Syria. The faithful disciples of the prophet were never

General consequences of the crusades

¹ See the three last books (l. v. viii.), and the genealogical tables of Ducauge. In the year 1182, the titular emperor of Constantinople was James de Baure Duke of Andria in the kingdom of Naples, the son of Margaret, daughter of Catharine de Valois, daughter of Catherine, daughter of Philip, son of Baldwin II. (Ducauge, l. viii. c. 37, 38). It is uncertain whether he left any posterity.

² Abulfeda, who saw the conclusion of the crusades, speaks of the Kingdoms of the Franks and those of the Negroes, as equally unknown (Prolegom. ad Geograph.). Had he not disdained the Latin language, how easily might the Syrian prince have found books and interpreters!

¹ The loss of Constantinople is briefly told by the Latins, the conquest is described with more satisfaction by the Greeks, by Acropolita (c. 26), Pachymer (l. ii. c. 23, 27), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. c. 12). See Ducauge, Hist. de G. F. l. v. c. 19-27.

tempted by a profound desire to study the laws or language of the idolaters, nor did the simplicity of their primitive manners receive the slightest alteration from their intercourse in peace and war with the unknown strangers of the West. The Greeks, who thought themselves proud, but who were only vain, showed a disposition somewhat less inflexible. In the efforts for the recovery of their empire, they emulated the valour, discipline, and tactics, of their antagonists. The modern literature of the West they might justly despise, but its free spirit would instruct them in the rights of man; and some institutions of public and private life were adopted from the French. The correspondence of Constantinople and Italy diffused the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and several of the fathers and classics were at length honoured with a Greek version.¹ But the national and religious prejudices of the Orientals were inflamed by persecution; and the reign of the Latins confirmed the separation of the two churches.

If we compare, at the era of the crusades, the Latins of Europe with the Greeks and Arabians, their respective degrees of knowledge, industry, and art, our rude ancestors must be content with the third rank in the scale of nations. Their successive improvement and present superiority may be ascribed to a peculiar energy of character, to an active and imitative spirit, unknown to their more polished rivals, who at that time were in a stationary or retrograde state. With such a disposition, the Latins should have derived the most early and essential benefits from a series of events which open to their eyes the prospect of the world, and introduced them to a long and frequent intercourse with the more cultivated regions of the East. The

¹ A short and superficial account of these versions from Latin into Greek is given by Huet (*de Interpretatione et de claris Interpretibus*, p. 131-135). Maximus Planudes, a monk of Constantinople (A. D. 1327-1353), has translated Cæsar's Commentaries, the *Somnium Scipionis*, the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* of Ovid, &c. (Fabric. Bib. Græc. tom. x. p. 623).

first and most obvious progress was in trade and manufactures, in the arts which are strongly prompted by the thirst of wealth, the calls of necessity, and the gratification of the sense or vanity. Among the crowd of unthinking fanatics, a captive or a pilgrim might sometimes observe the superior refinements of Cairo and Constantinople: the first importer of wind-mills² was the benefactor of nations, and if such blessings are enjoyed without any grateful remembrance, history has condescended to notice the more apparent luxuries of silk and sugar, which were transported into Italy from Greece and Egypt. But the intellectual wants of the Latins were more slowly felt and supplied, the ardour of studious curiosity was awakened in Europe by different causes and more recent events; and, in the age of the crusades, they viewed with careless indifference the literature of the Greeks and Arabians. Some rudiments of mathematical and medicinal knowledge might be imparted in practice and in figures; necessity might produce some interpreters for the grosser business of merchants and soldiers, but the commerce of the Orientals had not diffused the study and knowledge of their languages in the schools of Europe.³ If a similar principle of religion repulsed the idiom of the Koian, it should have excited their patience and curiosity to understand the original text of the Gospel, and the same grammar would have unfolded the sense of Plato and the beauties of Homer. Yet in a reign of sixty years, the Latins of Constantinople disdained the speech and learning of their subjects; and the manuscripts were the only treasures which the natives might enjoy without rapine or envy. Aristotle was indeed the oracle of the Western

Windmills, first invented in the dry country of Asia Minor, were used in Normandy as early as the year 1105 (*Vie privée des Français*, tom. i. p. 42, 43. Ducange, *Gloss. Latin* tom. iv. p. 474).

² See the complaints of Roger Bacon (*Biographia Britannica*, vol. i. p. 418, Kippis's edition). If Bacon himself, or Gubert, understood some Greek, they were proud, and owed nothing to the commerce of the East.

universities, but it was a barbarous Aristotle; and, instead of ascending to the fountain head, his Latin votaries humbly accepted a corrupt and remote version from the Jews and Moors of Andalusia. The principle of the crusades was a savage fanaticism, and the most important effects were analogous to the cause. Each pilgrim was ambitious to return with his sacred spoils, the relics of Greece and Palestine,² and each relic was preceded and followed by a train of miracles and visions. The belief of the Catholics was corrupted by new legends, their practice by new superstitions; and the establishment of the inquisition, the mendicant orders of monks and friars, the last abuse of indulgences, and the final progress of idolatry, flowed from the baleful fountain of the holy war. The active spirit of the Latins preyed on the vitals of their reason and religion, and if the ninth and tenth centuries were the times of darkness, the thirteenth and fourteenth were the age of absurdity and fable.

In the profession of Christianity, in the cultivation of a fertile land, the northern conquerors of the Roman Empire insensibly mingled with the provincials, and rekindled the embers of the arts of antiquity. Their settlements about the age of Charlemagne had acquired some degree of order and stability, when they were overwhelmed by new swarms of invaders, the Normans, Saracens,³ and Hungarians, who replunged the western countries of Europe into their former state of anarchy and barbarism. About the eleventh century, the second tempest had subsided by the expulsion or conversion of the enemies of Christianity: the tide of civilisation, which had so long ebbed, began to flow with a steady and accelerated course, and a fairer

prospect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the rising generations. Great was the increase, and rapid the progress, during the two hundred years of the crusades, and some philosophers have applauded the propitious influence of these holy wars, which appear to me to have checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe.⁴ The lives and labours of millions which were buried in the East, would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country: the accumulated stock of industry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade, and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the climates of the East. In one respect I can indeed perceive the accidental operation of the crusades, not so much in producing a benefit as in removing an evil. The larger portion of the inhabitants of Europe was chained to the soil, without freedom, or property, or knowledge, and the two orders of ecclesiastics and nobles, whose numbers were comparatively small, alone deserved the name of citizens and men. This oppressive system was supported by the arts of the clergy and the sword of the barons. The authority of the priests operated in the darker ages as a salutary antidote: they prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceness of the times, sheltered the poor and defenceless, and preserved or revived the peace and order of civil society. But the independence, rapine, and discord, of the feudal lords were jumbled with any semblance of good, and every hope of industry and improvement was crushed by the ion weight of the martial aristocracy. Among the causes that undermined that Gothic edifice, a conspicuous place must be allowed to the crusades. The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race was often extinguished, in these costly and

¹ Such was the opinion of the great Leibnitz (*Ouvrages de Fontenelle*, tom. v. p. 408), a master of the history of the middle ages. I shall only state up the pedigree of the Carmelites, and the flight of the house of Loreto, which were both derived from Palestine.

² If I rank the Saracens with the barbarians, it is only relative to their wars; or rather in roads in Italy and France, where their sole purpose was to plunder and destroy.

³ On this interesting subject, the progress of society in Europe, a string of philosophical light has broke from Scotland in our own times, and it is with pleasure as well as jubilation, that I repeat the names of Hume, Robertson, and Adam Smith.

perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil *

Depression on the Family of Courtenay

The purple of three emperors, who have reigned at Constantinople, will authorise or excuse a digression on the origin and singular fortunes of the house of COURTENAY, in the three principal branches I Of Edessa; II Of France, and, III Of England, of which the last only has survived the revolutions of eight hundred years.

I Before the introduction of trade, and of the which scatters riches, and of knowledge, which A.D 1020 dispels prejudice, the prerogative of birth is most strongly felt and most humbly acknowledged. In every age, the laws and manners of the Germans have discriminated the ranks of society the dukes and counts, who shared the empire of Charlemagne, converted their office to an inheritance, and to his children, each feudal lord bequeathed his honour and his sword. The proudest families are content to lose, in the darkness of the middle ages, the tree of their pedigree, which, however deep and lofty, must ultimately rise from a plebeian root, and their his-

* These applied, but not confined myself to, *A Genealogical History of the noble and illustrious Family of Courtenay, by Ezra Cleverland, Tutor to Sir William Courtenay, and Baron of Hinton* 1755 in folio. The first part is extracted from William of Tyre, the second from a French history, and the third from various memorial public, provincial, and private, of the courtiers of Devonshire. The history of Hinton has more gratitude than industry, and more industry than criticism.

* On the consequences of the crusades, compare the valuable Essay of Hearn, that of M. Choiseul d'Allecourt, and a chapter of Mr. Forster's "Mahometanism Unveiled." I may admire this gentleman's learning and industry without pledging myself to his wild theory of prophetic interpretation.

torians must descend ten centuries below the Christian era, before they can ascertain any lineal succession by the evidence of surnames, of arms, and of authentic records. With the first rays of light, we discern the nobility and opulence of Atho a French knight his nobility, in the rank and title of a nameless father, his opulence, in the foundation of the castle of Courtenay in the district of Gatinois, about fifty-six miles to the south of Paris. From the reign of Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, the barons of Courtenay are conspicuous among the immediate vassals of the crown, and Joscelin, the grandson of Atho and a noble dame, is enrolled among the heroes of the first crusade. A domestic alliance (their mothers were sisters) attaches him to the standard of Baldwin of Langes, the second count of Edessa.

I The counts of Edessa, princely hof, which he was worthy to receive, and able to maintain, announces the number of his martial followers, and after the departure of his cousin, Joscelin himself was invested with the county of Edessa on both sides of the Euphrates. By the economy in peace, his territories were replenished with Latin Syrian subjects, his magazines with corn, wine, and oil, his castles with gold and silver, with arms and horses. In a holy warfare of thirty years, he was alternately a conqueror and a captive but he died like a soldier, in a horse litter at the head of his troops, and his last glance beheld the flight of the Turkish invaders who had presumed on his age and infirmities. His son and successor, of the same name, was less deficient in valour than in vigilance, but he sometimes forgot that dominion is acquired and maintained by the same arts. He challenged the hostility of the Turks without securing the friendship of the prince of Antioch, and, amidst the peaceful luxury of Turbessel, in Syria,

I The primitive record of the family, is a passage of the continuator of Ammon, a monk of Fleury who wrote in the twelfth century. See his Chronicle, in the Historians of France (tom xi p 270).

- Turbessel, or, as it is now styled, Tel Beshar, is lived by D. A.

Joscelin neglected the defence of the Christian frontier beyond the Euphrates. In his absence, Zenghi, the first of the Atabeks, besieged and stormed his capital, Edessa, which was feebly defended by a timorous and disloyal crowd of Orientals the Franks were oppressed in a bold attempt for its recovery, and Courtenay ended his days in the prison of Aleppo. He still left a fair and ample patrimony. But the victorious Turks oppressed on all sides the weakness of a widow and orphan, and, for the equivalent of an annual pension, they resigned to the Greek emperor the charge of defending, and the shame of losing, the last relics of the Latin conquest. The countess-dowager of Edessa retired to Jerusalem with her two children the daughter, Agnes, became the wife and mother of a king; the son, Joscelin the Third, accepted the office of seneschal, the first of the kingdom, and held his new estates in Palestine by the service of fifty knights. His name appears with honour in all the transactions of peace and war, but he finally vanishes in the fall of Jerusalem; and the name of Courtenay, in this branch of Edessa, was lost by the marriage of his two daughters with a French and a German baron.

II. While Joscelin reigned beyond the Euphrates, his elder brother Milo, the son of Joscelin, the son of Atho, continued, near the Seine, to possess the castle of their fathers, which was at length inherited by Rainaud, or Regnald, the youngest of his three sons. Examples of genius or virtue must be rare in the annals of the oldest families, and in a remote age, their pride will embrace a deed of rapine and violence; such, however, as could not be perpetrated without some superiority of courage, or, at least, of power. A descendant of Regnald of Courtenay may blush miles from the great passage over the Euphrates at Zeugma.

¹ His possessions are distinguished in the *Annals of Jerusalem* (c. 326), among the feudal tenures of the kingdom, which must therefore have been collected between the years 1153 and 1157. His pedigree may be found in the *Lignages d'Outremer*, c. 16.

for the public robber, who stripped and imprisoned several merchants, after they had satisfied the king's duties, at Sens and Orleans. He will glory in the offence, since the bold offender could not be compelled to obedience and restitution, till the regent and the count of Champagne prepared to march against him at the head of an army. Regnald bestowed his estates on his eldest daughter, and his daughter on the seventh son of king Louis the Fat, and their marriage

Their alliance
with the royal
family
A.D. 1160.

was crowned with a numerous offspring. We might expect that a private should have merged in a royal name; and that the descendants of Peter of France and Elizabeth of Courtenay would have enjoyed the title and honours of princes of the blood. But this legitimate claim was long neglected and finally denied; and the causes of their disgrace will represent the story of this second branch. I Of all the families now extant, the most ancient, doubtless, and the most illustrious, is the house of France, which has occupied the same throne above eight hundred years, and descends, in a clear and lineal series of males, from the middle of the ninth century.² In the age of the

¹ The rapine and satisfaction of Regnald de Courtenay, are preposterously arranged in the Epistles of the abbot and regent Suger (cxiv cxvi), the best memorials of the age (*Duchene, Scriptores Hist. Franc. tom. iv. p. 630*).

² In the beginning of the eleventh century, after naming the father and grandfather of Hugh Capet, the monk Glaber is obliged to add, *cujus genus valde in ante reverit ob-scurum*. Yet we are assured that the great grandfather of Hugh Capet was Robert the Strong, count of Anjou (A.D. 863-873), a noble Frank of Neustria, Neustroia, a generous stirps, who was slain in the defence of his country against the Normans, *dum patrie fines tuebatur*. Beyond Robert, all is conjecture or fable. It is a probable conjecture, that the third race descended from the second by Childeric, the brother of Charles Martel. It is an absurd fable, that the second was allied to the first by the marriage of Ansbart, a Roman senator and the ancestor of St. Arnoul, with Blithild, a daughter of Clovis I. The Saxon origin of the house of France is an ancient but incredible opinion. See a judicious memoir of M. de Fontenay (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 548 579). He had promised to declare his own opinion in a second memoir, which has never appeared.

crusades, it was already revered both in the East and West. But from Hugh Capet to the marriage of Peter, no more than five reigns or generations had elapsed, and so precarious was their title, that the eldest sons, as a necessary precaution, were previously crowned during the lifetime of their fathers. The peers of France have long maintained their precedence before the younger branches of the royal line, nor had the princes of the blood in the twelfth century, acquired that hereditary lustre which is now diffused over the most remote candidates for the succession. 2 The barons of Courtenay must have stood high in their own estimation, and in that of the world, since they could impose on the son of a king the obligation of adopting for himself and all his descendants the name and arms of their daughter and his wife. In the marriage of an heiress with her inferior or her equal, such exchange was often required and allowed: but as they continued to diverge from the regal stem, the sons of Louis the Fat were insensibly confounded with their maternal ancestors, and the new Courtenays might desire to forfeit the honours of their birth, which a motive of interest had tempted them to renounce. 3 The shame was far more permanent than the reward, and a momentary blaze was followed by a long darkness. The eldest son of these nuptials, Peter of Courtenay, had married, as I have already mentioned, the sister of the counts of Flanders, the two first emperors of Constantinople. He rashly accepted the invitation of the barons of Romania, his two sons, Robert and Baldwin, successively held and lost the remains of the Latin empire in the East, and the grand daughter of Baldwin the Second again mingled her blood with the blood of France and of Valois. To support the expenses of a troubled and transitory reign, their patrimonial estates were mortgaged or sold, and the last emperors of Constantinople depended on the annual charity of Rome and Naples.

While the elder brothers dissipated

their wealth in romantic adventures, and the castle of Courtenay was profaned by a plebeian owner, the younger branches of that adopted name were propagated and multiplied. But then splendour was clouded by poverty and time after the decease of Robert, great butler of France, they descended from princes to barons, the next generations were confounded with the simple gentry, the descendants of Hugh Capet could no longer be visible in the rural lords of Tanlay and of Champignelles. The more adventurous embraced without dishonour the profession of a soldier, the least active and opulent might sink, like their cousins of the branch of Dreux, into the condition of peasants. Their royal descent, in a dark period of four hundred years, became each day more obsolete and ambiguous, and their pedigree, instead of being enrolled in the annals of the kingdom must be painfully searched by the minute diligence of heralds and genealogists. It was not till the end of the sixteenth century, on the accession of a family almost as remote as their own, that the princely spirit of the Courtenays again revived, and the question of the nobility, provoked them to assert the royalty of their blood. They appealed to the justice and compassion of Henry the Fourth, obtained a favourable opinion from twenty lawyers of Italy and Germany, and modestly compared themselves to the descendants of king David, whose prerogatives were not impaired by the lapse of ages or the trade of a carpenter.¹ But every cue was dead, and every circumstance was

¹ Of the various petitions, apologies, &c. published by the princes of Courtenay, I have seen the three following, all in Latin. 1. *De Stirpe et Origine Domini de Courtenay additis suis Responsis celeberrimorum Europæ Jurisconsultorum*. Paris, 1607. 2. *La présentation du Procès fait à l'instance faite devant le Roi, par Messieurs de Courtenay, pour la conservation de l'honneur et l'unité de leur Maison, branche de la royale Maison de France*. Paris, 1615. 3. *Représentation du sujet qui a porté Messieurs de Salles et de Trévillat, de la Maison de Courtenay, à se retirer hors du Royaume*, 1611. It was a humbug for which the Courtenays expected to be pardoned, or tried, as princes of the blood.

adverse, to their lawful claims. The Bourbon kings were justified by the neglect of the Valois, the princes of the blood, more recent and lofty, disdained the alliance of this humble kindred the parliament, without denying their proofs, eluded a dangerous precedent by an arbitrary distinction, and established St. Louis as the first father of the royal line.¹ A repetition of complaints and protests was repeatedly disregarded; and the hopeless pursuit was terminated in the present century by the death of the last male of the family.² Their painful and anxious situation was alleviated by the pride of conscious virtue. they sternly rejected the temptations of fortune and favour, and a dying Courtenay would have sacrificed his son, if the youth could have renounced, for any temporal interest, the right and title of a legitimate prince of the blood of France.³

III. According to the old register of Ford Abbey, the Courtenays of Devonshire are descended from Prince *Florus*, the second son of Peter, and the grandson of Louis the Fat.⁴ This fable of the

¹ The sense of the parliament is thus expressed by Ihuannus principis norman nunquam in Gallia triumphum, nisi illi qui per maris emporibus nostris originem rejiciunt, qui nunc tantum a Ludovico nono bene memoris numerantur, nam Cortines et Drocones, a Ludovico crasso genus ducentis, hostis inter eos minime recensentur. A distinction of expediency rather than justice. The sanctity of Louis IX. could not invest him with any sacred prerogative, and all the descendants of Hugh Capet must be included in his original emblem with the French nation.

² The last male of the Courtenays was Charles I. (c), who died in the year 1320, without leaving any sons. The last female was Helene de Courtenay, who married Louis de Beaumont. Her title of Princesse du Sang Royal de France was suppressed (February 7th, 1737) by an act of the parliament of Paris.

³ The singular anecdote to which I allude is related in the *Revue des Pieces interessantes et peu connues* (Maastricht, 1796, in 4 vols. 12mo.) and the unknown author quotes his author, who had received it from Helene de Courtenay, Marquise de Beaumont.

⁴ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i. p. 780. Yet this fable must have been invented before the reign of Edward III. The profuse devotion of the three first generations to Ford Abbey, was followed by oppression on one side and ingratitude on the other, and in the sixth

grateful or venal monks was too respectfully entertained by our antiquaries, Camden and Dugdale; but it is so clearly repugnant to truth and time, that the rational pride of the family now refuses to accept this imaginary founder. Their most faithful historians believe, that after giving his daughter to the king's son, Reginald of Courtenay abandoned his possessions in France, and obtained from the English monarch a second wife and a new inheritance. It is certain, at least, that Henry the Second distinguished in his camps and councils, a Reginald, of the name and arms, and, as it may be fairly presumed, of the genuine race, of the Courtenays of France. The right of wardship enabled a feudal lord to reward his vassal with the marriage and estate of a noble heiress; and Reginald of Courtenay acquired a fair establishment in Devonshire, where his posterity has been seated above six hundred years.⁵ From a Norman baron, Baldwin de Brionne, who had been invested by the Conqueror, Hawise, the wife of Reginald, derived the honour of Okehampton, which was held by the service of ninety-three knights; and a female might claim the manly offices of hereditary viscount or sheriff, and of captain of the royal castle of Exeter. Their son Robert married the sister of the earl of Devon at the end of a century, on the failure of the family of Rivers,⁶ his great-grandson, Hugh the Second, succeeded to a title which

generation, the monks ceased to register the births, actions, and deaths of their patrons.

⁵ In his *Britanni*, in the list of the *quærs* of Devonshire, his expression *regis sanguine ortos credunt*, but, as, however, some doubt or suspicion.

⁶ In his *Baronage*, P. i. p. 634, he refers to his own *Monasticon*. Should he not have corrected the register of Ford Abbey, and annihilated the phantom *Florus*, by the unquestionable evidence of the French historians?

⁷ Besides the third and most valuable book of Cleaveland's *History*, I have consulted Dugdale, the father of our genealogical science (*Baronage*, P. i. p. 631-643).

⁸ This great family, de Ripuaria, de Redvers, de Rivers, ended, in Edward the Fifth's time, in Isabella de Fortibus, a famous and potent dowager, who long survived her brother and husband (Dugdale, *Baronage*, P. i. p. 254-267).

was still considered as a territorial dignity; and twelve earls of Devonshire, the earls of Devonshire, of the name of Courtenay, have flourished in a period of two hundred and twenty years. They were ranked among the chief of the barons of the realm, nor was it till after a strenuous dispute, that they yielded to the fief of Arundel, the first place in the parliament of England. Their alliances were contracted with the noblest families, the Veres, Despencers, St Johns, Talbots, Bohuns, and even the Plantagenets themselves; and in a contest with John of Lancaster, a Courtenay, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, might be accused of profane confidence in the strength and number of his kindred. In peace, the earls of Devon resided in their numerous castles and manors of the west; their ample revenue was appropriated to devotion and hospitality, and the epitaph of Edward, surnamed, from his misfortune, the *Blind*, from his virtues, the *good*, earl, inculcates with much ingenuity a moral sentence, which may however be abused by thoughtless generosity. After a grateful commemoration of the fifty-five years of union and happiness, which he enjoyed with Mabel his wife, the good earl thus speaks from the tomb —

What we gave we have,
What we spent, we had,
What we left we lost.

But their *losses*, in this sense, were far to their gifts and their heirs, not less than the poor, were the objects of their paternal care. The sums which they paid for livery and seisin, attest the greatness of their possessions, and several estates have remained in their family since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In war, the Courtenays of England fulfilled the duties, and deserved the honours, of chivalry. They were often intrusted to levy and command the

militia of Devonshire and Cornwall; they often attended their supreme lord to the borders of Scotland, and in foreign service, for a stipulated price, they sometimes maintained fourscore men-at-arms and as many archers. By sea and land they fought under the standard of the Edwards and Henrys, their names are conspicuous in battles, in tournaments, and in the original list of the Order of the Garter, three brothers shared the Spanish victory of the Black Prince, and in the lapse of six generations, the English Courtenays had learned to despise the nation and country from which they derived their origin. In the quarrel of the two roses, the earls of Devon adhered to the house of Lancaster, and three brothers successively died, either in the field or on the scaffold. Their honours and estates were restored by Henry the Seventh, a daughter of Edward the Fourth was not disgraced by the nuptials of a Courtenay, their son, who was created marquis of Exeter, enjoyed the favour of his cousin Henry the Eighth, and in the camp of Cloth of Gold, he broke a lance against the French monarch. But the favour of Henry was the prelude of disgrace, his disgrace was the signal of death, and of the victims of the jealous tyrant, the marquis of Exeter is one of the most noble and guiltless. His son Edward lived a prisoner in the Tower, and died an exile at Padua, and the secret love of Queen Mary, whom he slighted, perhaps for the Princess Elizabeth, has shed a romantic colour on the story of this beautiful youth. The relics of his patrimony were conveyed into strange families by the marriages of his four aunts, and his personal honours, as if they had been legally extinct, were revived by two patents of succeeding princes. But there still survived a lineal descendant of Hugh the first earl of Devon, a younger branch of the Courtenays, who have been seated at Powderham Castle above four hundred years, from the reign of Edward the Third to the present hour. Their estates have been

¹ Cleveland, p. 143. By some it is assigned to a Rivers, earl of Devon, but the English denotes the fifteenth, rather than the thirteenth century.

increased by the grant and improvement of lands in Ireland, and they have been recently restored to the honours of the peerage. Yet the Courtenays still retain the plaintive motto, which asserts the innocence, and deploras the fall, of their ancient house.¹ While they sigh for past greatness, they are doubtless sensible

of present blessings: in the long series of the Courtenay annals, the most splendid era is likewise the most unfortunate; nor can an opulent peer of Britain be inclined to envy the emperors of Constantinople, who wandered over Europe to solicit alms for the support of their dignity and the defence of their capital.

CHAPTER XLII

THE GREEK EMPERORS OF NICE AND CONSTANTINOPLE—ELEVATION AND REIGN OF MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS—HIS FALSE UNION WITH THE POPE AND THE LATIN CHURCH—HOSTILE DESIGNS OF CHARLES OF ANJOU—REVOLT OF SICILY—WAR OF THE CATALANS IN ASIA AND GREECE—REVOLUTIONS AND PRESENT STATE OF ATHENS.

THE loss of Constantinople restored a momentary vigour to the Greeks. From their palaces, the princes and nobles were driven into the field, and the fragments of the falling monarchy were grasped by the hands of the most vigorous or the most skilful candidates. In the long and barren pages of the Byzantine annals,² it would not be an easy task to equal the two characters of Theodore Lascaris and John Ducas Vatatzes,³ who replanted and upheld the Roman standard at Nice in Bithynia. The difference of

Restoration of the Greek empire.

Theodore Lascaris A.D. 1204-1222

¹ *Ubi lapsus! Quis fecit!* a motto which was probably adopted by the Powderham branch after the loss of the earldom of Devonshire, &c. The primitive arms of the Courtenays were, *Or, three torteaux, Gules*, which seem to denote their affinity with Godfrey of Bouillon, and the ancient counts of Boulogne.

² For the reigns of the Nicean emperors, more especially of John Vatatzes and his son, their minister, George Acropolita, is the only genuine contemporary; but George Pachymor returned to Constantinople with the Greeks at the age of nineteen (Hancikus, de Script. Byzant. c. 33, 34, p. 564 578. Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 443 446). Yet the history of Nicephorus Gregoras, though of the fourteenth century, is a valuable narrative from the taking of Constantinople by the Latins.

³ Nicephorus Gregoras (A.D. c. 1.) distinguishes between the *Ætius* of Lascaris, and the *Idriacus* of Vatatzes. The two traits are in a very good style.

their virtues was happily suited to the diversity of their situation. In his first efforts the fugitive Lascaris commanded only three cities and two thousand soldiers; his reign was the season of generous and active despair: in every military operation he staked his life and crown, and his enemies, of the Hellespont and the Meander, were surprised by his celerity and subdued by his boldness. A victorious reign of eighteen years expanded the principality of Nice to the magnitude of an empire. The throne of his successor and son-in-law Vatatzes was founded on a more solid basis, a larger scope, A.D. 1222-1255

and more plentiful resources, and it was the temper, as well as the interest, of Vatatzes to calculate the risk, to expect the moment, and to insure the success of his ambitious designs. In the decline of the Latins, I have briefly exposed the progress of the Greek, the prudent and gradual advances of a conqueror, who, in a reign of thirty-three years, rescued the provinces from national and foreign usurpers, till he pressed on all sides the Imperial city, a leafless and sapless trunk, which must fall at the first stroke of the axe. But his interior and peaceful administration is still more deserving of notice and praise.¹ The calamities of the

¹ Pachymor, l. i. c. 23, 24. Nic. Greg. l. ii.

times had wasted the numbers and the substance of the Greeks: the motives and the means of agriculture were extirpated; and the most fertile lands were left without cultivation or inhabitants. A portion of this vacant property was occupied and improved by the command, and for the benefit, of the emperor a powerful hand and a vigilant eye supplied and surpassed, by a skilful management, the minute diligence of a private farmer, the royal domain became the garden and granary of Asia, and without impoverishing the people, the sovereign acquired a fund of innocent and productive wealth. According to the nature of the soil, his lands were sown with corn or planted with vines, the pastures were filled with horses and oxen, with sheep and hogs; and when Vataces presented to the empress a crown of diamonds and pearls he informed her, with a smile, that this precious ornament arose from the sale of the eggs of his innumerable poultry. The produce of his domain was applied to the maintenance of his palace and hospitals, the calls of dignity and benevolence the lesson was still more useful than the revenue the plough was restored to its ancient security and honour and the nobles were taught to seek a sure and independent revenue from their estates, instead of adorning their splendid beggary by the oppression of the people, or (what is almost the same) by the favours of the court. The superfluous stock of corn and cattle was eagerly purchased by the Turks, with whom Vataces preserved a strict and sincere alliance; but he discouraged the importation of foreign manufactures, the costly silks of the East, and the curious labours of the Italian looms. "The demands of nature and necessity," he was accustomed to say, "are indispensable, but the influence of fashion may rise and sink at the breath of a monarch," and both his precept and example recommended simplicity of manners and the use of domestic industry. The education. 6 The reader of the Byzantines must observe how rarely we are indulged with such precious details.

tion of youth and the revival of learning were the most serious objects of his care, and, without deciding the precedence, he pronounced with truth, that a prince and a philosopher are the two most eminent characters of human society. His first wife was Irene, the daughter of Theodore Lascaris, a woman more illustrious by her personal merit, the milder virtues of her sex, than by the blood of the Angeli and Comneni, that flowed in her veins, and transmitted the inheritance of the empire. After her death he was contracted to Anne, or Constance, a natural daughter of the Emperor Frederic* the second; but as the bride had not attained the years of puberty, Vataces placed in his solitary bed an Italian damsel of her train; and his amorous weakness bestowed on the concubine the honour, though not the title, of lawful empress. His frailty was censured as a flagitious and damnable sin by the monks, and their rude invectives exercised and displayed the patience of the royal lover. A philosophic age may excuse a single vice, which was redeemed by a crowd of virtues; and in the review of his faults, and the more intemperate passions of Lascaris, the judgment of their contemporaries was softened by gratitude to the second founders of the empire.^a The slaves of the Latins, without law or peace, applauded the happiness of their brethren who had resumed their national freedom, and Vataces employed the laudable policy of convincing the Greeks of every communion that it was their interest to be enrolled in the number of his subjects.

A strong shade of degeneracy is visible between John Vataces ^{Theodore Lascaris II} and his son Theodore, ^{AD 1153-1159} between the founder who sustained the weight, and the heir who

Νομι γὰρ ἀπέναντι ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυροῦσθαι βασιλεῖ, καὶ φιλόσοφοι (Greg. Λαγόροι. c. 32). The emperor, in a familiar conversation, examined and encouraged the studies of his future logotheta.

^a Compare Acropolita (c. 18, 62), and the two first books of Nicephorus Gregoras.

* Sister of Manfred, afterwards king of Naples. Nic. Greg. p. 45—M.

enjoyed the splendour, of the Imperial crown.' Yet the character of Theodore was not devoid of energy, he had been educated in the school of his father, in the exercise of war and hunting; Constantinople was yet spared, but in the three years of a short reign, he thrice led his armies into the heart of Bulgaria. His virtues were sullied by a choleric and suspicious temper the first of these may be ascribed to the ignorance of control; and the second might naturally arise from a dark and imperfect view of the corruption of mankind. On a march in Bulgaria, he consulted on a question of policy his principal ministers; and the Greek logothete, George Acropolita, presumed to offend him by the declaration of a free and honest opinion. The emperor half-unsheathed his scimitar, but his more deliberate rage reserved Acropolita for a baser punishment. One of the first officers of the empire was ordered to dismount, stripped of his robes, and extended on the ground in the presence of the prince and army. In this posture he was chastised with so many and such heavy blows from the clubs of two guards or executioners, that when Theodore commanded them to cease, the great logothete was scarcely able to rise and crawl away to his tent. After a seclusion of some days, he was recalled by a peremptory mandate to his seat in council, and so dead were the Greeks to the sense of honour and shame, that it is from the narrative of the sufferer himself that we acquire the knowledge of his disgrace.¹ The cruelty of the emperor was exasperated by the pangs of sickness, the approach of a premature end,

¹ A Persian saying, that Cyrus was the father, and Darius the master, of his subjects, was applied to Vataces and his son. But Pachymer (l. i. c. 23), has mistaken the mild Darius for the cruel Cambyses, despot or tyrant of his people. By the institution of taxes, Darius had incurred the less odious, but more contemptible, name of *Kάπηλος*, merchant or broker (Herodotus, li. 80).

² Acropolita (c. 63), seems to admire his own firmness in sustaining a beating, and not returning to council till he was called. He relates the exploits of Theodore, and his own services, from c. 63, to c. 74, of his history. See the third book of Nicephorus Gregoras.

and the suspicion of poison and magic. The lives and fortunes, the eyes and limbs, of his kinsmen and nobles, were sacrificed to each sally of passion; and before he died, the son of Vataces might deserve from the people, or at least from the court, the appellation of tyrant. A matron of the family of the Palaeologi had provoked his anger by refusing to bestow her beauteous daughter on the vile plebeian who was recommended by his caprice. Without regard to her birth or age, her body, as high as the neck, was enclosed in a sack with several cats, who were pricked with pins to irritate their fury against their unfortunate fellow captive. In his last hours the emperor testified a wish to forgive and be forgiven, a just anxiety for the fate of John his son and successor, who, at the age of eight years, was condemned to the dangers of a long minority. His last choice intrusted the ^{Minority of John} office of guardian to the ^{Isaurian,} sanctity of the patriarch ^{A.D. 1260}

Arsenius, and, to the courage of George Muzalon, the great domestic, who was equally distinguished by the royal favour and the public hatred. Since their connection with the Latins, the names and privileges of hereditary rank had insinuated themselves into the Greek monarchy, and the noble families were provoked by the elevation of a worthless favourite, to whose influence they imputed, the errors and calamities of the late reign. In the first council, after the emperor's death, Muzalon, from a lofty throne, pronounced a laboured apology of his conduct and intention. His modesty was subdued by a unanimous assurance of esteem and fidelity, and his most inveterate enemies were the loudest to salute him as the guardian and saviour of the Romans. Eight days were sufficient to prepare the execution of the conspiracy. On the ninth, the obsequies of the deceased

³ Pachymer (l. i. c. 21), names and discriminates fifteen or twenty Greek families, *και ουκ ἄλλαι, τις ἡ μεγαλύτερης σφιδά και χρυσή συγκατέκρητο*. Does he mean, by this decoration, a figurative, or a real golden chain? Perhaps, both.

emperor were solemnised in the cathedral of Magnesia,¹ an Asiatic city, where he expired, on the banks of the Hermus, and at the foot of mount Sipylus. The holy rites were interrupted by a sedition of the guards; Muzalon, his brothers, and his adherents, were massacred at the foot of the altar; and the absent patriarch was associated with a new colleague, with Michael Palæologus, the most illustrious, in birth and merit, of the Greek nobles.²

Of those who are proud of their ancestors, the far greater part must be content with local or domestic renown, and few there are who dare trust the memorials of their family to the public annals of their country. As early as the middle of the eleventh century, the noble race of the Palæologi³ stands high and conspicuous in the Byzantine history: it was the valiant George Palæologus who placed the father of the Comneni on the throne, and his kinsmen or descendants continue, in each generation, to lead the armies and councils of the state. The purple was not dishonoured by their alliance, and had the law of succession, and female succession, been strictly observed, the wife of Theodore Lascaris must have yielded to her older sister, the mother of Michael Palæologus, who afterwards raised his family to the throne. In his person the splendour of birth was dignified by the merit of the soldier and statesman in his early youth he was promoted to the office of con-

Family and
character of
Michael
Palæologus

stable or commander of the French Mercenaries, the private expense of a day never exceeded three pieces of gold, but his ambition was rapacious and profuse, and his gifts were doubled by the graces of his conversation and manners. The love of the soldiers and people excited the jealousy of the court, and Michael thrice escaped from the dangers in which he was involved by his own impudence or that of his friends. Under the reign of Justin and Valens, a dispute arose between two officers, one of whom accused the other of maintaining the hereditary right of the Palæologi. The cause was decided, according to the new jurisprudence of the Latins, by single combat: the defendant was overthrown, but he persisted in declaring that himself alone was guilty, and that he had uttered these rash or treasonable speeches without the approbation or knowledge of his patron. Yet a cloud of suspicion hung over the innocence of the constable: he was still pursued by the whispers of malevolence, and a subtle courtier, the archbishop of Philadelphia, urged him to accept the judgment of God in the fiery proof of the ordeal. Three days before the trial, the patient's arm was enclosed in a bag, and secured by the royal signet, and it was incumbent on him to bear a red-hot ball of iron three times from the altar to the rails of the sanctuary, without artifice and without injury. Palæologus eluded the dangerous experiment with ease and pleasantness. "I am a soldier," said he, "and will boldly enter the lists with my accusers, but a layman, a sinner like myself, is not endowed with the gift of miracle. Your piety, most holy prelate, my deserve the interposition of heaven, and from your hands I will receive the

¹ The old geographers, with Cellarius and D'Anville, and our travellers, particularly Pocock and Chandler, will teach us to distinguish the two Magnesiæ of Asia Minor, of the Mæander and of Sipylus. The latter, our present object, is still flourishing for a Turkish city, and lies eight hours, or leagues, to the north east of Smyrna (Tournesfort, *Voyage du Levant*, tom. iii. lettre xxii. p. 365-370. Chandler's *Travels into Asia Minor*, p. 207).

² See Acropolita (c. 75, 76, &c.), who lived too near the times; Pachymer (l. i. c. 13-25), Gregoras (l. iii. c. 3, 4, 5).

³ The pedigree of Palæologus is explained by Ducange (*Famil. Byzant.* p. 230, &c.) the events of his private life are related by Pachymer (l. i. c. 7, 12) and Gregoras (l. ii. §. l. iii. 2, 4, l. iv. 1) with visible favour to the father of the reigning dynasty.

¹ Acropolita (c. 60) relates the circumstances of this curious adventure, which seem to have escaped the more recent writers.

² Pachymer (l. i. c. 12) who speaks with proper contempt of this barbarous trial, alleges, that he had seen in his youth many persons who had sustained, without injury, the fiery ordeal. As a Greek, he is credulous; but the ingenuity of the Greeks might furnish some, remedies of art or fraud against their own superstition, or that of their tyrant.

fiery globe, the pledge of my innocence." The archbishop started, the emperor smiled, and the absolution or pardon of Michael was approved by new rewards and new services. II. In the succeeding reign, as he held the government of Nice, he was secretly informed, that the mind of the absent prince was poisoned with jealousy, and that death, or blindness, would be his final reward. Instead of awaiting the return and sentence of Theodore, the constable, with some followers, escaped from the city and the empire, and though he was plundered by the Turks, he found an hospitable refuge in the court of the sultan. In the ambiguous state of an exile, Michael reconciled the duties of gratitude and loyalty, drawing his sword against the Tartars, admonishing the garrisons of the Roman limit; and promoting, by his influence, the restoration of peace, in which his pardon and recall were honourably included. III. While he guarded the West against the despot of Epirus, Michael was again suspected and condemned in the palace, and such was his loyalty or weakness, that he submitted to be led in chains above six hundred miles from Durazzo to Nice. The civility of the messenger alleviated his disgrace, the emperor's sickness dispelled his danger, and the last breath of Theodore, which recommended his infant son, at once acknowledged the innocence and the power of Paleologus.

But his innocence had been too un-
 His elevation to worthy treated, and his
 the throne power was too strongly
 felt, to curb an aspiring subject in the
 fair field that was opened to his ambi-
 tion. In the council after the death
 of Theodore, he was the first to pro-
 nounce, and the first to violate, the
 oath of allegiance to Muzalon; and so
 dexterous was his conduct, that he
 reaped the benefit, without incurring
 the guilt, or at least the reproach, of

the subsequent massacre. In the
 choice of a regent, he balanced the in-
 terests and passions of the candidates
 turned their envy and hatred from
 himself against each other,* and forced
 every competitor to own that, after
 his own claims, those of Paleologus
 were best entitled to the preference.
 Under the title of great duke, he ac-
 cepted or assumed, during a long
 minority, the active powers of govern-
 ment, the patriarch was a venerable
 name, and the factious nobles were
 seduced, or oppressed, by the ascen-
 dant of his genius. The fruits of the
 economy of Vataces were deposited in
 a strong castle on the banks of the
 Hermus, in the custody of the faithful
 Varangians: the constable retained his
 command or influence over the foreign
 troops, he employed the guards to
 possess the treasure, and the treasure
 to corrupt the guards, and whatsoever
 might be the abuse of the public money,
 his character was above the suspicion
 of private avarice. By himself, or by
 his emissaries, he strove to persuade
 every rank of subjects, that their own
 prosperity would rise in just propor-
 tion to the establishment of his autho-
 rity. The weight of taxes was sus-
 pended, the perpetual theme of popu-
 lar complaint; and he prohibited the
 trials by the ordeal and judicial com-
 bat. These barbaric institutions were
 already abolished or undermined in
 France¹ and England,² and the appeal
 to the sword offended the sense of a
 civilised,³ and the temper of an un-

¹ The judicial combat was abolished by St Louis in his own territories, and his example and authority were at length prevalent in France (*Épist. des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 20).

² In civil cases Henry II. gave an option to the defendant. Glanville prefers the proof by evidence, and that by judicial combat is repro-
 bated in the *Magna Carta*. Yet the trial by battle has
 never been abrogated in the English law, and
 it was ordered by the judges as late as the be-
 ginning of the last century.

³ Yet an ingenious friend has urged to me in
 mitigation of this practice, 1. *That* in nations
 emerging from barbarism, it moderates the
 licence of private war and arbitrary revenge.
 2. *That* it is less absurd than the trials by the
 ordeal, or boiling water, or the cross, which it
 has contributed to abolish. 3. *That* it served
 at least as a test of personal courage a quality

¹ Without comparing Pachymer to Thucy-
 dides or Tacitus, I will praise his narrative
 (l. i. c. 12-32 l. ii. c. 19), which pursues the
 descent of Paleologus with eloquence, per-
 spicuity, and tolerable freedom. Acropolis is
 more cautious, and Gregoras more concise.

* And even demanded in the present.—M.

warlike, people. For the future maintenance of their wives and children, the veterans were grateful; the priest and the philosopher applauded his ardent zeal for the advancement of religion and learning; and his vague promise of rewarding merit was applied by every candidate to his own hopes. Conscious of the influence of the clergy, Michael successfully laboured to secure the suffrage of that powerful order. Their expensive journey from Nice to Magnesia, afforded a decent and ample pretence the leading prelates were tempted by the liberality of his nocturnal visits, and the incorruptible patriarch was flattered by the homage of his new colleague, who led his mule by the bridle into the town, and removed to a respectful distance the impetuosity of the crowd. Without renouncing his title by royal descent, Palæologus encouraged a free discussion into the advantages of elective monarchy, and his adherents asked, with the insolence of triumph, what patient would trust his health, or what merchant would abandon his vessel, to the hereditary skill of a physician or pilot? The youth of the emperor, and the impending dangers of a minority, required the support of a mature and experienced guardian, of an associate raised above the envy of his equals, and invested with the name and prerogatives of royalty. For the interest of the prince and people, without any selfish views for himself or his family, the great duke consented to guard and instruct the son of Theodore, but he sighed for the happy moment when he might restore to his firmer hands the administration of his patrimony, and enjoy the blessings of a private station. He was first invested with the title and prerogatives of *despot*, which bestowed the purple ornaments and the second place in the Roman monarchy. It was

so seldom united with a base disposition, that the danger of a trial might be some check to a malicious prosecutor, and an useful barrier against injustice supported by power. The gallant and unfortunate earl of Surrey might probably have escaped his unmerited fate, had not his demand of the combat against his accuser been over-ruled.

afterwards agreed that John and Michael should be proclaimed as joint emperors, and raised on the buckler, but that the pre-eminence should be reserved for the birthright of the former. A mutual league of amity was pledged between the royal partners, and in case of a rupture, the subjects were bound, by their oath of allegiance, to declare themselves against the aggressor. An ambiguous name, the seed of discord and civil war. Palæologus was content, but on the day of the coronation, and in the cathedral of Nice, his zealous adherents most vehemently urged the just priority of his age and merit. The unseasonable dispute was eluded by postponing to a more convenient opportunity the coronation of John Lascaris, and he walked with a slight diadem in the train of his guardian, who alone received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch. It was not without extreme reluctance that Arsenius abandoned the cause of his pupil, but the Varangians brandished their battle-axes, a sign of assent was extorted from the trembling youth, and some voices were heard, that the life of a child should no longer impede the settlement of the nation. A full harvest of honours and employments was distributed among his friends by the grateful Palæologus. In his own family he created a despot and two *sebastocrators*, Alexius Strategopulus was decorated with the title of *Cæsar*, and that veteran commander soon repaid the obligation, by restoring Constantinople to the Greek emperor.

It was in the second year of his reign, while he resided in the palace and gardens of Nymphæum,¹ near Smyrna, that the first messenger arrived at the dead of night, and the stupendous intelligence was imparted to Michael,

Recovery of Constantinople
A.D. 1261

¹ The site of Nymphæum is not clearly defined in ancient or modern geography. But from the last hours of Valaces (Acropolis, c. 62), it is evident the palace and gardens of his favourite residences were in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Nymphæum might be loosely placed in Lydia (Geography, l. vi. 6).

after he had been gently waked by the tender precaution of his sister Eulogia. The man was unknown or obscure; he produced no letters from the victorious Cæsar; nor could it easily be credited, after the defeat of Vataces and the recent failure of Palæologus himself, that the capital had been surprised by a detachment of eight hundred soldiers. As a hostage, the doubtful author was confined, with the assurance of death or an ample recompense, and the court was left some hours in the anxiety of hope and fear, till the messengers of Alvin arrived with the authentic intelligence, and displayed the trophies of the conquest, the sword and sceptre,¹ the buskins and bonnet,² of the usurper Baldwin, which he had dropped in his precipitate flight. A general assembly of the bishops, senators, and nobles, was immediately convened, and never perhaps was an event received with more heartfelt and universal joy. In a studied oration, the new sovereign of Constantinople congratulated his own and the public fortune. "There was a time," said he, "a far distant time, when the Roman empire extended to the Adriatic, the Tigris, and the confines of Æthiopia. After the loss of the provinces, our capital itself, in these last and calamitous days, has been wrested from our hands by the barbarians of the West. From the lowest ebb, the tide of prosperity has again returned in our favour; but our prosperity was that of fugitives and exiles, and when we were asked, which was the country of the Romans, we indicated with a blush the climate of the globe and the quarter of the heavens. The divine Providence has now restored to our arms the city of Constantine, the sacred seat of religion and empire; and

it will depend on our valour and conduct to render this important acquisition the pledge and omen of future victories." So eager was the impatience of the prince and people, ^{Return of the that Michael made his Greek emperor A.D. 1261.} triumphal entry into Constantinople only twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins. The golden gate was thrown open at his approach, the devout conqueror dismounted from his horse, and a miraculous image of Mary the Conductress was borne before him, that the divine Virgin in person might appear to conduct him to the temple of her Son, the cathedral of St Sophia. But after the first transport of devotion and pride, he sighed at the dreary prospect of solitude and ruin. The palace was defiled with smoke and dirt and the gross intemperance of the Franks, whole streets had been consumed by fire, or were decayed by the injuries of time, the sacred and profane edifices were stripped of their ornaments, and, as if they were conscious of their approaching exile, the industry of the Latins had been confined to the work of pillage and destruction. Trade had expired under the pressure of anarchy and distress, and the numbers of inhabitants had decreased with the opulence of the city. It was the first care of the Greek monarch to restate the nobles in the palaces of their fathers, and the houses or the ground which they occupied were restored to the families that could exhibit a legal right of inheritance. But the far greater part was extinct or lost, the vacant property had devolved to the lord, he reoccupied Constantinople by a liberal invitation to the provinces, and the brave volunteers were settled in the capital which had been recovered by their arms. The French barons and the principal families had fettered with their emperor; but the patient and humble crowd of Latins was attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed

¹ This sceptre the emblem of justice and power, was a long staff, such as was used by the heroes in Homer. By the latter Greeks it was named *Ducatus*, and the Imperial sceptre was distinguished as usual by the red or purple colour.

² Acropolita affirms (a. 87) that this bonnet was after the French fashion, but from the ruby at the point or summit, Ducange (*Hist. de G. P. L.* v. c. 25, 26) believes that it was the high-crowned hat of the Greeks. Could Acropolita mistake the dress of his own court?

their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations, the Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city, but the services and power of the Genoese deserved at the same time the gratitude and the jealousy of the Greeks. Their independent colony was first planted at the sea-port town of Heraclea in Thrace. They were speedily recalled, and settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb of Galata, an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce and invited the majesty of the Byzantine empire.

The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the era of a new empire: the conqueror, alone, and by the right of the sword, re-

newed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia; and the name and honours of John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, were insensibly abolished. But his claims still lived in the minds of the people; and the royal youth must speedily attain the years of manhood and ambition. By fear or conscience, Palæologus was restrained from dipping his hands in innocent and royal blood; but the anxiety of a usurper and a parent urged him to secure his throne by one of those imperfect crimes so familiar to the modern Greeks. The loss of sight incapacitated the young prince for the active business of the world: instead of the brutal violence of tearing out his eyes, the visual nerve was destroyed by the intense glare of a red-hot basin,² and John Lascaris was removed to a distant castle, where he spent many

² See Pachymer (l. 2, c. 23-23), Acronolita (c. 88), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iv. 7), and for the treatment of the subject Latinus, Ducange (l. v. c. 30, 31).

³ This milder invention for extinguishing the sight, was tried by the philosopher Democritus on himself, when he sought to withdraw his mind from the visible world: a foolish story! The word *abscisare*, in Latin and Italian, has furnished Ducange (Gloss. Latin.) with an opportunity to review the various modes of blinding: the more violent were scooping, burning with an iron or hot vinegar, and binding the head with a strong cord till the eyes burst from their sockets. Ingenious tyrants!

years in privacy and oblivion. Such cool and deliberate guilt may seem incompatible with remorse, but if Michael could trust the mercy of Heaven, he was not inaccessible to the reproaches and vengeance of mankind, which he had provoked by cruelty and treason. His cruelty imposed on a servile court the duties of applause or silence, but the clergy had a right to speak in the name of their invisible Master, and their holy legions were led by a priest, whose character was above the temptations of hope or fear. After a short abdication of his dignity, Arsenius¹ had consented to ascend the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople, and to preside in the restoration of the church. His pious simplicity was long deceived by the arts of Palæologus; and his patience and submission might soothe the usurper, and protect the safety of the young prince. On the news of his inhuman treatment, the patriarch unsheathed the spiritual sword, and superstition, on this occasion, was enlisted in the cause of humanity and justice. In a synod of bishops, who were stimulated by the example of the patriarch, pronounced a sentence of excommuni-

though his prudence still reputed the name of Michael in the public prayers. The Eastern prelates had not adopted the dangerous maxims of ancient Rome, nor did they presume to enforce their censures, by deposing princes, or absolving nations, from their oaths of allegiance. But the Christian, who had been separated from God and the church, became an object of horror, and, in a turbulent and fanatic capital, that horror might aim the hand of an assassin, or influence a sedition of the people. Palæologus felt his danger, confessed his guilt, and deprecated his judge, the act was irretrievable, the prize was obtained, and the most rigorous penance, which

¹ See the first retreat and restoration of Arsenius, in Pachymer (l. ii. c. 10, l. iii. c. 1, 2), and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iii. c. 1, l. iv. c. 1). Posterity justly accused the *apostasie* and *fabulous* of Arsenius, the virtues of a hermit, the vices of a minister (l. xii. c. 2).

Palæologus is blind,
and banishes the
young emperor
A.D. 1261.

Palæologus is
excommunicated
by the patriarch
Arsenius.
A.D. 1262-63.

he solicited, would have raised the sinner to the reputation of a saint. The unrelenting patriarch refused to announce any means of atonement or any hopes of mercy; and condescended only to pronounce, that, for so great a crime, great indeed must be the satisfaction. "Do you require," said Michael, "that I should abdicate the empire?" And at these words, he offered, or seemed to offer, the sword of state. Arsenius eagerly grasped the pledge of sovereignty, but when he perceived that the emperor was unwilling to purchase absolution at so dear a rate, he indignantly escaped to his cell, and left the royal sinner kneeling and weeping before the door.

The danger and scandal of this excommunication subsisted above three years, till the popular clamour was assuaged by time and repentance; till the brethren of Arsenius condemned his inflexible spirit, so repugnant to the unbounded forgiveness of the Gospel. The emperor had artfully insinuated, that, if he were still rejected at home, he might seek in the Roman pontiff, a more indulgent judge, but it was far more easy and effectual to find or to place that judge at the head of the Byzantine church. Arsenius was involved in a vague rumour of conspiracy and disaffection,* some irregular steps in his ordination and government were liable to censure, a synod deposed him from the episcopal office, and he was transported under a guard of soldiers to a small island of the Propontia. Before his exile, he sullenly requested that a strict account

¹ The crime and excommunication of Michael are fairly told by Pachymer (l. iii. c. 10, 14, 19, &c.) and Gregoras (l. iv. c. 4). His confession and penance restored their freedom.

* Except the omission of a prayer for the emperor, the charges against Arsenius were of a different nature: he was accused of having allowed the sultan of Iconium to bathe in vessels signed with the cross, and to have admitted him to the church though unbaptized, during the service. It was pleaded, in favour of Arsenius, among other proofs of the sultan's Christianity, that he had offered to eat him. Pachymer, l. iv. c. 4, p. 205. It was after his exile that he was involved in a charge of conspiracy—M.

might be taken of the treasures of the church, boasted, that his sole riches, three pieces of gold, had been earned by transcribing the psalms, continued to assert the freedom of his mind; and lenient, with his last breath, the pardon which was implored by the royal sinner. After some delay, Gregory,* bishop of Adrianople, was translated to the Byzantine throne; but his authority was found insufficient to support the absolution of the emperor, and Joseph, a reverend monk, was substituted to that important function. This edifying scene was represented in the presence of the senate and people, at the end of six years, the humble penitent was restored to the communion of the faithful, and humanity will rejoice, that a milder treatment of the captive Lascaris was stipulated as a proof of his remorse. But the spirit of Arsenius still survived in a powerful faction of the monks and clergy, who persevered above forty-eight years in an obstinate schism. Their scruples were treated with tenderness and respect by Michael and his son, and the reconciliation of the Arsenites was the serious labour of the church and state. In the confidence of fanaticism, they had proposed to try their cause by a miracle, and when the two papers, that contained their own and the adverse cause, were cast into a fiery brasier they expected that the Catholic verity would be respected by the flames. Alas! the two papers were indiscriminately consumed, and this unforeseen accident produced the union of a day, and renewed the quarrel of an age. The final treaty

¹ Pachymer relates the exile of Arsenius (l. iv. c. 16): he was one of the commissaries who visited him in the desert island. The last testament of the unforlorn patriarch is still extant (Dupin, to Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. x. p. 65).

* Pachymer (l. vii. c. 2) relates this miraculous trial like a philosopher and treats with similar contempt a plot of the Arsenites, to hide a relic in the coffin of some old saint (l. vii. c. 13). He compensates this incredulity by an image that weeps, another that bleeds (l. vii. c. 30), and the miraculous cures of a deaf and a mute patient (l. xi. c. 32).

Pachymer calls him Germanus—M.

displayed the victory of the Arsenites, the clergy abstained during forty days from all ecclesiastical functions, a slight penance was imposed on the laity; the body of Arsenius was deposited in the sanctuary, and in the name of the departed saint, the prince and people were released from the sins of their fathers.

The establishment of his family was the motive, or at least the pretence, of the crime of Palæologus; and he was impatient to confirm the succession, by sharing with his eldest son the honours of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the Elder, was proclaimed and crowned emperor of the Romans, in the fifteenth year of his age, and, from the first era of a prolix and inglorious reign, he held that august title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the successor, of his father. Michael himself, had he died in a private station, would have been thought more worthy of the empire, and the assaults of his temporal and spiritual enemies left him few moments to labour for his own fame or the happiness of his subjects. He wrested from the Franks several of the noblest islands of the Archipelago, Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes. his brother Constantine was sent to command in Malvasia and Sparta; and the eastern side of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli to Cape Tenarus, was repossessed by the Greeks. This effusion of Christian blood was loudly condemned by the patriarch; and the insolent priest presumed to interpose his fears and scruples between the arms of princes. But in the prosecution of these western conquests, the countries beyond the Hellespont were left naked to the Turks, and their depredations verified the prophecy of a dying senator, that the recovery of Constantinople would be the ruin of Asia. The victories of Michael were achieved by

Reign of Michael
Palæologus
A.D. 1261-68
Reign of
Andronicus the
Elder
A.D. 1272-1332.

his lieutenants; his sword rusted in the palace, and, in the transactions of the emperor with the popes and the king of Naples, his political arts were stained with cruelty and fraud.

I The Vatican was the most natural refuge of a Latin emperor, who had been ^{His union with the Latin Church} driven from his throne, ^{A.D. 1274-77} and Pope Urban the Fourth appeared to pity the misfortunes, and vindicate the cause, of the fugitive Baldwin. A crusade, with plenary indulgence, was preached by his command against the schismatic Greeks; he excommunicated their allies and adherents, solicited Louis the Ninth in favour of his kinsman, and demanded a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France and England for the service of the holy war.² The subtle Greek, who watched the rising tempest of the West, attempted to suspend sooth the hostility of the pope, by suppliant embassies and respectful letters, but he insinuated that the establishment of peace must prepare the reconciliation and obedience of the Eastern church. The Roman court could not be deceived by so gross an artifice, and Michael was admonished, that the repentance of the son should precede the forgiveness of the father, and that *faith* (an ambiguous word) was the only basis of friendship and alliance. After a long and affected delay, the approach of danger, and the importunity of Gregory the Tenth, compelled him to enter on a more serious negotiation: he alleged the example of the great Vatican; and the Greek clergy, who understood the intentions of their prince, were not alarmed by the first steps of reconciliation and respect. But when he pressed the conclusion of the treaty, they strenuously declared that the Latins, though not in name, were heretics in

¹ The story of the Arsenites is spread through the thirteen books of Pachymer. Their union and triumph are reserved for Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. c. 9), who neither loves nor esteems these sectaries.

² Of the thirteen books of Pachymer the first six (as the fourth and fifth of Nicephorus Gregoras) contain the reign of Michael at the time of whose death he was forty years of age. Instead of breaking, like his editor the P. re. lousun, his history into two parts, I follow Ducaulx and Cousin, who number the thirteen books in one series.

³ Ducaulx, Hist. de l'Église, t. 33, &c. from the Epistles of Urban IV.

fact, and that they despised those strangers as the vilest and most despicable portion of the human race.¹ It was the task of the emperor to persuade, to corrupt, to intimidate, the most popular ecclesiastics, to gain the vote of each individual, and alternately to urge the arguments of Christian charity and the public welfare. The texts of the fathers and the arms of the Franks were balanced in the theological and political scale, and without approving the addition to the Nicene creed, the most moderate were taught to confess, that the two hostile propositions of proceeding from the Father by the Son, and of proceeding from the Father and the Son, might be reduced to a safe and Catholic sense.² The supremacy of the pope was a doctrine more easy to conceive, but more painful to acknowledge, yet Michael represented to his monks and prelates, that they might submit to name the Roman bishop as the first of the patriarchs, and that their distance and discretion would guard the liberties of the Eastern church from the mischievous consequences of the right of appeal. He protested that he would sacrifice his life and empire rather than yield the smallest point of orthodox faith or national independence, and this declaration was sealed and ratified by a golden bull. The patriarch Joseph withdrew to a monastery, to resign or resume his throne, according to the event of the treaty: the letters of union and obedience were subscribed by the emperor, his son Andronicus, and thirty-five archbishops and metropolitans, with their respective synod and the episcopal list was multiplied by many dioceses which were annihi-

lated under the yoke of the infidels. An embassy was composed of some trusty ministers and prelates: they embarked for Italy, with rich ornaments and rare perfumes, for the altar of St. Peter, and their secret orders artful and recommended a boundless compliance. They were received in the general council of Lyons, by Pope Gregory the Tenth, at the head of five hundred bishops.³ He embraced with tears his long-lost and repentant children; accepted the oath of the ambassadors, who abjured the schism in the name of the two emperors, adorned the prelates with the ring and mitre; chanted in Greek and Latin the Nicene creed with the addition of *filioque*, and rejoiced in the union of the East and West, which had been reserved for his reign. To consummate this pious work, the Byzantine deputies were speedily followed by the pope's nuncios, and their instruction discloses the policy of the Vatican, which could not be satisfied with the vain title of supremacy. After viewing the temper of the prince and people, they were enjoined to dissolve the schismatic clergy, who should subscribe and swear their abjuration and obedience, to establish in all the churches the use of the perfect creed, to prepare the entrance of a cardinal legate, with the full powers and dignity of his office, and to instruct the emperor in the advantages which he might derive from the temporal protection of the Roman pontiff.⁴

But they found a country without a friend, a nation in which the names of Rome and of the Eastern Union were pronounced with abhorrence. The patriarch Joseph was indeed removed; his see was filled by Venetian ecclesiastics of leaning and moderation, and the emperor was still urged by the same

¹ From their mercantile intercourse with the Venetians and Genoese, they branded the Latins as *εὐραῖοι* and *Βαρβαροι* (Pachymer, l. vi. c. 10). Some are heretics in name; others, like the Latins, in fact, and the learned Vuccus (l. v. c. 12), who soon afterwards became a convert (c. 15, 16), and a patriarch (c. 21).

In this class, we may place Pachymer himself, whose copious and candid narrative occupies the fifth and sixth books of his history. Yet the Greek is silent on the council of Lyons, and seems to believe that the popes always resided in Rome and Italy (l. v. c. 17, 21).

² See the acts of the council of Lyons in the year 1274, Fleury Hist. Ecclesiastique, tom. xviii. p. 18-199. Dupin, Bibliot. Eccles. tom. x. p. 13.

³ This curious instruction, which has been drawn with more or less honesty by Wading and Leo Allatius from the archives of the Vatican, is given in an abstract or version by Fleury (tom. xviii. p. 252-258).

motives, to persevere in the same professions. But in his private language, Palaeologus affected to deplore the pride, and to blame the innovations, of the Latins, and while he debased his character by this double hypocrisy, he justified and punished the opposition of his subjects. By the joint suffrage of the new and the ancient Rome, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the obstinate schismatics: the censures of the church were executed by the sword of Michael; on the failure of persuasion, he tried the arguments of prison and exile, of whipping and mutilation; those touchstones, says an historian, of cowards and the brave. Two Greeks still reigned in Aetolia, Epirus, and Thessaly, with the appellation of despots: they had yielded to the sovereign of Constantinople, but they rejected the chains of the Roman pontiff, and supported their refusal by successful arms. Under their protection, the fugitive monks and bishops assembled in hostile synods; and he tortured the name of heretic with the galling addition of apostate: the prince of Trebizond was tempted to assume the forfeit title of emperor;* and even the Latins of Negropont, Thebes, Athens, and the Morea, forgot the merits of the convert, to join, with open or clandestine aid, the enemies of Palaeologus. His favourite generals, of his own blood and family, successively deserted, or betrayed, the sacrilegious trust. His sister Bulgaria, a niece, and two female cousins, conspired against him, another, niece, Mary, queen of Bulgaria, negotiated his ruin with the sultan of Egypt, and, in the public eye, their treason was consecrated as the most sublime virtue. To the pope's nuncios, who urged the consummation of the

work, Palaeologus exposed a naked recital of all that he had done and suffered for their sake. They were assured that the guilty sectaries, of both sexes and every rank, had been deprived of their honours, their fortunes, and their liberty, a spreading list of confiscation and punishment, which involved many persons, the dearest to the emperor, or the best deserving of his favour. They were conducted to the prison, to behold four princes of the royal blood chained in the four corners, and shaking their fetters in an agony of grief and rage. Two of these captives were afterwards released; the one by submission, the other by death, but the obstinacy of their two companions was chastised by the loss of their eyes, and the Greeks, the least adverse to the union, deplore that cruel and inauspicious tragedy. Persecutors must expect the hatred of those whom they oppress, but they commonly find some consolation in the testimony of their conscience, the applause of their party, and, perhaps, the success of their undertaking. But the hypocrisy of Michael, which was prompted only by political motives, must have forced him to hate himself, to despise his followers, and to esteem and envy the rebel champions by whom he was detested and despised. While his violence was abhorred at Constantinople, at Rome his slowness was arraigned, and his sincerity suspected, till at length Pope Martin the Fourth excluded the Greek emperor from the pale of a church, into which he was striving to reduce a schismatic people. No sooner had the tyrant expired, than the union was dissolved, and abjured by unanimous consent, the churches were purified, the penitents were reconciled; and his son, Andronicus, after weeping the sins and errors of his youth, most piously denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian.²

The union dissolved. A.D. 1283.

* This frank and authentic confession of Michael's distress is exhibited in barbarous Latin by Ogerius, who signs himself Protocentarius Interpretum, and transcribed by Wadding from the MSS. of the Vatican (A.D. 1273, No. 3). His Annals of the Franciscan order, the *Frates Minores*, in seventeen volumes in folio (Rome 1741), I have now accidentally seen among the waste paper of a bookseller.

* According to Fallmerayer he had always maintained this title. — M.

¹ See the sixth book of Pachymer, particularly the chapters 1, 11, 16, 17, 21, 27. He is the more credible, as he speaks of this persecution with less anger than sorrow.

² Pachymer, l. vii. c. 11, 17. The speech

II. In the distress of the Latins, the walls and towers of Constantinople had fallen to decay. they were restored and fortified by the policy of Michael, who deposited a plenteous store of corn and salt provisions, to sustain the siege which he might hourly expect from the sentiment of the Western powers. Of these, the sovereign of the Two Sicilies was the most formidable neighbour, but as long as they were possessed by Mainfroy, the bastard of Frederic the Second, his monarchy was the bulwark, rather than the annoyance, of the Eastern empire. The usurper, though a brave and active prince, was sufficiently employed in the defence of his throne. his proscription by successive popes had separated Mainfroy from the common cause of the Latins; and the forces that might have besieged Constantinople were detained in a crusade against the domestic enemy of Rome. The prize of her avenger, the crown of the Two Sicilies, was won and worn by the brother of St. Louis, by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, who led the chivalry of France on this holy expedition.¹ The disaffection of his Christian subjects compelled Mainfroy to enlist a colony of Saracens whom his father had planted in Apulia; and this odious succour will explain the defiance of the Catholic hero, who rejected all terms of accommodation. "Bear this message," said Charles, to the sultan of Nocera, "that God and the sword are umpire between us; and that he shall either send me to paradise, or I will

Charles of Anjou
reduces Naples
and Sicily.
A.D. 1284.

of Andronicus the Elder (lib xii c. 2) is a curious record, which proves, that if the Greeks were the slaves of the emperor, the emperor was not less the slave of superstition and the clergy.

¹ The best accounts, the nearest to the time, the most full and entertaining, of the conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou, may be found in the Florentine Chronicles of Riccardo Malaspina (c. 175 193) and Giovanni Villani (l vii c. 1 10, 25-30) which are published by Muratori in the eighth and thirteenth volumes of the *Historians of Italy*. In his *Annals* (tom xi. p. 56-72), he has abridged these great events, which are likewise described in the *Istoria Civile di Giannone*, tom ii l. xix tom iii l.

send him to the pit of hell." The armies met, and though I am ignorant of Mainfroy's doom in the other world, in this he lost his friends, his kingdom, and his life, in the bloody battle of Benevento. Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled with a warlike race of French nobles, and their aspiring leader embraced the future conquest of Africa, Greece, and Palestine. The most specious reasons might point his first arms against the Byzantine empire, and Palæologus, diffident of his own strength, repeatedly appealed from the ambition of Charles to the humanity of St. Louis, who still preserved a just ascendant over the mind of his ferocious brother. For a while the attention of that brother was confined at home by the invasion of Conradin, the last heir of the Imperial house of Swabia. but the hapless boy sunk in the unequal conflict, and his execution on a public scaffold taught the rivals of Charles to tremble for their heads as well as their dominions. A second respite was obtained by the last crusade of St. Louis to the African coast; and the double motive of interest and duty urged the king of Naples to assist, with his powers and his presence, the holy enterprise. The death of St. Louis released him from the importunity of a virtuous censor: the king of Tunis confessed himself the tributary and vassal of the crown of Sicily, and the boldest of the French knights were free to enlist under his banner against the Greek empire.

Threatens the
Greek empire
A.D. 1270, &c.

A treaty and a marriage united his interest with the house of Courtenay: his daughter Beatrice was promised to Philip, son and heir of the Emperor Baldwin; a pension of six hundred ounces of gold was allowed for his maintenance; and his generous father distributed among his allies the kingdoms and provinces of the East, reserving only Constantinople, and one day's journey round the city, for the Imperial Roman. In this perilous moment Palæologus was the most eager to sub-

¹ Ducange, *Hist. de C P* l v c. 49 56, l vi c. 1 13. See Pichynier, l iv c. 29, l v c. 7 10, 25, l vi c. 30, 32, 33, and Nicephorus Gregorius l iv 5, l v 1, 6.

scribe the creed, and implore the protection, of the Roman pontiff, who assumed, with propriety and weight, the character of an angel of peace, the common father of the Christians. By his voice, the sword of Charles was chained in the scabbard; and the Greek ambassadors beheld him, in the pope's ante-chamber, biting his ivory sceptre in a transport of fury, and deeply resenting the refusal to enfranchise and consecrate his arms. He appears to have respected the disinterested mediation of Gregory the Tenth, but Charles was insensibly disgusted by the pride and partiality of Nicholas the Third; and his attachment to his kindred, the Ursini family, alienated the most strenuous champion from the service of the church. The hostile league against the Greeks, of Philip the Latin Emperor, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the republic of Venice, was ripened into execution, and the election of Martin the Fourth, a French pope, gave a sanction to the cause. Of the allies, Philip supplied his name, Martin, a bull of excommunication, the Venetians, a squadron of forty-galleys, and the formidable powers of Charles consisted of forty counts, ten thousand men-at-arms, a numerous body of infantry, and a fleet of more than three hundred ships and transports. A distant day was appointed for assembling this mighty force in the harbour of Brindisi, and a previous attempt was risked with a detachment of three hundred knights, who invaded Albania, and besieged the fortress of Belgrade. Their defeat might amuse with a triumph the vanity of Constantinople, but the more sagacious Michael, despising of his arms, depended on the effects of a conspiracy; on the secret workings of a rat, who gnawed the bowstring of the Sicilian tyrant.

Among the proscribed adherents of the house of Swabia, John Palæologus instigated the revolt of Procida, forfeited a Sicily, A.D. 1280, small island of that name in the bay of Naples. His birth was noble, but his education was learned,

¹ The reader of Herodotus will recollect how miraculously the Assyrian host of Sennacherib was dissipated and destroyed (l. ii. c. 141).

and in the poverty of exile, he was relieved by the practice of physic, which he had studied in the school of Salerno. Fortune had left him nothing to lose, except life, and to despise life is the first qualification of a rebel. Procida was endowed with the art of negotiation, to enforce his reasons, and disguise his motives; and in his various transactions with nations and men, he could persuade each party that he laboured solely for their interest. The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by every species of fiscal and military oppression,² and the lives and fortunes of his Italian subjects were sacrificed to the greatness of their master and the licentiousness of his followers. The hatred of Naples was repressed by his presence, but the looser government of his viceregents excited the contempt, as well as the aversion, of the Sicilians. The island was roused to a sense of freedom by the eloquence of Procida, and he displayed to every baron his private interest in the common cause. In the confidence of foreign aid, he successively visited the courts of the Greek emperor, and of Peter king of Arragon,³ who possessed the maritime countries of Valencia and Catalonia. To the ambitious Peter a crown was presented, which he might justly claim by his marriage with the sister⁴ of Manfred, and by the dying voice of Conradin, who from the scaffold had cast a rug to his heir and avenger. Palæologus was easily persuaded to divert his enemy from a foreign war by a rebellion at home, and a Greek subsidy of twenty five thousand ounces of gold was most profitably applied to aim at

¹ According to Sabas Malaspina (Hist. Sicul., l. iii. c. 10, in Muratori, tom. vii. p. 332), a senious (Suelph, the subjects of Charles, who had reviled Manfred as a wolf, began to regret him as a lamb, and he justified their discontent by the oppressions of the French government (l. vi. c. 2, 7). The Sicilian manifesto in Nicholas Speciale's (l. i. c. 11, in Muratori, tom. x. p. 830).

² See the character and councils of Peter King of Arragon, in Mariana (Hist. Hispan. l. xiv. c. 6, tom. ii. p. 233). The reader forgives the Jesuit's defects, on favour always of his style and often of his sense.

³ Daughter see Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 617.—M

Catalan fleet, which sailed under a holy banner to the specious attack of the Saracens of Africa. In the disguise of a monk or beggar, the indefatigable missionary of revolt flew from Constantinople to Rome, and from Sicily to Saragossa: the treaty was sealed with the signet of Pope Nicholas himself, the enemy of Charles, and his deed of gift transferred the fiefs of St Peter from the house of Anjou to that of Arragon. So widely diffused and so freely circulated, the secret was preserved above two years with impenetrable discretion, and each of the conspirators imbibed the maxim of Peter, who declared that he would cut off his left hand if it were conscious of the intentions of his right. The mine was prepared with deep and dangerous utility, but it may be questioned, whether the instant explosion of Palermo were the effect of accident or design.

On the vigil of Easter, a procession of the disarmed citizens visited a church without the walls, and a noble damsel was rudely insulted by a French soldier. The ravisher was instantly punished with death, and if the people was at first scattered by a military force, their numbers and fury prevailed, the conspirators seized the opportunity, the flame spread over the island, and eight thousand French were exterminated in a promiscuous massacre, which has obtained the name of the Sicilian Vespers.¹ From every city the banners of freedom and the church were displayed: the revolt was inspired by the presence or the soul of Fionda, and Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted

as the king and saviour of the isle. By the rebellion of a people on whom he had so long trampled with impunity, Charles was astonished and confounded; and in the first agony of grief and devotion, he was heard to exclaim "O God! if thou hast decreed to humble me, grant me at least a gentle and gradual descent from the pinnacle of greatness!" His fleet and army, which already filled the sea-ports of Italy, were hastily recalled from the service of the Grecian war, and the situation of Messina exposed that town to the first storm of his revenge. Feeble in themselves, and yet hopeless of foreign succour, the citizens would have repented and submitted on the assurance of full pardon and their ancient privileges. But the pride of the monarch was already kindled, and the most fervent entreaties of the legate could extort no more than a promise that he would forgive the remainder, after a chosen list of eight hundred rebels had been yielded to his discretion. The despair of the Messinese renewed their courage. Peter of Arragon approached to their relief, and his rival was driven back by the failure of provision and the terrors of the equinox to the Calabrian shore. At the same moment, the Catalan admiral, the famous Roger de Loria, swept the channel with an invincible squadron, the French ^{Descent of Charles} fleet, more numerous in transports than in galleys, was either burnt or destroyed, and the same blow assured the independence of Sicily and the safety of the Greek empire. A few days before his death, the Emperor Michael rejoined in the fall of an enemy whom he hated and esteemed, and perhaps he might be content with the popular judgment, that, had they not been matched with each other, Constantinople and Italy might speedily

¹ After enumerating the sufferings of his country, Nicholas Spinella adds in the true spirit of Italian jealousy, *Quoniam omnes graviores quidem ut arbitror, patitur animo scilicet tolerantius nihil (quod primum cunctis dominantibus cavendum est) alienas famulas insultant* (l. i. c. 2, p. 924).

² The French were long taught to remember this bloody lesson. "If I am provoked (said Henry the Fourth), I will breakfast at Milan and dine at Naples." "Your majesty" replied the Spanish ambassador "may perhaps arrive in Sicily for vespera."

³ This revolt, with the subsequent victory, are related by two national writers, Bartholomæus Neoplaton (in Muratori, tom. vii.) and Nicholas Spinella (in Muratori, tom. x.)—the one a contemporary, the other of the next century. The latter Spinella declares the name of rebellion, and all previous correspondence with Peter of Arragon quillo communis ac consilio, who happened to be with a fleet and army on the African coast (l. i. c. 43).

have obeyed the same master.¹ From this disastrous moment, the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes, his capital was insulted, his son was made prisoner, and he sunk into the grave without recovering the isle of Sicily, which, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Aragon.²

I shall not, I trust, be accused of supererogation, but I must remark, that even in this world, the natural order of events will sometimes afford the strong appearance of moral retribution. The first Palæologus had saved his empire by involving the kingdoms of the West in rebellion and blood, and from these scenes of discord arose a generation of iron men, who assaulted and enlarged the empire of his son. In modern times, our debts and taxes are the secret poison which still corrodes the bosom of peace, but in the weak and disorderly government of the middle ages, it was agitated by the present evil of the disbanding armies. Too idle to work, too proud to beg, the mercenaries were accustomed to a life of rapine, they could rob with more dignity and effect under a banner and a chief, and the sovereign, to whom their service was useless and their presence importunate, endeavoured to discharge the torrent on some neighbouring countries. After the peace of Sicily, many thousands of Genoese, Catalans,³ &c. who had fought, by sea and land, under the standard of Anjou or Aragon, were blended into one nation by the resemblance of their

¹ Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v. c. 6) admires the wisdom of Providence in this equal balance of states and princes. For the honour of Pæologus, I had rather this balance had been observed by an Italian writer.

² See the Chronicle of Villani, the eleventh volume of the Annals d'Italia of Muratori, and the twentieth and twenty first books of the Istoria Civile di Giannone.

³ In this motley multitude, the Catalans and French, the bravest of the soldiery, were joined, by themselves and the Turks, *Amoy*

⁴ Moncada derives their origin from the Catalans and Lachymæ (l. xl. c. 2.) from the Catalans. In the spite of national and religious animosity, I am afraid the latter is in the right.

manners and interest. They heard that the Greek provinces of Asia were invaded by the Turks, they resolved to share the harvest of pay and plunder, and Frederic, King of Sicily, most liberally contributed the means of their departure. In a warfare of twenty years, a ship, or a camp, was become their country, arms were their sole profession and property, valour was the only virtue which they knew, their women had imbibed the fearless temper of their lovers and husbands, it was reported that, with a stroke of their broad sword, the Catalans could cleave a horseman and a horse, and the report itself was a powerful weapon. Roger de Flor^{*} was the most popular of their chiefs, and his personal merit overshadowed the dignity of his princely rivals at Aragon. The offspring of a marriage between a German gentleman of the court of Frederick the Second and a damsel of Brindisi, Roger was necessarily a templar, an apostate, a pirate, and at length the richest and most powerful admiral of the Mediterranean. He sailed from Messina to Constantinople, with eighteen galleys, four great ships, and eight thousand adventurers, and his previous treaty was faithfully accomplished by Andronicus the elder, who accepted with joy and terror this formidable encounter. A palace was allotted for his reception, and a niece of the emperor was given in marriage to the valiant stranger, who was immediately created great duke and admiral of Romania. After a decent repose, he transported his troops over the Bosphorus, and boldly led them against the Turks. In two bloody battles thirty thousand of the Moslems were slain, he raised the siege of Philadelphia, and deserved the name of the deliverer of

^{*} On Roger de Flor and his companions, see an historical fragment, detailed and interesting, entitled, "The Spaniards of the Fourteenth Century," and inserted in "L'Esprit des Loix," a work translated from the German, vol. ii. p. 107. This narrative enables us to detect some slight errors which have crept into that of Gibbon.—[†]

[†] The troops of Roger de Flor, according to his companion, the monk Montaner, were divided into three parts, the first, the second, and the third, each of which was composed of foot, bowmen, and maimers, vol. i. p. 107. M.

Asia. But after a short season of prosperity, the cloud of slavery and ruin again burst on that unhappy province. The inhabitants escaped (says a Greek historian) from the smoke into the flames, and the hostility of the Turks was less pernicious than the friendship of the Catalans.* The lives and fortunes which they had rescued they considered as their own: the willing or reluctant maid was saved from the race of circumcision for the embraces of a Christian soldier: the extortion of fines and supplies was enforced by licentious rapine and arbitrary exactions, and, on the resistance of Magnesia, the great duke besieged a city of the Roman empire.† These disorders he excused by the wrongs and passions of a victorious army, nor would his own authority or person have been safe, had he dared to punish his faithful followers, who were defrauded of the just and covenant price of their services. The threats and complaints of Andronicus disclosed the nakedness of the empire. His golden bull had invited no more than five hundred horse and a thousand foot soldiers, yet the crowds of volunteers, who migrated to the East, had been enlisted and fed by his spontaneous bounty. While his bravest allies were content with three byzants or pieces of gold, for their monthly pay, an ounce, or even two ounces, of gold were assigned to the Catalans, whose annual pension would thus amount to near a hundred pounds sterling: one of their chiefs had modestly rated at three hundred thousand crowns the value of his *future* merits, and above a million had been issued from the treasury for the maintenance of these costly mercenaries. A cruel tax had been imposed on the corn of the husbandman: one third was retrenched from the salaries of the public officers, and the standard of the coin was so shamefully debased, that of the four-and-twenty parts only

* Some idea may be formed of the population of these cities, from the 80,000 inhabitants of Trales, which, in the preceding reign, was rebuilt by the emperor, and ruined by the Turks (Pachymer, l. vi. c. 20, 21).

• * Ramon de Montaner suppresses the cruelties and oppressions of the Catalans, in which, perhaps, he shared. —M

five were of pure gold.‡ At the summons of the emperor, Roger evacuated a province which no longer supplied the materials of rapine;§ but he refused to disperse his troops; and while his style was respectful, his conduct was independent and hostile. He protested, that if the emperor should march against him, he would advance forty paces to kiss the ground before him, but in rising from this prostrate attitude Roger had a life and sword at the service of his friends. The great duke of Romania condescended to accept the title and ornaments of Caesar, but he rejected the new proposal of the government of Asia with a subsidy of coin and money;|| on condition that he should reduce his troops to the harmless number of three thousand men. Assassination in the last resource of cowards. The Caesar was tempted to visit the royal residence of Adrianople, in the apartment, and before the eyes, of the empress, he was stabbed by the Alban guards: and, though the deed was imputed to their private revenge,‡ his countrymen, who dwelt at Constantinople in the security of peace, were involved in the same proscription by the prince or people.

† I have collected these pecuniary circumstances from Pachymer (l. xl. c. 21, l. xli. c. 4, 5, 8, 14, 19), who describes the progressive degradation of the gold coin. Even in the prosperous times of John Ducas Vatatzes, the byzants were composed in equal proportions of the pure and the baser metal. The poverty of Michael Paleologus compelled him to strike a new coin, with nine parts, or carats, of gold, and fifteen of copper alloy. After his death, the standard rose to ten carats, till in the public distress it was reduced to the moiety: the prince was relieved for a moment, while credit and commerce were for ever blasted. In France, the gold coin is of twenty two carats (one twelfth alloy), and the standard of England and Holland is still higher.

* Roger de Flor, according to Ramon de Montaner, was recalled from Natolia, on account of the war which had arisen on the death of Asan, king of Bulgaria. Andronicus claimed the kingdom for his nephews, the sons of Asan by his sister. Roger de Flor turned the tide of success in favour of the emperor of Constantinople, and made peace. —M

† Andronicus paid the Catalans in the debased money, much to their indignation. —M

‡ According to Ramon de Montaner he was murdered by order of Kyr (*supra*) Michael, son of the emperor, p. 170 —M

Of the Roman

The loss of their leader intimidated the crowd of adventurers, who hoisted the sails of flight, and were soon scattered round the coasts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of fifteen hundred Catalans or French, stood firm in the strong fortress of Gallipoli on the Hellespont, displayed the banners of Arragon, and offered to revenge and justify their chief, by an equal combat of ten or a hundred warriors. Instead of accepting this bold defiance, the Emperor Michael, the son and colleague of Andronicus, resolved to oppress them with the weight of multitudes: every nerve was strained to form an army of thirteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; and the Propontis was covered with the ships of the Greeks and Genoese. In two battles by sea and land, these mighty forces were encountered and overthrown by the despair and discipline of the Catalans, the young emperor fled to the palace, and an insufficient guard of light horse was left for the protection of the open country. Victory renewed the hopes and numbers of the adventurers: every nation was blended under the name and standard of the *great company*, and three thousand Turkish proselytes deserted from the Imperial service to join this military association. In the possession of Gallipoli,* the Catalans intercepted the trade of Constantinople and the Black Sea, while they spread their devastations on either side of the Hellespont over the confines of Europe and Asia. To prevent their approach, the greatest part of the Byzantine territory was laid waste by the Greeks themselves, the peasants and their cattle retired into the city, and myriads

* Ramon de Montaner describes his sojourn at Gallipoli: *Nous étions si riches, que nous ne semions, ni ne labourions, ni ne faisions engrer des vins, ni ne cultivions les vignes: et cependant tous les ans nous recueillions tout ce qu'il nous fallait, en vin, froment et avoine*, p. 163. This lasted for five merry years. Ramon de Montaner is high authority, for he was "chancelier et maître rationnel de l'armée" (commissary of *munition*). He was left governor, all the scries of the army remained with him, and with their aid he kept the books, in which were registered the number of horse and foot employed on each expedition. According to this book the plunder was shared, of which he had a fifth for his trouble, p. 197.—M.

of sheep and oxen, for which neither place nor food could be procured, were unprofitably slaughtered on the same day. Four times the Emperor Andronicus sued for peace, and four times he was inflexibly repulsed, till the want of provisions, and the discord of the chiefs, compelled the Catalans to evacuate the banks of the Hellespont and the neighbourhood of the capital. After their separation from the Turks, the remains of the great company pursued their march through Macedonia and Thessaly, to seek a new establishment in the heart of Greece.

After some ages of oblivion, Greece was awakened to new ^{Revolutions of} misfortunes by the aims ^{the} of the Latins. In the ^{A.D. 1291 1456} two hundred and fifty years between the first and the last conquest of Constantinople, that venerable land was disputed by a multitude of petty tyrants, without the comforts of freedom and genius, her ancient institutions were again plunged in foreign and intestine war, and, if servitude be preferable to anarchy, they might repose with joy under the Turkish yoke. I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties that rose or fell on the con-

¹ The Catalan war is most copiously related by Pachymer, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth books, till he breaks off in the year 1308. Nicéphore Grégoras (l. vii. f. 141) is more concise and complete. Ducange, who adopts these adventures as French, has hunted their footsteps with his usual diligence (*Hist. de C. P. l. vi. c. 22 46*). He quotes in Arragonese history, which I have read with pleasure and which the Spaniards extol as a model of style and composition (*Expedicion de los Catalanes y Arragoneses contra Turcos y Griegos*, Barcelona, 1123, in quarto, Madrid, 1777, in octavo) Don Francisco de Moncada, conde de Oaxaca, may imitate Caesar or Ballarín. He may transcribe the Greek or Italian contemporary poets: but he never quotes his authorities, and I cannot detect in any national records or the exploits of his countrymen.

* Ramon de Montaner, one of the Catalans, who accompanied Roger de Flor, and who was governor of Gallipoli, has written, in Spanish, the history of this band of adventurers, to which he belonged, and from which he separated when it left the Thracian Chersonese to penetrate into Macedonia and Greece.—G.

The autobiography of Ramon de Montaner has been published in French by M. Luchon, in the great collection of *Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*. I quote this edition.—M.

tment or in the is but our silence on the fate of ATHENS would argue a strange ingratitude to the first and purest school of liberal science and amusement. In the partition of the empire, the principality of Athens and Thebes was assigned to Otho de la Roche, a noble warrior of Burgundy,¹ with the title of great duke,² which the Latins understood in their own sense, and the Greeks more foolishly derived from the age of Constantine.³ Otho followed the standard of the Marquis of Montferrat the ample state which he acquired by a miracle of conduct⁴ or fortune,⁵ was peaceably inherited by his son and two grandsons, till the family, though not the nation, was changed, by the marriage of an heiress into the elder branch of the house of Brienne. The son of that marriage, Walter de Brienne, succeeded to the duchy of Athens and, with the aid of some Catalan mercenaries, whom he invested with fiefs, reduced above thirty castles of the vassal or neighbouring lords. But when he was informed of the approach and ambition of the great company, he collected a force of seven hundred knights, six thousand four hundred horse, and eight thousand

foot, and boldly met them on the banks of the river Cephissus in Boetia. The Catalans amounted to no more than three thousand five hundred horse, and four thousand foot; but the deficiency of numbers was compensated by stratagem and order. They formed round their camp an artificial inundation; the duke and his knights advanced without fear or precaution on the verdant meadow, their horses plunged into the bog, and he was cut in pieces, with the greatest part of the French cavalry. His family and nation were expelled; and his son, Walter de Brienne, the titular duke of Athens, the tyrant of Florence, and the constable of France, lost his life in the field of Poitiers. Attica and Boetia were the rewards of the victorious Catalans, they married the widows and daughters of the slain, and during fourteen years, the great company was the terror of the Grecian states. Their factions drove them to acknowledge the sovereignty of the house of Aragon, and during the remainder of the fourteenth century, Athens, as a government or an appanage, was successively bestowed by the kings of Sicily. After the French and Catalans, the third dynasty was that of the Accaioli, a family, plebeian at Florence, potent at Naples, and sovereign in Greece. Athens, which they embellished with new buildings, became the capital of a state, that extended over Thebes, Argos, Corinth, Salpin, and a part of Thessaly, and their reign was finally determined by Mahomet the Second, who strangled the last duke, and educated his sons in the discipline and religion of the seraglio.

Athens,⁶ though no more than the shadow of her former Present state of Athens. self, still contains about eight or ten thousand inhabitants: of these, three-fourths are Greeks in

¹ See the laborious history of Durange, whose accurate table of the French dynasties recapitulates the thirty five passages, in which he mentions the dukes of Athens.

He is twice mentioned by Villhardouin with honour (No 151, 245), and under the first passage, Durange observes all that can be known of his person and family.

² From these Latin princes of the fourteenth century, Boccace, Chaucer, and Shakespeare have borrowed their Thebans, dukes of Athens. An ignorant age transfers its own language and manners to the most distant times.

³ The same Constantine gave to Sicily a king, to Russia the *magnus dux* of the empire, to Thebes the *princeps*, and these absurd fables are properly lashed by Durange (ad Nicephor Greg. l. vii. c. 5). By the Latins, the lord of Thebes was styled, by corruption, the *Megas Aurios*, or Grand Sire!

⁴ *Quodam miraculo*, says Alberic. He was probably received by Michael Choniates, the archbishop who had defended Athens against the tyrant Leo Sgurus (Nicephorus urbs capta, p. 805, ed. Bek.) Michael was the brother of the historian Nicephorus, and his encomium of Athens is still extant in MS. in the Bodleian library (Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 408).^{*}

⁵ * Nicephorus says expressly that Michael surrendered the Acropolis to the marquis.—M.

⁶ The modern account of Athens, and the Athenians, is extracted from Spon (Voyage en Grèce, tom. ii. p. 179-199), and Wheeler (Travels into Greece, p. 327-414), Stuart (Antiquities of Athens, passim), and Chandler (Travels into Greece, p. 23-172). The first of these travellers visited Greece in the year 1676, the last 1768, and ninety years had not produced much difference in the tranquil scene.

religion and language, and the Turks, who compose the remainder, have relaxed, in their intercourse with the citizens, somewhat of the pride and gravity of their national character. The olive-tree, the gift of Minerva, flourishes in Attica; nor has the honey of Mount Hymettus lost any part of its exquisite flavour.¹ but the languid trade is monopolised by strangers, and the agriculture of a barren land is abandoned to the vagrant Wallachians. The Athenians are still distinguished by the subtlety and acuteness of their understandings, but these qualities, unless ennobled by freedom, and enlightened by study, will degenerate into a low and selfish cunning and it is a proverbial saying of the country, "From the Jews of Thessalonica, the Turks of Negropont, and the Greeks of Athens, good Lord deliver us!" This artful people has eluded the tyranny of the Turkish bashaws by an expedient which alleviates their servitude and aggravates their shame. About the middle of the last century, the Athenians chose for their protector the Kiaslar Aga, or chief black eunuch of the seraglio. This Ethiopian slave, who possesses the sultan's ear, condescends to accept the tribute of thirty

thousand crowns; his lieutenant, the Waywode, whom he annually confirms, may reserve for his own about five or six thousand more, and such is the policy of the citizens, that they seldom fail to remove and punish an oppressive governor. Their private differences are decided by the archbishop, one of the richest prelates of the Greek church, since he possesses a revenue of one thousand pounds sterling; and by a tribunal of the eight *geronts* or elders, chosen in the tight quarters of the city the noble families cannot trace their pedigree above three hundred years; but their principal members are distinguished by a grave demeanour, a fur cap, and the lofty appellation of *archon*. By some, who delight in the contrast, the modern language of Athens is represented as the most corrupt and barbarous of the seventy dialects of the vulgar Greek², this picture is too darkly coloured, but it would not be easy, in the country of Plato and Demosthenes, to find a reader or a copy of their works. The Athenians walk with supine indifference among the glorious ruins of antiquity, and such is the debasement of their character, that they are incapable of admiring the genius of their predecessors.³

CHAPTER LXIII

CIVIL WARS, AND RUIN OF THE GREEK EMPIRE—REIGN OF ANDRONICUS, THE ELDER AND YOUNGER, AND JOHN PALÆOLOGUS—REGENCY, REVOLT, REFUGIUM, AND ABDICATION OF JOHN CANTACUZENE—ESTABLISHMENT OF A GREEK COLONY AT PERA OR GALATA—THEIR WARS WITH THE EMPIRE AND CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE long reign of Andronicus⁴ the elder is chiefly memorable by the disputes of the Greek church, the invasion of the Catalans, and the rise of the Ottoman power

¹ The ancients, or at least the Athenians, believed that all the bees in the world had been propagated from Mount Hymettus. They taught that health might be preserved, and life prolonged, by the external use of oil, and the internal use of honey (*Geoponica*, l. xv. c. 7, p. 1039-1084, edit. Niclas).

² Andronicus himself will justify our free-

dom in the invective (Nicophorus Gregoras, l. i. c. 1) which he pronounced against historic falsehood. It is true, that his remark is more pointedly urged against calumny than against adulation.

³ Ducange, Glossar. Græc. Profat. p. 8, who quotes for his author Theodosius Zygomalas, a modern grammarian. Yet Spon (*Itin.* ii. p. 194) and Wheeler (p. 355), no incompetent judges, entertain a more favourable opinion of the Attic dialect.

⁴ Yet we must not accuse them of corrupting the name of Athens, which they still call

such virtue and such learning, contributed neither to the perfection of the individual, nor to the happiness of society. A slave of the most abject superstition, he was surrounded on all sides by visible and invisible enemies, nor were the flames of hell less dreadful to his fancy, than those of a Catalan or Turkish war. Under the reign of the Palæologi, the choice of the patriarch was the most important business of the state; the heads of the Greek church were ambitious and fanatic monks, and their vices or virtues, their learning or ignorance, were equally mischievous or contemptible. By his intemperate discipline, the patriarch Athanasius¹ excited the hatred of the clergy and people. he was heard to declare that the sinner should swallow the last drops of the cup of penance, and the foolish tale was propagated of his punishing a sacrilegious ass that had tasted the lettuce of a convent garden. Driven from the throne by the universal clamour, Athanasius composed, before his retreat, two papers of a very opposite cast. His public testament was in the tone of charity and resignation, the private edict breathed the direst anathemas against the authors of his disgrace, whom he excluded for ever from the communion of the holy trinity, the angels, and the saints. This last paper he enclosed in an earthen pot, which was placed, by his order, on the top of one of the pillars in the dome of St Sophia, in the distant hope of discovery and revenge. At the end of four years, some youths, climbing by a ladder in search of pigeons' nests, detected the fatal secret, and, as Andronicus felt himself touched and bound by the excommunication, he trembled

on the brink of the abyss which had been so treacherously dug under his feet. A synod of bishops was instantly convened to debate this important question the rashness of these clandestine anathemas was generally condemned, but as the knot could be untied only by the same hand, as that hand was now deprived of the crosier, it appeared that this posthumous decree was irrevocable by any earthly power. Some faint testimonies of repentance and pardon were extorted from the author of the mischief, but the conscience of the emperor was still wounded, and he desired, with no less ardour than Athanasius himself, the restoration of a patriarch, by whom alone he could be healed. At the dead of night, a monk rudely knocked at the door of the royal bed-chamber, announcing a revelation of plague and famine, of inundations and earthquakes. Andronicus started from his bed, and spent the night in prayer, till he felt, or thought that he felt, a slight motion of the earth. The emperor on foot led the bishops and monks to the cell of Athanasius, and, after a proper resistance, the saint, from whom this message had been sent, consented to absolve the prince, and govern the church of Constantinople. Untamed by disgrace, and hardened by solitude, the shepherd was again odious to the flock, and his enemies contrived a singular, and, as it proved, a successful, mode of revenge. In the night they stole away the foot-stool or foot-cloth of his throne, which they secretly replaced with the decoration of a satirical picture. The emperor was painted with a bridle in his mouth, and Athanasius leading the tractable beast to the feet of Christ. The authors of the libel were detected and punished; but as their lives had been spared, the Christian priest in sullen indignation retired to his cell; and the eyes of Andronicus, which had been opened for a moment, were again closed by his successor.

If this transaction be one of the most curious and important of a reign of fifty years, I cannot at least accuse the

Athini. From the *αἰς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, we have formed our own barbarian of *Selines*.*

¹ For the anathema in the pigeon's nest, see Pachymer (l. ix. c. 24), who relates the general history of Athanasius (l. viii. c. 13 16, 20, 24, l. x. c. 27 28, 31 36, l. xi. c. 1-3, 5, 6, l. xii. c. 8, 10, 23, 36), followed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vi. c. 5, 7, l. vii. c. 1, 9), who includes the second retreat of the second Chrysostom.

* Gibbon did not foresee a Bavarian prince on the throne of Greece, with Athens as his capital.—M

brevity of my materials, since I reduce into some few pages the enormous folios of Pachymer,¹ Cantacuzene,² and Nicephorus Gregoras,³ who have composed the prolix and languid story of the times. The name and situation of the Emperor John Cantacuzene might inspire the most lively curiosity. His memorials of forty years extend from the revolt of the younger Andronicus to his own abdication of the empire; and it is observed, that, like Moses and Cæsar, he was the principal actor in the scenes which he describes. But in this eloquent work we should vainly seek the sincerity of a hero or a penitent. Retired in a cloister from the vices and passions of the world, he presents not a confession, but an apology, of the life of an ambitious statesman. Instead of unfolding the true counsels and characters of men, he displays the smooth and specious surface of events, highly varnished with his own praises and those of his friends. Their motives are always pure, their ends always legitimate, they conspire and rebel without any views of interest; and the violence which they inflict or suffer is celebrated as the spontaneous effect of reason and virtue.

After the example of the first of the Paleologi, the elder Andronicus associated his son Michael to the honours of the purple; and from the age of eighteen to his premature death, that prince was acknowledged, above twenty-five years, as the second emperor of the Greeks.⁴ At the head

¹ Pachymer, in seven books, 871 folio pages, describes the first twenty-six years of Andronicus the Elder, and marks the date of his composition by the current news or lie of the day (A. D. 1308). Either death or disgust prevented him from resuming his pen.

² After an interval of twelve years, from the conclusion of Pachymer, Cantacuzene takes up the pen, and his first book (c. 1. 67, p. 9-150) relates the civil war, and the eight last years of the elder Andronicus. The ingenuous comparison with Moses and Cæsar, is fancied by his French translator, the president Cousin.

³ Nicephorus Gregoras more briefly includes the entire life and reign of Andronicus the Elder (l. vi c. 1, p. 98-391). This is the part of which Cantacuzene complains as a false and malicious representation of his conduct.

⁴ He was crowned May 21st, 1295, and died

of an army, he excited neither the fears of the enemy, nor the jealousy of the court, his modesty and patience were never tempted to compute the years of his father, nor was that father compelled to repent of his liberality either by the virtues or vices of his son. The son of Michael was named Andronicus from his grandfather, to whose early favour he was introduced by that nominal resemblance. The blossoms of wit and beauty increased the fondness of the elder Andronicus, and, with the common vanity of age, he expected to realise in the second, the hope which had been disappointed in the first, generation. The boy was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite, and in the oaths and acclamations of the people, the august trust was formed by the names of the father, the son, and the grandson. But the younger Andronicus was speedily corrupted by his infant greatness, while he beheld with puerile impatience the double obstacle that hung, and might long hang, over his rising ambition. It was not to acquire fame, or to diffuse happiness, that he so eagerly aspired wealth and impunity were in his eyes the most precious attributes of a monarch, and his first indiscreet demand was the sovereignty of some rich and fertile island, where he might lead a life of independence and pleasure. The emperor was offended by the loud and frequent intemperance which disturbed his capital: the sums which his parent money denied were supplied by the Genoese usurers of Pera and the oppressive debt, which consolidated the interest of a faction, could be discharged only by a revolution. A beautiful female, a matron in rank, a prostitute in manners, had instructed the younger Andronicus in the rudiments of love; but he had reason to suspect October 12th, 1320 (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 270). His brother Theodore, by a second marriage, inherited the marquisate of Montserrat, and adhered to the religion and manners of the Latins (ὁ δὲ καὶ γέννησεν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ ἐχρημάτι, καὶ γέννησεν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ ἐχρημάτις ὡς ἀρεστέρας Νικ. (irrog. l. ix c. 1), and founded a dynasty of Italian princes, which was extinguished A. D. 1653 (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 249-253).

the nocturnal visits of a rival; and a stranger passing through the street was pierced by the arrows of his guards, who were placed in ambush at her door. That stranger was his brother, Prince Manuel, who languished and died of his wound; and the Emperor Michael, their common father, whose health was in a declining state, expired on the eighth day, lamenting the loss of both his children.¹ However guiltless in his intention, the younger Andronicus might impute a brother's and a father's death to the consequence of his own vices; and deep was the sigh of thinking and feeling men, when they perceived, instead of sorrow and repentance, his ill-disssembled joy on the removal of two odious competitors. By these melancholy events, and the increase of his disorders, the mind of the elder emperor was gradually alienated, and, after many fruitless reproofs, he transferred on another grandson² his hopes and affection. The change was announced by the new oath of allegiance to the reigning sovereign, and the person whom he should appoint for his successor; and the acknowledged heir, after a repetition of insults and complaints, was exposed to the indignity of a public trial. Before the sentence, which would probably have condemned him to a dungeon or a cell, the emperor was informed that the palace courts were filled with the armed followers of his grandson: the judgment was softened to a treaty of reconciliation, and the triumphant escape of the prince encouraged the ardour of the younger faction.

Yet the capital, the clergy, and the ^{Three civil wars} senate, adhered to the ^{between the two} person, or at least to the ^{emperors} government, of the old emperor; and it was only in the provinces, by flight, and revolt, and foreign

¹ We are indebted to Nicephorus Gregoras (i vii c. 1.) for the knowledge of this tragic adventure, while Cantacuzene more discreetly conceals the vices of Andronicus the Younger, of which he was the witness, and perhaps the associate (i c. 1. &c.).

² His destined heir was Michael Catharus, the bastard of Constantine, his second son. In this project of excluding his grandson Andronicus, Nicephorus Gregoras (i vii c. 3.) agrees with Cantacuzene (i c. 1. 2.).

succour, that the malcontents could hope to vindicate their cause and subvert his throne. The soul of the enterpriser was the great domestic John Cantacuzene: the sally from Constantinople is the first date of his actions and memorials, and if his own pen be most descriptive of his patriotism, an unfriendly historian has not refused to celebrate the zeal and ability which he displayed in the service of the young emperor.^{*} That prince escaped from the capital under the pretence of hunting, erected his standard at Adrianople, and, in a few days, assembled fifty thousand horse and foot, whom neither honour nor duty could have armed against the barbarians. Such a force might have saved or commanded the empire, but their counsels were discordant, their motions were slow and doubtful, and their progress was checked by intrigue and negotiation. The quarrel of the two Andronici was protracted, and suspended, and renewed, during a rumous period of seven years. In the first treaty, the relics of the Greek empire were divided: Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the islands, were left to the elder, while the younger acquired the sovereignty of the greatest part of Thrace, from Philippi to the Byzantine limit. By the second treaty, he stipulated the payment of his ^{Coronation of the younger Andronicus, A.D. 1328.} troops, his immediate coronation, and an adequate share of the power and revenue of the state. The third civil war was terminated by the surprise of Constantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the sole reign of his victorious grandson.⁶ The reasons of this delay may be found in the characters of the men and of the times. When the heir of the monarchy first pleaded his wrongs and his apprehensions, he was heard with pity and applause and his adherents repeated

^{*} The conduct of Cantacuzene, by his own showing, was inexplicable. He was unwilling to dethrone the old emperor, and dissuaded the immediate march on Constantinople. The young Andronicus, he says, entered into his views, and wrote to warn the emperor of his danger when the march was determined. Cantacuzenus, in *Nov Byz Hist Collect*, vol. i p. 104, &c.—M.

on all sides the inconsistent promise, that he would increase the pay of the soldiers and alleviate the burthens of the people. The grievances of forty years were mingled in his revolt, and the rising generation was fatigued by the endless prospect of a reign, whose favourites and maxims were of other times. The youth of Andronicus had been without spirit, his age was without reverence. His taxes produced an annual revenue of five hundred thousand pounds, yet the richest of the sovereigns of Christendom was incapable of maintaining three thousand horse and twenty galleys, to resist the destructive progress of the Turks.¹ "How different," said the younger Andronicus, "is my situation from that of the son of Philip! Alexander might complain, that his father would leave him nothing to conquer; alas! my grandfather will leave me nothing to lose." But the Greeks were soon admonished, and the public disorders could not be healed by a civil war; and that their young favourite was not destined to be the saviour of a falling empire. On the first repulse, his party was broken by his own levity, their intestine discord, and the intrigues of the ancient court, which tempted each malcontent to desert or betray the cause of rebellion. Andronicus the younger was touched with remorse, or fatigued with business, or deceived by negotiation, pleasure rather than power was his aim, and the licence of maintaining a thousand hounds, a thousand hawks, and a thousand huntmen, was sufficient to sully his fame and disarm his ambition.

Let us now survey the catastrophe of his busy plot, and the final situation of the government.² The principal actors. The age of Andronicus was consumed in civil discord; and, amidst

The elder Andronicus abdicates the government, A.D. 1228.

¹ See Nicephorus Gregoras, l vii c. 6. The younger Andronicus complained that in four years and four months a sum of 3,000,000 byzants of gold was due to him for the expenses of his household (Cantacuzen l i c. 48). Yet he would have remitted the debt, if he might have been allowed to squeeze the farmers of the revenue.

² I follow the chronology of Nicephorus

the events of war and treaty, his power and reputation continually decayed, till the fatal night in which the gates of the city and palace were opened without resistance to his grandson. His principal commander scorned the repeated warnings of danger; and returning to rest in the vain security of ignorance, abandoned the feeble monarch, with some priests and pages, to the terrors of sleepless night. These terrors were quickly realised by the hostile shouts, which proclaimed the titles and victory of Andronicus the younger, and the aged emperor, falling prostrate before an image of the Virgin, despatched a suppliant message to resign the sceptre, and to obtain his life at the hands of the conqueror. The answer of his grandson was decent and pious, at the prayer of his friends, the younger Andronicus assumed the sole administration, but the elder still enjoyed the name and pre-eminence of the first emperor, the use of the great palace, and a pension of twenty-four thousand pieces of gold, one half of which was assigned on the royal treasury, and the other on the fishery of Constantinople. But his impotence was soon exposed to contempt and oblivion; the vast silence of the palace was disturbed only by the cattle and poultry of the neighbourhood,* which roved with impunity through the solitary courts, and a reduced allowance of ten thousand pieces of gold¹ was all that he could ask, and more than he could hope. His calamities were embittered by the gradual extinction of sight, his confinement was rendered each day more rigorous; and during the absence and sickness of his grandson, his inhuman keepers, by the threats of instant

Gregoras, who is remarkably exact. It is proved that Cantacuzene has mistaken the dates of his own actions, or rather that his text has been corrupted by ignorant transcribers.

¹ I have endeavoured to reconcile the 24,000 pieces of Cantacuzen (l ii c. 1) with the 10,000 of Nicephorus Gregoras (l ix c. 2), the one of whom wished to soften, the other to magnify, the hardships of the old emperor.

* And the washerwoman, according to Nicephorus Gregoras, p. 161. M.

death, compelled him to exchange the purple for the monastic habit and profession. The monk *Antony* had renounced the pomp of the world, yet he had occasion for a coarse fur in the winter season, and as wine was forbidden by his confessor, and water by his physician, the sherbet of Egypt was his common drink. It was not without difficulty that the late emperor could procure three or four pieces to satisfy these simple wants, and it he bestowed the gold to relieve the more painful distress of a friend, the sacrifice is of some weight in the scale of humanity and religion. Four years after his abdication, Andronicus or Antony expired in a cell, in the

His death,
A.D. 1332. seventy-fourth year of his age, and the last strain of adulation could only promise a more splendid crown of glory in heaven than he had enjoyed upon earth.*

Nor was the reign of the younger, more glorious or fortunate than that of the elder, Andronicus.¹ He gathered the fruits of ambition, but the taste was transient and bitter in the supreme station he lost the remains of his early popularity; and the defects of his character became still more conspicuous to the world. The public reproach urged him to march in person against the Turks; nor did his courage fail in the hour of trial, but a defeat and a wound were the only trophies of his expedition in

¹ See Nicephorus Gregoras (I ix 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, I x c. 1). The historian had tasted of the prosperity, and shared the retreat, of his benefactor, and that friendship which "waits or to the scaffold or the cell," should not lightly be accused as "a hireling, a prostitute to praise." †

² The sole reign of Andronicus the younger is described by Cantacuzene (I ii c. 140, p. 191 339), and Nicephorus Gregoras (I ix c. 7, I xi 2, 11, p. 292-291).

* Prodiges (according to Nic. Gregoras, p. 460), announced the departure of the old and imbecile Imperial Monk from his earthly prison.—M.

† But it may be accused of unparalleled absurdity. He compares the extinction of the feeble old man to that of the sun—his coffin is to be floated, like Noah's ark, by a deluge of tears.—M.

Asia, which confirmed the establishment of the Ottoman monarchy. The abuses of the civil government attained their full maturity and perfection: his neglect of forms, and the confusion of national dresses, are deplored by the Greeks as the fatal symptoms of the decay of the empire. Andronicus was old before his time: the intemperance of youth had accelerated the infirmities of age; and after being rescued from a dangerous malady by nature, or physic, or the Virgin, he was snatched away before he had accomplished his forty-fifth year. He was twice married,

and as the progress of the
Latin in arms and arts *His two wives*
had softened the prejudices of the Byzantine court, his two wives were chosen in the princely houses of Germany and Italy. The first, Agnes at home, Irene in Greece, was daughter of the duke of Brunswick. Her father¹ was a petty lord² in the poor and savage regions of the north of Germany³ yet he derived some revenue

¹ Agnes, or Irene, was the daughter of duke Henry the Wonderful, the chief of the house of Brunswick, and the fourth in descent from the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and conqueror of the Slavi on the Baltic coast. Her brother Henry was surnamed the *Greek*, from his two journeys into the East: but these journeys were subsequent to his sister's marriage, and I am ignorant how Agnes was discovered in the heart of Germany, and recommended to the Byzantine court. (Rimius, *Memoirs of the house of Brunswick*, p. 139-137).

² Henry the Wonderful was the founder of the branch of Grubenhagen, extinct in the year 1506 (Rimius, p. 237). He resided in the castle of Wolfenbittel, and possessed no more than a sixth part of the allodial estates of Brunswick and Lüneburgh, which the archbishop family had saved from the confiscation of their great feus. The frequent partitions among brothers had almost ruined the princely houses of Germany, till that just, but pernicious, law was slowly superseded by the right of primogeniture. The principality of Grubenhagen, one of the last remains of the Herynian forest, is a woody, mountainous, and barren tract (Rusching's *Geography*, vol. vi p. 270-294. English translation).

³ The royal author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg* will teach us, how justly, in a much later period, the north of Germany deserved the epithets of poor and barbarous. (Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.). In the year 1206, in the woods of Lüneburgh, some wild people of the Vened race were allowed to bury alive their infirm and useless persons. (Rimius, p. 196).

from his silver-mines,¹ and his family is celebrated by the Greeks as the most ancient and noble of the Teutonic name.² After the death of this childish princess, Andronicus sought in marriage Jane, the sister of the Count of Savoy,³ and his suit was preferred to that of the French king. The count respected in his sister the superior majesty of a Roman empress: her retinue was composed of knights and ladies, she was regenerated and crowned in St Sophia, under the more orthodox appellation of Anne; and at the nuptial feast, the Greeks and Italians vied with each other in the martial exercises of tilts and tournaments.

The Empress Anne of Savoy survived her husband their son, John Palæologus, was left an orphan and emperor in the ninth year of his age, and his weakness was protected by the first and most deserving of the Greeks. The long and cordial friendship of his father for

¹ The assertion of Tacitus, that Germany was destitute of the precious metals, must be taken, even in his own time with some limitation (*Germania*, c. 6. *Annal* xi. 20). According to Sprenger (*Hist. Germaniæ Pragmatica*, tom. I. p. 351), *Argentiferæ* in *Her-cyniæ montibus*, Imperator Otho in *magno* (A. D. 968), *primis apertis, largam etiam opes augendi dederunt copiam*, but *Rimius* (p. 258, 259), defers till the year 1010 the discovery of the silver mines of Carinthia, or the Upper Harz, which were productive in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and which still yield a considerable revenue to the house of Brunswick.

² Cantaculene has given a most honourable testimony, *ἡ δ' ἐν Ἱερμανίᾳ αὐτῇ θυγατὴρ δαυκίᾳ ἐν Μερουζιᾷ* (the modern Greeks employ the *μ* for the *λ*, and the *με* for the *β*, and the whole will read in the Italian idiom di Brunzale), *τῇ παρ αὐτῆς ἐκφυγιστάτῃ, καὶ λαμψρότατῃ πάντας τοὺς δουλοφύλους διαβελλόντῃ τοῦ γένους*. The praise is just in itself, and pleasing to an English ear.

³ Anne, or Jane, was one of the daughters of Amedée the Great, by a second marriage, and half sister of his successor Edward count of Savoy (Anderson's *Tables*, p. 650). See Cantacuzene (I. i. c. 40-42).

⁴ That king, if the fact be true, must have been Charles the Fair, who in five years (1321-1326) was married to three wives (Anderson, p. 623). Anne of Savoy arrived at Constantinople in February 1326.

John Cantacuzene is alike honourable to the prince and the subject. It had been formed amidst the pleasures of their youth their families were almost equally noble,⁴ and the recent lustre of the purple was amply compensated by the energy of a private education. We have seen that the young emperor was saved by Cantacuzene from the power of his grandfather, and, after six years of civil war, the same favourite brought him back in triumph to the palace of Constantinople. Under the reign of Andronicus the younger, the great domestic ruled the emperor and the empire, and it was by his valour and conduct that the isle of Lesbos and the principality of Ætolia were restored to their ancient allegiance. His enemies confess, that, among the public robbers, Cantacuzene alone was moderate and abstemious. and the free and voluntary account which he produces of his own wealth⁵ may sustain the presumption that it was devolved by inheritance, and not accumulated by rapine. He does not indeed specify the value of his money, plate, and jewels; yet, after a voluntary gift of two hundred vases of silver, after much had been secreted by his friends and plundered by his foes, his forfeit treasures were sufficient for the equipment of a fleet of seventy galleys. He does not measure the size and number of his estates, but his granaries were heaped with an incredible store of wheat and barley, and the labour of a thousand yoke of oxen might cultivate, according to the practice of antiquity, about sixty-two thousand five hundred acres of arable land.⁶ His pastures were stocked with

¹ The noble race of the Cantacuzeni (illustrous from the eleventh century in the Byzantine annals) was drawn from the Palatines of France, the heroes of those romances which, in the thirteenth century, were translated and read by the Greeks (Ducange, *Fasti Byzant.* p. 250).

² See Cantacuzene (I. i. c. 24, 30, 36).

³ *Esarnia*, in Gaul, or *Columella*, in Italy or Spain, allow two yoke of oxen, two drivers, and six labourers, for two hundred jugera (126 English acres) of arable land, and three more men must be added if there be much more wood (*Columella de Re Rustica*, I. ii. c. 13, p. 441, edit. Gesner).

two thousand five hundred brood mares, two hundred camels, three hundred mules, five hundred asses, five thousand horned cattle, fifty thousand hogs, and seventy thousand sheep: a precious record of rural opulence, in the last period of the empire, and in a land, most probably in Thrace, so recklessly wasted by foreign and domestic hostility. The favour of Cantacuzene was above his fortune. In the moments of familiarity, in the hour of sickness, the emperor was desirous to level the distance between them, and pressed his friend to accept the diadem and purple. The virtue of

He is left regent of the empire.

is attested by his own pen, resisted the dangerous proposal, but the last testament of Andronicus the younger named him the guardian of his son, and the regent of the empire.

Had the regent found a suitable re-
turn of obedience and
gratitude, perhaps he
would have acted with
pure and zealous fidelity
in the service of his
pupil. A guard of five
hundred soldiers watched over his
person and the palace, the funeral of
the late emperor was decently per-
formed, the capital was silent and
submissive, and five hundred letters,
which Cantacuzene despatched in the
first month, informed the provinces of
their loss and their duty. The pros-
pect of a tranquil minority was blasted
by the great duke or admiral Apo-
cæus, and to exaggerate his perfidy,
the Imperial historian is pleased to

¹ In this enumeration (I iii c 30), the French translation of the president Cousin is blotting with three palpable and essential errors. ¹ He omits the 1000 yoke of working oxen.

² He interprets the *επτακισμιας αβας* *heptakismias*, by the number of fifteen hundred.

³ He confounds myriads with chiliads, and gives Cantacuzene no more than 5000 hogs. Put not your trust in translations!

⁴ See the regency and reign of John Cantacuzene, and the whole progress of the civil war, in his own history (I iii c 1 100, p 345 700), and in that of Nicéphorus Gregoras (I xii c 11 x c 9 p 363 492).

⁵ There seems to be another reading, *καταμα* Niebuhr. s. l. cit. in loc. — 2.

magnify, his own imprudence, in raising him to that office against the advice of his more sagacious sovereign. Bold and subtle, rapacious and profuse, the avarice and ambition of Apocæus were by turns subservient to each other, and his talents were applied to the ruin of his country. His arrogance was heightened by the command of a naval force and an impregnable castle, and under the mask of oaths and flattery he secretly conspired against his benefactor. The female court of the empress was bribed and directed, he encouraged Anne of Savoy to assert, by the law of nature, the tutelage of her son, the love of power was disguised by the anxiety of maternal tenderness, and the founder of the Ideology had instructed his posterity to dread the example of a perfidious guardian. The patriarch John of Apia was a proud and rascable old man, encompassed by a numerous and hungry kindred. He produced an obsolete epistle of Andronicus, which bequeathed the prince and people to his pious care: the fate of his predecessor Arsenius prompted him to prevent, rather than punish, the crimes of a usurper, and Apocæus smiled at the success of his own flattery, when he beheld the Byzantine priest assuming the state and temporal claims of the Romæopontiff. Between three persons so different in their situation and character, a private league was concluded: a shadow of authority was restored to the senate, and the people was tempted by the name of freedom. By this powerful confederacy, the great domestic war was assaulted at first with clandestine, at length with open, arms. His prerogatives were disputed, his opinions slighted, his friends persecuted, and his safety was threatened both in the camp and city. In his absence on the public service, he was accused of treason, proscribed as an enemy of the church and state; and

¹ He assumed the royal privilege of red shoes or buskins, placed on his head a mitre of silk and gold, subscribed his epistles with hyacinth or green ink, and claimed for the new, whatever Constantine had given to the ancient, Rome (Cantacuzene I iii c 36 Nicéphorus, I xii c 9).

delivered, with all his adherents, to the sword of justice, the vengeance of the people, and the power of the devil; his fortunes were confiscated; his aged mother was cast into prison; * all his past services were buried in oblivion; and he was driven by injustice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accused. From the review of his preceding conduct, Cantacuzene appears to have been guiltless of any treasonable designs, and the only suspicion of his innocence must arise from the vehemence of his protestations, and the sublime purity which he ascribes to his own virtue. While the empress and the patriarch still affected the appearances of harmony, he repeatedly solicited the permission of retiring to a private, and even a monastic, life. After he had been declared a public enemy, it was his fervent wish to throw himself at the feet of the young emperor, and to receive without a murmur the stroke of the executioner: it was not without reluctance that he listened to the voice of reason, which inculcated the sacred duty of saving his family and friends, and proved that he could only save them by drawing the sword and assuming the Imperial title.

In the strong city of Demotica, his peculiar domain, the Emperor John Cantacuzenus was invested with the purple buskins: his right leg was clothed by his noble kinsmen, the left by the Latin chiefs, on whom he conferred the order of knighthood. But even in this act of revolt, he was still studious of loyalty, and the titles of John Philologus and Anne of Savoy were proclaimed before his own name and that of his wife Irene. Such vain ceremony is a thin disguise of rebellion,

¹ Nic. Gregor. (l. xii. c. 6) confesses the innocence and virtues of Cantacuzenus, the guilt and flagitious vices of Apocurcus, nor does he dissimble the motive of his personal and religious animosity to the former, *ὅτι δὲ δια μαχίαν ἀνέστη, ἀνέστη οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸς τοῦ τὰ ὅλην ἑλπίαν ἔχοντος*.

² He died there through persecution and neglect. M.

³ The emperor, with the religious enemies and persecutors of Nicephorus—M.

nor are there perhaps any personal wrongs that can authorize a subject to take arms against his sovereign: but the want of preparation and success may confirm the assurance of the usurper, that this decisive step was the effect of necessity rather than of choice. Constantinople adhered to the young emperor: the king of Bulgaria was invited to the relief of Adrianople: the principal cities of Thrace and Macedonia, after some hesitation, renounced their obedience to the great domestic, and the leaders of the troops and provinces were induced, by their private interest, to prefer the loose dominion of a woman and a priest. * The army of Cantacuzene, in sixteen divisions, was stationed on the banks of the Melas to tempt or to retuminate the capital: it was dispersed by treachery or fear, and the officer, more especially the mercenary Latin, accepted the bribes, and embraced the service, of the Byzantine court. After this loss, the rebel emperor (he fluctuated between the two characters) took the road of Thessalonica with a chosen remnant, but he failed in his enterprise on that important place, and he was closely pursued by the great duke, his enemy Apocurcus, at the head of a superior power by sea and land. Driven from the coast, in his march, or rather flight, into the mountains, Servia, Cantacuzene assembled his troops to stimulate those who were worthy and willing to accompany his broken fortunes. A bare majority bowed and retired; and his trusty band was diminished to thirty volunteers. The czar, or despot of the Servians,

¹ The price of the *vis* (Darius's family name, see 2, p. 49), potent in Greece and Asia in their youth (Dion. Cass. l. c. p. 19, 20), is equivalent to king, appears to be of Asiatic origin, from whence it has been borrowed by the Hungarians, the modern Greeks, and even by the Turks (the ancient name, Pandur, Tunc, p. 425). The name of Pandur is the name of Pandur, the latter instead of the former is the name of Pandur, the French at Constantinople at a distance of 111 miles do (see 2, p. 20).

² The emperor, with the religious enemies and persecutors of Nicephorus—M.

received him with generous hospitality, but the ally was insensibly degraded to a suppliant, a hostage, a captive, and, in this miserable dependence, he waited at the door of the barbarian, who could dispose of the life and liberty of a Roman emperor. The most tempting offers could not persuade the emperor to violate his trust, but he soon inclined to the stronger side, and his friend was dismissed without injury to a new vicissitude of hopes and perils. Near six years the flame of discord

The civil war, A.D. 1341-47, burnt with various success and unabated rage

the cities were distracted by the faction of the nobles and the plebeians, the Cantacuzeni and Paleologi and the Bulgarians, the Sorvians, and the Turks, were invoked on both sides as the instruments of private ambition and the common ruin. The regent deplored the calamities, of which he was the author and victim and his own experience might dictate a just and lively remark on the different nature of foreign and civil war "The former," said he, "is the external warmth of summer, always tolerable, and often beneficial, the latter is the deadly heat of a fever, which consumes without a remedy the vitals of the constitution"¹

The introduction of barbarians and savages into the contests of civilised nations, is a measure pregnant with shame and mischief, which the interest of the moment may compel, but which is reprobated by the best principles of humanity and reason. It is the practice of both sides to accuse their enemies of the guilt of the first alliances, and those who fail in their negotiations, are loudest in their censure of the example which they envy, and would gladly imitate. The Turks of Asia were less barbarous perhaps than the

shepherds of Bulgaria and Servia; but their religion rendered them the implacable foes of Rome and Christianity. To acquire the friendship of their enmity, the two factions vied with each other in baseness and profusion. The dexterity of Cantacuzene obtained the preference but the succour and victory were dearly purchased by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel, the captivity of many thousand Christians, and the passage of the Ottomans into Europe, the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman empire. The inclining scale was decided in his favour by the death of Apocaucus, the just though singular retribution of his crimes. A crowd of nobles or plebeians, whom he feared or hated, had been seized by his orders in the capital, and the provinces; and the old palace of Constantine was assigned for the place of their confinement. Some alterations in raising the walls, and narrowing the cells, had been ingeniously contrived to prevent their escape, and aggravate their misery, and the work was incessantly pressed by the daily visits of the tyrant. His guards watched at the gate, and as he stood in the inner court to overlook the architects, without fear or suspicion, he was assaulted and laid breathless on the ground, by two* resolute prisoners of the Paleologian race,¹ who were armed with sticks, and animated by despair. On the rumour of revenge and liberty, the captive multitude broke their fetters, fortified their prison, and expelled from the battlements the tyrant's head, consuming in the favour of the people and the clemency of the empress Anne of Savoy might rejoice in the fall of a haughty and ambitious minister, but while she delayed to resolve or to act, the populace, more especially the mariners, were excited by the widow of the great duke to a sedition, an assault,

¹ Nic Gregoras, l. xli c. 14. It is surprising that Cantacuzene has not inserted this just and lively image in his own writings.

the aristocracy on his side. The populace took the opportunity of rising and punishing the wealthy as Cantacuzenites, vol. iii c. 20. Ages of common oppression and ruin had not extinguished these republican factions.—M

¹ The two avengers were both Paleologi, who might resent with royal indignation, the shame of their chains. The tragedy of Apocaucus may deserve a peculiar reference to Cantacuzene (l. iii c. 88), and Nic Gregoras (l. xiv c. 10).

* Nicephorus says four, p. 734.

and a massacre. The prisoners (of whom the far greater part were guiltless or inglorious of the deed) escaped to a neighbouring church they were slaughtered at the foot of the altar; and in his death the monster was not less bloody and venomous than in his life. Yet his talents alone upheld the cause of the young emperor, and his surviving associates, suspicious of each other, abandoned the conduct of the war, and rejected the fairest terms of accommodation. In the beginning of the dispute, the empress felt and complained, that she was deceived by the enemies of Cantacuzene. the patriarch was employed to preach against the forgiveness of injuries, and her promise of immortal hatred was sealed by an oath, under the penalty of excommunication. But Anne soon learned to hate without a teacher. she beheld the misfortunes of the empire with the indifference of a stranger. her jealousy was exasperated by the competition of a rival empress, and on the first symptoms of a more yielding temper, she threatened the patriarch to convene a synod, and degrade him from his office. Their incapacity and discord would have afforded the most decisive advantage, but the civil war was protracted by the weakness of both parties; and the moderation of Cantacuzene has not escaped the reproach of timidity and indolence. He successively recovered the provinces and cities, and the realm of his pupil was measured by the walls of Constantinople, but the metropolis alone counterbalanced the rest of the empire, nor could he attempt that important conquest till he had secured in his favour the public voice and a private correspondence. An Italian, of the name of Faciolati,* had succeeded to the office of great duke; the ships, the

He re-enters
Constantinople.
A.D. 1347.

He re-enters Constantinople. A.D. 1347.

* Cantacuzene accuses the patriarch, and spares the empress, the mother of his sovereign (l. iii. 33, 34), against whom Nic. Gregoras expresses a particular animosity (l. xiv. 10, 11, xv. 5). It is true, that they do not speak exactly of the same time.

† The traitor and treason are revealed by Nic. Gregoras (l. xv. c. 8), but the name is more discreetly suppressed by his great accomplice (Cantacuzene l. iii. c. 59).

guards, and the golden gate, were subject to his command; but his humble ambition was bribed to become the instrument of treachery; and the revolution was accomplished without danger or bloodshed. Destitute of the powers of resistance, or the hope of relief, the inflexible Anne would have still defended the palace, and have smiled to behold the capital in flames rather than in the possession of a rival. She yielded to the prayers of her friends and enemies; and the treaty was dictated by the conqueror, who professed a loyal and zealous attachment to the son of his benefactor. The marriage of his daughter with John Palæologus was at length consummated: the hereditary right of the pupil was acknowledged; but the sole administration during ten years was vested in the guardian. Two emperors and three empresses were seated on the Byzantine throne, and a general amnesty quieted the apprehensions, and confirmed the property, of the most guilty subjects. The festival of the coronation and nuptials was celebrated with the appearances of concord and magnificence, and both were equally fallacious. During the late troubles, the treasures of the state, and even the furniture of the palace, had been alienated or embezzled: the royal banquet was served in pewter or earthenware; and such was the proud poverty of the times, that the absence of gold and jewels was supplied by the paltry artifices of glass and gilt-leather.

I hasten to conclude the personal history of John Cantacuzene. He triumphed and reigned; but his reign and triumph were clouded by the discon-

Reign of John
Cantacuzene
A.D. 1347-1354

† Nic. Greg. l. xv. 11. There were however some true pearls, but very thinly sprinkled. The rest of the stones had only *κατασκευασμένης χρυσῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμυτή*.

‡ From his return to Constantinople, Cantacuzene continues his history and that of the empire, one year beyond the abdication of his son Matthew, A.D. 1357 (l. iv. c. 1-60, p. 706-911). Nicephorus Gregoras ends with the synod of Constantinople, in the year 1351 (l. xxii. c. 3, p. 680, the text, to the conclusion of the twenty fourth book, p. 717, is all controversy), and his fourteen last books are still MSSs in the king of France's library.

tent of his own and the adverse faction. His followers might style the general amnesty an act of pardon for his enemies, and of oblivion for his friends; in his cause their estates had been forfeited or plundered; and as they wandered naked and hungry through the streets, they cursed the selfish generosity of a leader, who, on the throne of the empire, might relinquish without merit his private inheritance. The adherents of the empress blushed to hold their lives and fortunes by the precarious favour of a usurper; and the thirst of revenge was concealed by tender concern for the succession, and even the safety, of her son. They were justly alarmed by a petition of the friends of Cantacuzene, that they might be released from their oath of allegiance to the Palæolog, and entrusted with the defence of some frontier towns; a measure supported with argument and eloquence, and which was rejected (says the Imperial historian) "by my sublime, and almost incredible virtue." His repose was disturbed by the sound of plots and seditions, and he trembled, lest the lawful prince should be stolen away by some foreign or domestic enemy, who would inscribe his name and his wrongs in the banners of rebellion. As the son of Andronicus advanced in the years of manhood, he began to feel and to act for himself, and his rising ambition was rather stimulated than checked by the imitation of his father's vices. If we may trust his own professions, Cantacuzene laboured with honest industry to correct these sordid and sensual appetites, and to raise the mind of the young prince to a level with his fortune. In the Servian expedition, the two emperors showed themselves in cordial harmony to the troops and provinces, and the younger colleague was initiated by the elder in the mysteries of war and government. After the conclusion of the peace, Palæologus was left at Thessalonica, a royal

residence, and a frontier station, to secure by his absence the peace of Constantinople, and to withdraw his youth from the temptations of a luxurious capital. But the distance weakened the powers of control, and the son of Andronicus was surrounded with artful or unthinking companions, who taught him to hate his guardian, to deplore his exile, and to vindicate his rights. A private treaty with the cruel or despot of Servia was soon followed by an open revolt, and Cantacuzene, on the throne of the elder Andronicus, defended the cause of age and prerogative, which in his youth he had so vigorously attacked. At his request, the empress-mother undertook the voyage of Thessalonica, and the office of mediation she returned without success, and unless Anne of Savoy was instructed by adversity, we may doubt the sincerity, or at least the fervour, of her zeal. While the regent grasped the sceptre with a firm and vigorous hand, she had been instructed to declare, that the ten years of his legal administration would soon elapse, and that after a full trial of the vanity of the world, the emperor Cantacuzene sighed for the repose of a cloister, and was ambitious only of a heavenly crown. Had these sentiments been genuine, his voluntary abdication would have restored the peace of the empire, and his conscience would have been relieved by an act of justice. Palæologus alone was responsible for his future government, John Palæologus and whatever might be ^{taken by arms} ^{against him} his vices, they were surely ^{A.D. 1333} less formidable than the calamities of a civil war, in which the brigandians and infidels were again invited to assist the Greeks, in their mutual destruction. By the arms of the Turks, who now struck a deep and everlasting root in Europe, Cantacuzene prevailed in the third contest in which he had been involved, and the young emperor, driven from the sea and land, was compelled to take shelter among the Latins of the isle of Tenedos. His insolence and obstinacy provoked the victor to a step which must render the quarrel irreconcilable; and the association of his son

³ The emperor (Cantacuzen l. iv. c. 1) represents his own virtues, and, Nic. Gregoras (l. xv. c. 11) the complaints of his friends, who suffered by its effects. I have lent them the words of our poor cavaliers after the restoration.

Matthew, whom he invested with the purple, established the succession in the family of the Cantacuzeni. But Constantinople was still attached to the blood of her ancient princes; and this last injury accelerated the restoration of the rightful heir. A noble Genoese espoused the cause of Palaeologus, obtained a promise of his sister, and achieved the revolution with two galleys and two thousand five hundred auxiliaries. Under the pretence of distress, they were admitted into the lesser port, a gate was opened, and the Latin shout of "Long life and victory to the emperor, John Palaeologus!" was answered by a general rising in his favour. A numerous and loyal party yet adhered to the standard of Cantacuzene, but he asserts in his history (does he hope for belief?) that his tender conscience rejected the assurance of conquest, that, in free obedience to the voice of religion and philosophy, he descended from the throne, and embraced with pleasure the monastic habit and profession. So soon as he ceased to be a prince, his successor was not unwill-

Abdication
Cantacuzene
A.D. 1355

ing that he should be a saint the remainder of his life was devoted to piety and learning; in the cells of Constantinople and Mount Athos, the monk Joasaph was respected as the temporal and spiritual father of the emperor, and if he issued from his retreat, it was as the minister of peace, to subdue the obstinacy, and solicit the pardon, of his rebellious son.

Yet in the cloister, the rapid of Cantacuzene was still exercised by theological war. A.D. 1341-1351 He sharpened a controversial pen against the Jews and Mo-

ammedans,¹ and in every state he defended with equal zeal the divine light of Mount Thabor, a memorable question which consummates the religious follies of the Greeks. The fakers of India,² and the monks of the Oriental church, were alike persuaded, that in total abstraction of the faculties of the mind and body, the purer spirit may ascend to the enjoyment and vision of the Deity. The opinion and practice of the monasteries of Mount Athos³ will be best represented in the words of an abbot, who flourished in the eleventh century. "When thou art alone in thy cell," says the ascetic teacher, "shut thy door, and seat thyself in a corner, raise thy mind above all things vain and transitory, recline thy ear and chin on thy breast, turn thy eyes and thy thoughts towards the middle of thy belly, the region of the navel, and search the place of the heart, the seat of the soul. At first, all will be dark and comfortless, but if you persevere day and night, you will feel an ineffable joy; and no sooner has the soul discovered the place of the heart, than it is involved in a mystic and ethereal light." This light, the production of a distempered fancy, the creature of an empty stomach and an empty brain, was adored by the Quietists as the pure and perfect essence of God himself; and as long as the folly was confined to Mount Athos, the simple solitaires were not inquisitive how the divine essence could be a material substance, or how an immaterial substance could be perceived by the eyes of the body. But in the reign of the younger Andronicus, these mon-
illustrous a person would have attracted universal notice.

¹ The awkward apostle, of Cantacuzene (l. iv c. 79-82), who reflects, with visible confusion, his own downfall, may be supplied by the less accurate, but more honest, narratives of Matthew Villani (l. iv c. 46, in the Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xiv p. 268), and Lucas (c. 10, 11).

² Cantacuzene, in the year 1374, was honoured with a letter from the pope (Flcury, Hist. Réclos tom. xx p. 250). His death is placed by a respectable authority on the 20th of November 1411 (Duvergne, Fam. Byzant. p. 260). But if he were of the age of his companion Andronicus the Younger, he must have lived 116 years, a rare instance of longevity, which in so-

³ His four discourses or books, were printed at Basil 1548 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi p. 473). He composed them to satisfy a proselyte who was assaulted with letters from his friends of Isaphan. Cantacuzene had read the Koran, but I understand from Maracci, that he adopts the vulgar prejudices and fables against Mahomet and his religion.

⁴ See the Voyages de Burnier, tom. i p. 127.
⁵ Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Ecclésiæ p. 622, 623. Flcury, Hist. Réclos tom. xx p. 22, 24, 107, 114, &c. The former unfolds the causes with the judgment of a philosopher, the latter transcribes and translates with the prejudices of a Catholic priest.

asteries were visited by Barlaam,¹ a Calabrian monk, who was equally skilled in philosophy and theology; who possessed the languages of the Greeks and Latins; and whose versatile genius could maintain their opposite creeds, according to the interest of the moment. The indiscretion of an ascetic revealed to the curious traveller the secrets of mental prayer; and Barlaam embraced the opportunity of ridiculing the Quietists, who placed the soul in the navel; of accusing the monks of Mount Athos of heresy and blasphemy. His attack compelled the more learned to renounce or dissemble the simple devotion of their brethren; and Gregory Palamas introduced a scholastic distinction between the essence and operation of God. His inaccessible essence dwells in the midst of an uncreated and eternal light, and this beatific vision of the saints had been manifested to the disciples on Mount Thabor, in the transfiguration of Christ. Yet this distinction could not escape the reproach of polytheism, the eternity of the light of Thabor was fiercely denied; and Barlaam still charged the Palamites with holding two eternal substances, a visible and an invisible God. From the rage of the monks of Mount Athos, who threatened his life, the Calabrian retired to Constantinople, where his smooth and specious manners introduced him to the favour of the great domestic and the emperor. The court and the city were involved in this theological dispute, which flamed amidst the civil war, but the doctrine of Barlaam was disgraced by his flight and apostasy: the Palamites triumphed, and then adversary, the patriarch John of Apria, was deposed by the consent of the adverse factions of the state. In the character of emperor and theologian, Cantacuzene presided in the synod of the Greek church, which established, as an article of faith, the uncreated light of Mount Thabor; and, after so

many insults, the reason of mankind was slightly wounded by the addition of a single absurdity. Many rolls of paper or parchment have been blotted; and the impenitent sectaries, who refused to subscribe the orthodox creed, were deprived of the honours of Christian burial, but in the next age the question was forgotten; nor can I learn that the axe or the fagot were employed for the extirpation of the Barlaamite heresy.²

For the conclusion of this chapter, I have reserved the Genoese war, which shook the throne of Cantacuzene and betrayed the debility of

Establishment of
the Genoese at
Pera or Galata,
A.D. 1261-1267

the Greek empire. The Genoese, who, after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable tie from the bounty of the emperor. They were indulged in the use of their laws and magistrates, but they submitted to the duties of vassals and subjects, the forcible word of *tiegemen*³ was borrowed from the Latin jurisprudence, and their *podesta*, or chief, before he entered on his office, saluted the emperor with loyal acclamations and vows of fidelity. Genoa sealed a firm alliance with the Greeks; and in case of a defensive war, a supply of fifty empty galleys and a succour of fifty galleys completely armed and manned, was promised by the republic to the empire. In the revival of a naval force, it was the aim of Michael Palæologus to deliver himself from a foreign aid, and his vigorous government contained the Genoese of Galata within those limits which the insolence of wealth and force

¹ See Cantacuzene (i. li c. 39, 40, i. li c. 3, 23, 24, 25), and Nic. Gregoras (i. xi c. 10, i. xv 3, 7, &c.), whose last books, from the nineteenth to the twenty-fourth, are almost confined to a subject so interesting to the authors. Boivin (in Vit. Nic. Gregoras), from the unpublished books, and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x p. 462-473), or rather Montfaucon, from the MSS. of the Vatican library, have added some facts and documents.

² Pachymer (i. v c. 10) very properly explains *λιζέουσι* (*ligios*) by *δύουσι*. The use of these words in the Greek and Latin of the feudal times may be amply understood from the Glossaries of DuCange (Græc. p. 811. 812, Latin, tom. iv p. 100 111).

³ Basnage (in Casell. Antiq. Lectiones, tom. iv p. 363-368), has investigated the character and story of Barlaam. The duplicity of his opinions had inspired some doubts of the identity of his person. See likewise Fabricius Bibliot. Græc. tom. x p. 427 432.

dom provoked them to exceed. A sailor threatened that they should soon be masters of Constantinople, and slew the Greek who resented this national affront; and an armed vessel, after refusing to salute the palace, was guilty of some acts of piracy in the Black Sea. Their countrymen threatened to support their cause, but the long and open village of Galata was instantly surrounded by the Imperial troops, till, in the moment of the assault, the prostrate Genoese implored the clemency of their sovereign. The defenceless situation which secured their obedience exposed them to the attack of their Venetian rivals, who, in the reign of the elder Andronicus, presumed to violate the majesty of the throne. On the approach of their fleets, the Genoese, with their families and effects, retired into the city, their empty habitations were reduced to ashes and the feeble prince, who had viewed the destruction of his suburb, expressed his resentment, not by arms, but by ambassadors. This misfortune, however, was advantageous to the Genoese, who obtained, and imperceptibly abused, the dangerous licence of surrounding Galata with a strong wall: of introducing into the ditch the waters of the sea; of erecting lofty turrets, and of mounting a train of military engines on the rampart. The narrow bounds in which they had been circumscribed were insufficient for the growing colony; each day they acquired some addition of landed property, and the adjacent hills were covered with their villas and castles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications. The navigation and trade of the Euxine was the patrimony of the Greek emperors, who commanded the narrow entrance, the gates, as it were, of that inland sea. In the reign of Michael Palæologus, their prerogative was acknowledged by the sultan of Egypt, who solicited and ob-

¹ The establishment and progress of the Genoese at Pera or Galata, is described by Ducauge (C. P. Christiana, l. i p. 68, 69) from the Byzantine historians, Pachymer (l. ii c. 35, l. v 10-30, l. ix 15, l. xii 6-9), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. v c. 4, l. vi c. 11, l. ix c. 5, l. xi c. 1, l. xv c. 6), and Cantacuzene (l. i c. 12, l. ii 30, &c.).

tained the liberty of sending an annual ship for the purchase of slaves in Circassia and the Lesser Tartary a liberty pregnant with mischief to the Christian cause, since these youths were transformed by education and discipline into the formidable Mamalukes. From the colony of Pera, the Genoese engaged with superior advantage in the lucrative trade of the Black Sea, and their industry supplied the Greeks with fish and corn—two articles of food almost equally important to a superstitious people. The spontaneous bounty of nature appears to have bestowed the harvests of the Ukraine, the produce of a rude and savage husbandry, and the endless exportation of salt fish and caviar is annually renewed by the enormous sturgeons that are caught at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, in their last station of the rich mud and shallow water of the Maëotis. The waters of the Oxus, the Caspian, the Volga, and the Don, opened a rare and laborious passage for the gems and spices of India, and after three months' march, the caravans of Carime met the Italian vessels in the harbours of Crimea. These various branches of trade were monopolised by the diligence and power of the Genoese. Their rivals of Venice and Pisa were forcibly expelled, the natives were awed by the castles and cities which arose on the foundations of their humble factories; and their principal establishment of Caffa⁴ was

² Both Pachymer (l. iii c. 3, 4, 5) and Nic Greg (l. iv c. 7) understand and deplore the effects of this dangerous indulgence. Bihars, sultan of Egypt, himself a Tartar, but a devout Mussulman, obtained from the children of Zingis the permission to build a stately mosque in the capital of Crimea (De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iii p. 348).

³ Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. i p. 48) was assured at Caffa that these fishes were sometimes twenty four or twenty six feet long, weighed eight or nine hundred pounds, and yielded three or four quintals of caviar. The corn of the Bosphorus had supplied the Athenians in the time of Demosthenes.

⁴ De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iii p. 343, 344. Viaggi di Ramusio, tom. i fol. 400. But this land or water carriage could only be practicable when Tartary was united under a wise and powerful monarch.

⁵ Nic Gregoras (l. xiii c. 12) is judicious and well informed on the trade and colonies of the

besieged without effect by the Tatar powers. Destitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed, or furnished, Constantinople according to their interest. They proceeded to usurp the customs, the fishery, and even the toll, of the Bosphorus, and while they derived from these objects a revenue of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, a remnant of thirty thousand was reluctantly allowed to the emperor. The colony of Pera or Galata acted, in peace and war, as an independent state, and, as it will happen in distant settlements, the Genoese podesta too often forgot that he was the servant of his own masters.

These usurpations were encouraged by the weakness of the older Andronicus, and by the civil wars that afflicted his age and the minority of his grandson. The talents of Cantacuzene were employed to the ruin rather than the restoration, of the empire, and after his domestic victory, he was condemned to an ignominious trial, whether the Greeks or the Genoese should reign in Constantinople. The merchants of Pera were offended by his refusal of some contiguous lands, some commanding heights, which they proposed to cover with new fortifications, and in the absence of the emperor, who was detained at Demotica by sickness, they ventured to brave the debility of a female reign. A Byzantine vessel, which had presumed to fish at the mouth of the harbour, was sunk by these audacious strangers, the fishermen were murdered. Instead of suing for pardon, the Genoese demanded satisfaction, required, in a haughty strain, that the Greeks should renounce the exercise of navigation, and encountered with regular aims the first sallies of the popular indignation. They instantly occupied the debatable land; and by the labour of a whole people, of either sex and of every age, Black Sea. Chardin describes the present ruins of Caffa, where, in forty days, he saw above 400 sail employed in the corn and fish trade (Voyages en Perse, tom. I. p. 46-48).

¹ See Nic. Gregoras, l. xvii. c. 1.

the wall was raised, and the ditch was sunk, with incredible speed. At the same time, they attacked and burnt two Byzantine galleys, while the three others, the remainder of the Imperial navy, escaped from their hands the fortifications without the gates, or along the shore, were pillaged and destroyed, and the care of the regent, of the Empress Irene, was confined to the preservation of the city. The return of Cantacuzene dispelled the public consternation: the emperor inclined to peaceful counsels, but he yielded to the obstinacy of his enemies, who rejected all reasonable terms, and to the ardour of his subjects, who threatened, in the style of Scripture, to break them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Yet they reluctantly paid the taxes, that he imposed for the construction of ships, and the expenses of the war; and as the two nations were masters, the one of the land, the other of the sea, Constantinople and Pera were pressed by the evils of a mutual siege. The merchants of the colony, who had believed that a few days would terminate the war, already murmured at their losses: the succours from their mother country were delayed by the factions of Genoa, and the most cautious embraced the opportunity of a Rhodian vessel to remove their families and effects from the scene of hostility. In the spring, the Byzantine fleet, seven galleys and a train of smaller vessels, issued from the mouth of the harbour, and steered in a single line along the shore of Pera, unskillfully presenting their sides to the beaks of the adverse squadron. The crews were composed of peasants and mechanics; nor was their ignorance compensated by the native courage of barbarians: the wind was strong, the waves were rough, and no sooner did the Greeks perceive a distant and inactive enemy, than they leaped head long into the sea, from a doubtful to an inevitable peril. The troops that marched to the attack of the lines of Pera were struck at the same moment with a similar panic; and the Genoese

Destruction of
his fleet.
A.D. 1349

were astonished, and almost ashamed, at their double victory. Their triumphant vessels, crowned with flowers, and dragging after them the captive galleys, repeatedly passed and repassed before the palace, the only virtue of the emperor was patience, and the hope of revenge his sole consolation. Yet the distress of both parties interposed a temporary agreement, and the shame of the empire was disguised by a thin veil of dignity and power. Summoning the chiefs of the colony, Cantacuzene affected to despise the trivial object of the debate, and, after a mild reproof, most liberally granted the lands, which had been previously resigned to the seeming custody of his officer.

But the emperor was soon solicited to violate the treaty, and to join his arms with the Venetians, the perpetual enemies of Genoa and her colonies. While he compared the reasons of peace and war, his moderation was provoked by a wanton insult of the inhabitants of Pera, who

huged from their rampart a bar that fell in the midst of Constantinople. On his just complaint, he coldly blamed the imprudence of their engineer, but the next day the insult was repeated, and they exulted in a second proof that the royal city was not beyond the reach of their artillery. Cantacuzene instantly signed his treaty with the Venetians, but the weight of the Roman empire was scarcely felt in the balance of these opulent and powerful republics. From

the straits of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Tannus, their fleets encountered each other with various success, and a memorable battle was fought in the narrow sea, under the walls of Constantinople. It would not be an easy task to reconcile the accounts of the Greeks, the Venetians, and the Genoese; and while I depend on the narrative of an impartial historian, I shall borrow from each nation the facts that redound to their own disgrace, and the honour of their foes. The Venetians, with their allies the Catalans, had the advantage of number, and their fleet, with the possible addition of eight Byzantine galleys, amounted to seventy-five sail; the Genoese did not exceed sixty-four, but in those times their ships of war were distinguished by the superiority of their size and strength. The navies and families of the naval commanders, Pisani and Doria, are illustrious in the annals of their country, but the personal merit of the former was eclipsed by the fame and abilities of his rival. They engaged in tempestuous weather,

the tumultuary conflict was continued from the dawn to the extinction of light. The names of the Genoese applauded their prowess; the friends of the Venetians are distinguished by their behaviour, but all parties agree in praising the skill and boldness of the Catalans,* who, with many wounds, sustained the brunt of the action. On the separation of the fleets, the event might appear doubtful, but the thirteen Genoese galleys, that had been sunk or taken, were compensated by a

¹ The events of this war are related by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 11), with objectivity and confidence, and by Nic. Gregoras (l. xvii. c. 17), in a clear and honest narrative. The priest was less responsible than the prince for the defeat at the fleet.

² The second war is darkly told by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 18, p. 24, 25, 28, 32), who wishes to disguise what he dares not deny. I regret his part of Nic. Gregoras, which is still in MS. at Paris.

* This part of Nicophorus Gregoras has not been printed in the new edition of the Byzantine historians. The editor expresses a hope that it may be undertaken by Hase. I would join in the regret of Gibbon, if these books contain any historical information if they are but a continuation of the contro-

¹ Muratori (Annali d'Italia tom. xii. p. 144) refers to the most ancient Chronicle of Venice (Carusinus, the continuator of Andrew Dandolo, tom. xi. p. 421, 422), and Genoa (George Sicula, Annali Genovesi, tom. xvii. p. 1091, 1092), both which I have diligently consulted in his great Collection of the Historians of Italy.

² See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani of Florence, l. ii. c. 59, 60, p. 146, 147, c. 74, 75, p. 140, 147, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiv.

verses which fill the last books in our present copies, they may as well sleep their eternal sleep in MS. as in print.—M.

* Cantacuzene praises their bravery, but imputes their losses to their ignorance of the seas, they suffered more by the breakers than by the enemy, vol. iii. p. 221. M.

double loss, of the allies, of fourteen Venetians, ten Catalans, and two Greeks;* and even the grief of the conquerors expressed the assurance and habit of more decisive victories. Pisani confessed his defeat, by retiring into a fortified harbour, from whence, under the pretext of the orders of the senate, he started with a broken and flying squadron for the Isle of Candia, and abandoned to his rivals the sovereignty of the sea. In a public epistle, addressed to the dogs and senate, Petrarca employs his eloquence to reconcile the maritime powers, the two luminaries of Italy. The orator celebrates the valour and victory of the Genoese, the first of men in the exercise of naval war. he drops a tear on the misfortunes of their Venetian brethren, but he exhorts them to pursue with fire and sword the base

Their treaty
with the
empire.

and perfidious Greeks;
to purge the metropolis
of the East from the
heresy with which it was infected

Deserted by their friends, the Greeks were incapable of resistance, and three months after the battle, the Emperor Cantacuzene solicited and subscribed a treaty, which for ever banished the Venetians and Catalans, and granted to the Genoese a monopoly of trade, and almost a right of dominion. The Roman empire (I smile in transcribing the name) might soon have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power. A long contest of one hundred and thirty years was determined by the triumph of Venice, and the factions of the Genoese compelled them to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord, the duke of Milan, or the French king. Yet the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest; and the colony of Pera still awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

CHAPTER LXIV.

CONQUESTS OF ZINGIS KHAN AND THE MOGULS FROM CHINA TO POLAND—
ESCAPE OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GREEKS—ORIGIN OF THE OTTOMAN
TURKS IN BITHYNIA—REIGNS AND VICTORIES OF OTHMAN, ORCHAN,
AMURATH THE FIRST, AND BAJAZET THE FIRST—FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS
OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY IN ASIA AND EUROPE—DANGER OF CONSTANTI-
NOPLE AND THE GREEK EMPIRE.

FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and

* The Abbé de Sade (*Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque*, tom. iii. p. 257-263) translates this letter, which he had copied from a MS. in the king of France's library. Though a servant of the duke of Milan, Petrarca pours forth his astonishment and grief at the defeat and despair of the Genoese in the following year (p. 323-332).

* Cantacuzene says, that the Genoese lost twenty eight ships with their crews, *αβράντες*, the Venetians and Catalans sixteen, the Imperials, none. Cantacuzene accuses Pisani of cowardice, in not following up the victory and destroying the Genoese. But Pisani's conduct, and indeed Cantacuzene's account of the battle, betray the superiority of the Genoese. —M

discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks; whose domestic slavery was ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Moguls* and Tartars;

* Mongol seems to approach the nearest to the proper name of this race. The Chinese call them *Mong kou*, the *Mondahours*, their neighbours, *Monggo* or *Monggou*. They call themselves *sinu Beda*. This fact seems to have

whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which had agitated and altered the surface of the globe. I have long since asserted my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman Empire, nor can I refuse myself to those events, which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the history of blood.¹

From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured

Thence ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes, of the same descent and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis.* In his ascent to greatness, that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble; but it was in the pride of victory, that the prince or people deduced his seventh ancestor from the immaculate conception of a virgin. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families above two thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son, and at the age of thirteen, Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey, but he rose superior to his fortune, and in his fortieth year he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. In a state of society, in which policy is rude and valour is universal, the ascendant of one man must be founded on his power

¹ The reader is invited to review the chapters xlii. to xlv. and xlviii. to xxxviii. the manners of pastoral nations, the conquests of Attila and the Huns, which were composed at a time when I entertained the wish, rather than the hope, of concluding my history

been proved by M. Schmidt against the French Orientalists. See De Brosset, Note on Le Beau, tom xvii p. 402.

* On the traditions of the early life of Zingis, see D'Obson, Hist. des Mongols, Histoire des Mongols, Paris, 1824. Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, p. 68, &c. and Notes—M

and resolution to punish his enemies and recompense his friends. His first military league was ratified by the simple rites of sacrificing a horse and tasting of a running stream. Temugin pledged himself to divide with his followers the sweets and the bitters of life, and when he had shared among them his horses and apparel, he was rich in their gratitude and his own hopes. After his first victory he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent, and the boldest chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, encased in silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraites,¹ who, under the name of Prester John, had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition, and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis,² the most great, and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general council, or diet, he was seated on a felt, which was long afterwards revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Moguls³ and

¹ The khans of the Keraites were most probably incapable of reading the pompous epistles composed in their name by the Nestorian missionaries, who endowed them with the fabulous wonders of an Indian kingdom. Perhaps these Tartars (the Presbyter or Priest John) had submitted to the rites of baptism and ordination (Asseman Biblioth. Orient. tom iii p. ii p. 487 503).

² Since the history and tragedy of Voltaire, *Gengis*, at least in French, seems to be the more fashionable spelling, but Abulghazi Khan must have known the true name of his ancestor. His etymology appears just *in*, in the Mogul tongue, signifies great, and *gis* is the superlative termination (Hist. Généalogique des Tartars, part. iii p. 194, 195). From the same idea of magnitude, the appellation of *Zingis* is bestowed on the ocean.

³ The name of Moguls has prevailed among the Orientals, and still adheres to the titular sovereign, the Great Mogul of Hindustan.

⁴ M. Remusat (sur les Langues Tartares, p. 233) justly observes, that Timour was a Turk, not a Mogul, and p. 242, that probably there was not a Mogul in the army of Baber, who

Tartars * Of these kindred, though rival names, the former had given birth to the Imperial race, and the latter has been extended by accident or error over the spacious wilderness of the north.

The code of laws which Zingis dictated to his subjects was adapted to the preservation of domestic peace, and the exercise of foreign hostility. The punishment of death was inflicted on the crimes of adultery, murder, perjury, and the capital thefts of a horse or ox, and the fiercest of men were mild and just in their intercourse with each other. The future election of the great khan was vested in the princes of his family and the heads of the tribes, and the regulations of the chase were essential to the pleasures and plenty of a Tartar camp. The victorious nation was held sacred from all servile hours, which were abandoned to slaves and strangers, and every labour was servile except the profession of arms. The service and discipline of the troops, who were armed with bows,

His laws. sumiturs, and non sumiturs, and divided by hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, were the institutions of a veteran commander. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honour of his companions; and the spirit of conquest breathed in the law, that peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy. But it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause † The

* The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were descended from Jatar Khin, the brother of Moqul Khin (see Abulghazi, part i. and ii.), and once formed a horde of 70 000 families on the borders of Kitay (p. 103 112). In the great invasion of Europe (A.D. 1238), they seem to have led the vanguard, and the similitude of the name of *Tartar*, recommended that of *Tatars* to the Latins (Mait. Latin, p. 308, &c.).

established the Indian throne of the "Great Mogul"—M.

† This relationship, according to M. Klaproth, is fabulous, and invented by the Mohammedan writers, who, from religious zeal, undervaloured to connect the traditions of the Nomads of Central Asia with those of the Old Testament, as preserved in the Koran. Flure is no trace of it in the Chinese writers, Tabl. de l'Asie, p. 166—M.

‡ Before his armies entered Thibet, he sent

Catholic missionaries of Europe, who defended them by cruelty, might have been condemned by the example of a Mahometan, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy, and established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the Author of all and who fills by his presence the heavens and earth, which he has created by his power. The Tartars and Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes, and many of them have been converted by the foreign missionaries to the religions of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ. These various systems in freedom and concord were taught and practised within the precincts of the same camp, and the Bonze, the Imam, the Rabbi, the Nestorian, and the Latin priest, enjoyed the same honourable exemption from service and tribute in the mosque of Bochara, the insolent victor might trample the

A singular conformity may be found between the religious laws of Zingis Khan and of Mr Locke (Constitutions of Carolina in his works, vol. iv. p. 567, 4to edition, 1777).

an embassy to Bogdoolt nam Dshanno a Lama high priest, with a letter to this effect:—"I have chosen thee as high priest for myself and my empire. In pair then to me, and promote the present and future happiness of man. I will be thy supporter and protector. Let us establish a system of religion, and unite it with the monarchy, &c. The high priest accepted the invitation, and the Mongol history literally terms this step the *period of the first respect for religion*, because the monarch, by his public profession, made it the religion of the state, Klaproth, "Travels in Caucasus" ch. vii. Eng. Trans. p. 92. Neither Dshanno nor his son, and successor Ogoitsh had, on account of their continual wars, much leisure for the propagation of the religion of the Lama. In religion they understand a distinct, independent, sacred moral code, which has but one origin, one source, and one object. This notion they universally propagate, and even believe that the brutes, and all created beings, have a religion adapted to their sphere of action. The different forms of the various religions they ascribe to the difference of individuals, nations, and legislators. Never do you hear of their inveighing against any creed, even against the obviously absurd Shamanic paganism, or of their persecuting others on that account. They themselves, on the other hand, endure every hardship, and even persecutions, with perfect resignation, and indulgently excuse the follies of others, nay, consider them as a motive for increased ardour in prayer, ch. ix. p. 100—M.

credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants

His invasion of China
A.D. 1200-1214

successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga, and the Mogul emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Temugin himself had been disgraced by a title of honour and servitude. The court of Pekin was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who, in the tone of the king of nations, exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the *son of heaven* as the most contemptible of mankind. A haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions, and their fears were soon justified by the march of innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed, or starved, by the Moguls. ten only escaped; and Zingis, from a knowledge

Polo, a Venetian gentleman. The Latin relations of the two former are inserted in the first volume of Hackluyt, the Italian original or version of the third (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. medii ævi, tom. ii. p. 193, tom. v. p. 25) may be found in the second tome of Ramusio.

¹ In his great History of the Huns, M. de Guignes has most amply treated of Zingis Khan and his successors. See tom. iii. l. xv-xix and in the collateral articles of the Seljukians of Roum, tom. ii. l. xi the Carizmians, l. xiv and the Mamelukes, tom. iv. l. xxi. consult likewise the tables of the first volume. He is ever learned and accurate, yet I am only indebted to him for a general view, and some passages of Abulfeda, which are still latent in the Arabic text.*

* To this catalogue of the historians of the Moguls may be added D'Ohson, Histoire des Mongols, Histoire des Mongols (from Arabic and Persian authorities), Paris, 1824. Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost Mongolen, St. Petersburg, 1820. This curious work, by Samang Seeten Chungtaidachi, published in the original Mongol, was written after the conversion of the nation to Buddhism. It is enriched with very valuable notes by the editor and translator, but, unfortunately, is very barren of information about the European, and even the western Asiatic conquests of the Mongols.—M.

of the filial piety of the Chinese, covered his vanguard with their captive parents, an unworthy, and by degrees a fruitless, abuse of the virtue of his enemies. His invasion was supported by the revolt of a hundred thousand Khitans, who guarded the frontier yet he listened to a treaty; and a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths, and as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and silk, were the price of his retreat. In his second expedition, he compelled the Chinese emperor to retire beyond the yellow river to a more southern residence. The siege of Pekin* was long and laborious the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens; when their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital; and the conflagration of the palace burnt above thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

In the West, he touched the dominions of Mohammed sultan of Carizme, who reigned ^{Of Carizme, Transoxiana, and Persia.} from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and ^{A.D. 1215-1224.} Turkestan; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot the servitude and ingratitude of his fathers to the house of Seljuk. It was the wish of Zingis to establish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes; nor could he be tempted by the secret solicitations of the caliph of Bagdad, who sacrificed to his personal wrongs the safety of the church and state. A rash and inhuman deed provoked and justified the Tartar arms in the invasion of the southern Asia.* A caravan of

¹ More properly Yen-king, an ancient city, whose ruins still appear some furlongs to the south east of the modern Pekin, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubili, p. 140). Pe-king and Nan-king are vague titles, the courts of the north and of the south. The identity and

* See the particular account of this transaction, from the Kholasumut el Akbar, in Price, vol. ii. p. 402.—M.

three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants was arrested and murdered at Otrar, by the command of Mohammed; nor was it till after a demand and denial of justice, till he had prayed and fasted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul emperor appealed to the judgment of God and his sword. Our European battles, says a philosophic writer,¹ are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons. In the vast plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes, they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the sultan, and in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain. Mohammed was astonished by the multitude and valour of his enemies; he withdrew from the scene of danger, and distributed his troops in the frontier towns, trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulsed by the length and difficulty of so many regular sieges. But the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers, skilled in the mechanic arts; informed perhaps of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and success than they had defended their own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges and reduction of Otrar, Cogendek, Bokhara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar, and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Cariz, and Chorazan. The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns change of names perplex the most skillful readers of the Chinese geography† (p. 177).

¹ M. de Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, tom. iii. c. 60 p. 8. His account of Zingis and the Moguls contains, as usual, much general sense and truth, with some particular errors.

* Every where they massacred all classes, except the artisans, whom they made slaves. *Hist. des Mongols*.—M.

† And likewise in Chinese history—see Abel Remusat, *Mémoires Asiatiques* tom. ii. p. 5.—M.

have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls, and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops. the hope of future possession was lost in the ardour of rapine and slaughter; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierceness by the pretence of justice and revenge. The downfall and death of the sultan Mahommed, who expired unpitied and alone, in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizman empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by his son Gelaeddin, whose active valour repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their unnumberable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaeddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was in this camp that the Mogul conqueror yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Encumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two generals, whom he had detached with thirty thousand horse, to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Dyrrent, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an ex-

petition which had never been attempted, and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalised by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary, and he died in the fulness of

His Death. years and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to relieve the conquest of the Chinese empire.*

The harem of Zingis was composed of five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toului was his great huntsman, Zagatar his judge, Ocatu his minister, and Tuli his general, and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sceptres; and Ocatu, by general consent, was proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Guyuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins Mangon and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the sixty-eight years of his four first successors, the Mogul subdued almost all Asia, and a large portion of Europe. Without confining myself to the order of time, without expatiating on the detail of events, I shall present a general picture of the progress of their arms. I. In the East, II. In the South, III. In the West, and IV. In the North.

* Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Maurenahar, or Transoxiana, and the Moguls of Hindustan, who emigrated from that country, are styled Zagatais by the Persians. Thus certain etymology, and the similar example of Uzbek, Nogai, &c. may warn us not absolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a personal, name.*

* Their first duty, which he bequeathed to them, was to massacre the king of Tangeoute and all the inhabitants of Nimbis, the surrender of the city being already agreed upon, Hist. des Mongols, vol. i. p. 286.—M.

* See a curious anecdote of Tschagatai, Hist. des Mongols, p. 370.—M.

I. Before the invasion of Zingis, China was divided into two empires or dynasties of the North and South.¹ Of the northern empire of China. A.D. 1234.

and the difference of origin and interest was smoothed by a general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The Northern empire, which had been dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death. After the loss of Pekin, the emperor had fixed his residence at Kaifong, a city many leagues in circumference, and which contained, according to the Chinese annals, fourteen hundred thousand families of inhabitants and fugitives. He escaped from thence with only seven horsemen, and made his last stand in a third capital, till at length the hopeless monarch, protesting his innocence and accusing his fortune, ascended a funeral pile, and gave orders that, as soon as he had stabbed himself, the fire should be kindled by his attendants. The dynasty of the Song, the native and ancient sovereigns of the whole empire, survived about forty five years the fall of the Northern usurpers, and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Cublai. During this interval, the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars, and, if the Chinese seldom dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places, the engines of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed; the use of gunpowder in cannon and bombs, appears as a familiar practice,* and the

¹ In Marco Polo, and the Oriental geography, the names of Cathay and Manzi distinguish the northern and southern empires, which from A.D. 1224 to 1279, were those of the great khan, and of the Chinese. The search of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and misled our navigators of the sixteenth century, in their attempts to discover the north east passage.

² I depend on the knowledge and fidelity of the P. Le Gaubil, who translates the Chinese text of the annals of the Moguls or Yuen (p. 71, 93, 153), but I am ignorant at what time these annals were composed and published. The two uncles of Marco Polo, who served as engineers at the siege of Sienkyangina* (l. 11

* Sou-houng kian lou. Abel Remusat.—M.

sieges were conducted by the Mohammedans and Franks, who had been liberally invited into the service of Gublai. After passing the great river, the troops and artillery were conveyed along a series of canals, till they invested the royal residence of Hamchen, or Quinsay, in the country of silk, the most delicious climate of China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre, and before he was sent in exile into Tartary, he struck nine times the ground with his forehead, to adore in prayer or thanksgiving the mercy of the great khan. Yet the war (it was now styled

of the southern rebellion) was still un-
A.D. 1279

tamed in the southern provinces from Hamchen to Canton, and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility was transported from the land to the sea. But when the fleet of the *Song* was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last champion leaped into the waves with his infant emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious," he cried, "to die a prince, than to live a slave." A hundred thousand Chinese imitated his example, and the whole empire, from Tonkin to the great wall, submitted to the dominion of Gublai. His boundless ambition aspired to the conquest of Japan: his fleet was twice shipwrecked, and the lives of a hun-

dred thousand Moguls and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruitless expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships: they sailed in sixty-eight days, most probably to the Isle of Borneo, under the equinoctial line, and though they returned not without spoil or glory, the emperor was dissatisfied that the savage king had escaped from their hands.

II The conquest of Hindustan by the Moguls was reserved in a later period for the house of Timour, but that of Iran, or Persia, was achieved by Holagou Khan,* the grand son of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive emperors, Mangou and Gublai. I shall not enumerate the crowd of sultans, emirs, and tribacks, whom he trampled into dust but the extirpation of the *Assassins*, or *Israhelians* of Persia, may be considered as a service to mankind. Among the hills to the south of the Caspian, the colossal sectaries had reigned with impunity above a hundred and sixty years, and their prince, or Imam, established his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of Mount Libanus, so famous and formidable in the history of the crusades. With the fanaticism of the Koran, the Israhelians had blended the Indian transmigration, and the visions of their own prophets, and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to

of Persia and the empire of the East
A.D. 1268

All that can be known of the Assassins of Persia and Syria is poured from the copious, and even profuse, erudition of M. Falconet, in two *Mémoires* read before the Academy of Inscriptions (tom. xvii. p. 127-170).
The Israhelians of Syria, 10,000 Assassins, had acquired or founded ten castles in the hills above Tortosa. About the year 1260, they were extirpated by the Mamluks.

* See the curious account of the expedition of Holagou, translated from the Chinese by M. Abel Remusat, *Mémoires Asiatiques* tom. i. p. 171 - M.

† Von Hammer's History of the Assassins has now thrown Falconet's Dissertation into the shade - M.

La poudre à canon et d'autres compositions inflammables, dont ils se servent pour construire des pièces d'artillerie d'un effet surprenant, leur étoient connues depuis très-long-temps, et l'on croit que des bombardes et des pierriers, dont ils avoient enseigné l'usage aux Tartares, ont pu donner en Europe l'idée d'artillerie, quoique la forme des fusils et des canons dont ils se servent actuellement, leur ait été apportée par les Français, ainsi que l'attestent les nous-mêmes qu'ils donnent à ces sortes d'armes. Abel Remusat, *Mémoires Asiatiques* 2nd ser. tom. i. p. 26. - M.

the vicar of God. The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the East and West; the Christians and the Moslems enumerate, and perhaps multiply, the illustrious victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of the old man (as he was corruptly styled) of the mountain. But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the sword of Holagou, and not a vestige is left of the enemies of mankind, except the word *assassin*, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the Abbassides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants, the caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad and the Arabian Irak, but the city was distracted by theological factions, and the commander of the faithful was lost in a harem of seven hundred concubines. The invasion of the Moguls he encountered with feeble arms and haughty embassies. "On the divine decree," said the Caliph Mostasem, "is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas: and their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and in the next. Who is this Holagou that dares to rise against them? If he be desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory, and perhaps he may obtain from our clemency the pardon of his fault." This presumption was cherished by a perfidious vizir, who assured his master that, even if the barbarians had entered the city, the women and children, from the terraces, would be sufficient to overwhelm them with stones. But when Holagou touched the phantom, it instantly vanished into smoke. After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls, and their savage commander pronounced the death of the Caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet; whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above five hundred years. Whatever might

be the designs of the conqueror, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were protected by the Arabian desert, but the Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost, had she been defended only by her feeble offspring: but the Mamelukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air: equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well-fought field, and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates.* But it overflowed with resistless violence the kindgoms of Armenia† and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians, and the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms, till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.‡

III No sooner had Octai subverted the northern empire of China, than he resolved to visit with his arms the most remote countries of the West. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll. of these the great khan selected a third, which he entrusted to the command of his nephew Batou, the son of Tuli; who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea § After a festival of forty days, Batou set forward on

* As a proof of the ignorance of the Chinese in foreign transactions, I must observe that some of their historians extend the conquest of Zingis himself to Medina, the country of Mahomet (Lauhill, p. 42).

† Compare Wilken, vol. vii. p. 410-412.—M.

‡ On the friendly relations of the Armenians with the Mongols, see Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, vol. vii. p. 402. They eagerly desired an alliance against the Mohammedan powers.—M.

§ Trebizond escaped, apparently by the dexterous politics of the sovereign, but it acknowledged the Mogul supremacy. Palmerayer, p. 127.—M.

§ See the curious extracts from the Mohammedan writers, Hist. des Mongols, p. 707.—M.

* Compare Von Hammer, Geschichte der Assanen, pp. 233-307. Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, vol. vii. p. 402. Price, Chronological Repository, vol. II. p. 217-222.—M.

this great expedition, and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube, they either swam with their horses, or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats, which followed the camp, and transported their waggons and artillery. By the first victories of Batou, the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkistan and Kipzak.¹ In his rapid progress, he over-ran the kingdoms, as they are now styled, of Astracan and Cazan, and the troops which he detached towards Mount Caucasus explored the most secret recesses of Georgia and Circassia. The civil discord of the great dukes, or princes, of Russia, betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes, a temporary ruin, less fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible mark, which a servitude of two hundred years has imprinted on the character of the Russians. The Tartars ravaged with equal fury the countries which they hoped to possess, and those which they were hastening to leave.² From the permanent conquest of Russia, they made a deadly, though transient, inroad into the heart of Poland; and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated.³ They approached the shores of the Baltic, and in the battle of Lignitz they defeated the dukes of Silesia, the Polish palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western

¹ The *Dzshé Kipzak*, or plain of Kipzak, extends on either side of the Volga, in a boundless space towards the Jalk and Borysthenes, and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cosmacks.

² Olmutz was gallantly and successfully defended by Stenberg, Hist. des Mongols, p. 390.

- M

march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary, and the presence or spirit of Batou inspired the host of five hundred thousand men. the Carpathian hills could not be long impervious to their divided columns, and their approach had been fondly disbelieved till it was irresistibly felt. The king, Bela the Fourth, assembled the military force of his counts and bishops, but he had alienated the nation by adopting a vagrant horde of forty thousand families of Comans, and these savage guests were provoked to revolt by the suspicion of treachery and the murder of their prince. The whole country north of the Danube was lost in a day, and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives, who expiated the sins of their Turkish ancestors. An ecclesiastic, who fled from the sack of Waradin, describes the calamities which he had seen, or suffered, and the sanguinary rage of sieges and battles is far less atrocious than the treatment of the fugitives, who had been allured from the woods under a promise of peace and pardon, and who were coolly slaughtered as soon as they had performed the labours of the harvest and vintage. In the winter, the Tartars passed the Danube on the ice, and advanced to Gran or Sturgeonum, a German colony, and the metropolis of the kingdom. Thirty engines were planted against the walls, the ditches were filled with sacks of earth and dead bodies, and then a promiscuous massacre, three hundred noble matrons were slain in presence of the khan. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion, and the unfortunate Bela hid his head among the islands of the Adriatic.

The Latin world was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility. a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden; and the remote nations of the Baltic and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars, whom

¹ In the year 1238, the inhabitants of Gothia (Sweden) and Frisia were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from sending, as usual

their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species. Since the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century, Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mahomet would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The Roman pontiff attempted to appease and convert these invincible Pagans by a mission of Franciscan and Dominican friars, but he was astonished by the reply of the khan, that the sons of God and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations, and that the pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he visited in person, and as a suppliant, the royal horde. The Emperor Frederic the Second embraced a more generous mode of defence, and his letters to the kings of France and England, and the princes of Germany, represented the common danger, and urged them to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade. The Tartars themselves were awed by the same and valour of the Franks: the town of Newstadt in Austria was bravely defended against them by fifty knights and twenty cross-bows; and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Serbia, Bosnia and Bulgaria, Batou slowly retreated from the Danube to the Volga to enjoy the rewards of victory in the city and palace of Serai, which situated at his command from the midst of the desert.*

their ships to the herring fishery on the coast of England, and as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling (Mat. new Paris, p. 896). It is whimsical enough, that the orders of a Mogul khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lowered the price of herrings in the English market.

I shall copy his characteristic or flattering epithets of the different countries of Europe. *Franco ac fervens ad arma Germania, strenuus militum, mixta et alumnus Flavia, liberos et undec Hispania, virtuosus viri, etis comitatus fertilis Anglia, impetuosus bellis stirbis iurata.*

* He was recalled by the death of Otaï.

IV Even the poor and frozen regions of the north attracted the arms of the Moguls. Sheibani khan, the brother of the great Batou, led a horde of fifteen thousand families into the wilds of Siberia, and his descendants reigned at Tobolskoi above three centuries, till the Russian conquest. The spirit of enterprise which pursued the course of the Obi and Yenisei must have led to the discovery of the icy sea. After brushing away the monstrous fables, of men with dogs' heads and cloven feet, we shall find, that, fifteen years after the death of Zingis, the Moguls were informed of the name and manners of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar circle, who dwelt in subterraneous huts, and derived their furs and their food from the sole occupation of hunting.

Whole China, Syria, and Poland, were invaded at the same time by the Moguls and Tartars, the authors of the mighty mischief were content with the knowledge and declaration, that this world was the sword of death. Like the first caliphs, the first successors of Zingis seldom appeared in person at the head of their victorious armies. On the banks of the Onon and Selinga, the royal or golden horde exhibited the contrast of simplicity and greatness, of the roasted sheep and mare's milk which composed their banquets, and of a distribution in one day of five hundred waggons of gold and silver. The ambassadors and

Alcinna, nivalis trima, inlonitis Asia, per ignem barundis, inquit, apud, cum mare, Green, Adriatic et Syriam, undas praticis et undis, Creta, Cypro, Sicilia, cum Oceano continuis insulis, et, comitatus, cruenta Hybernia, cum agili Wall, jactu-bris Scotia, glacialis Norvegia, super elect in militum sub vexillo (rads destinant, &c. (Matthew Paris, p. 495).

See Carpin's relation in Hackluyt vol. i. p. 30. The pedigree of the khans of Siberia is given by Abulghazi (part viii. p. 486-495). Have the Russians found no Tartar chronicles at Tobolskoi?

See account of the Mongol Library in Bergman, Numismat. Sibiricæ vol. iii. p. 185-205, and beyond that de l'Asie par P. de la Harpe, p. 21, and preface to Schmidt's chartes de l'Asie Mongole.

princes of Europe and Asia were compelled to undertake this distant and laborious pilgrimage, and the life and reign of the great dukes of Russia, the kings of Georgia and Armenia, the sultans of Iconium, and the emirs of Persia, were decided by the frown or smile of the great khan. The sons and grandsons of Zingis had been accustomed to the pastoral life, but the village of Caracorum¹ was gradually ennobled by their election and residence. A change of manners is implied in the removal of Octai and Mangou from a tent to a house, and their example was imitated by the princes of their family and the great officers of the empire. Instead of the boundless forest, the enclosure of a park afforded the more indolent pleasures of the chase, their new habitations were decorated with painting and sculpture, their superfluous treasures were cast in fountains, and basins, and statues of gilded silver, and the artists of China and Persia vied with others in the service of the great khan.

Caracorum contained two streets, the one of Chinese mechanics, the other of Mohammedan traders; and the places of religious worship, one Nestorian church, two mosques, and twelve temples of various idols, may represent in some degree the number and division of inhabitants. Yet a French missionary declares, that the town of St. Denis, near Paris, was considerably larger than the Tartar capital, and that the whole palace of Mangou was scarcely equal to a tenth part of that Benedictine abbey. The conquests of Russia and Syria might amuse the vanity of the great khans, but they were seated on the borders of

China, the acquisition of that empire was the nearest and most interesting object, and they might learn from their pastoral economy, that it is for the advantage of the shepherd to protect and propagate his flock. I have already

celebrated the wisdom and virtue of a Mandarin, who prevented the desolation of five populous and cultivated provinces. In a spotless administration of thirty years, this friend of his country and of mankind continually laboured to mitigate, or suspend, the havoc of war, to save the monuments, and to rekindle the flame, of science; to restrain the military commander by the restoration of civil magistrates, and to instil the love of peace and justice into the minds of the Moguls. He struggled with the barbarism of the first conquerors, but his salutary lessons produced a rich harvest in the second generation.* The northern, and by degrees the southern, empire, acquiesced in the government of Cubli, the lieutenant, and afterwards the successor, of Mangou, and the nation was loyal to a prince who had been educated in the manners of China. He restored the forms of her venerable constitution, and the victors submitted to the laws, the fashions, and even the prejudices, of the conquered people. This peaceful triumph, which has been more than once repeated, may be ascribed, in great measure, to the numbers and servitude of the Chinese. The Mogul army was dissolved in a vast and populous country, and then emperors adopted with pleasure a political system, which gives to the prince the solid substance of despotism, and leaves to the subject the empty names of philosophy, freedom, and final obedience.† Under the reign of Cubli, letters and commerce, peace and justice were restored, the great canal, of five hundred miles, was

^{Adopt the manners of China, A.D. 1240-1250}

¹ The Map of D'Anville, and the Chinese Itinerary (des Cagniers tom. I. part II. p. 57), seem to mark the position of Hella, or Caracorum, about six hundred miles to the north-west of Peking. The distance between Samarkand and Peking is near 2000 Russian miles, between 1300 and 1400 English miles (Bell's Travels, vol. II. p. 67).

² Rubruck's found at Caracorum his countryman Guillaume Bacher, *officer de Paris*, who had executed for the khan a silver trese supported by four lions, and ejecting four different liquors. Abulghasi (part IV. p. 300), mentions the painters of Kitay or China.

* See the interesting sketch of the life of this minister (Ychin Thon thar), in the second volume of the second works of *Voyages Asiatiques*, par A. Rémusat, p. 64.

† Compare Hist. des Mongols, p. 614.

opened from Nankin to the capital. he fixed his residence at Pekin, and displayed in his court the magnificence of the greatest monarch of Asia. Yet this learned prince declined from the pure and simple religion of his great ancestor. he sacrificed to the idol Fo, and his blind attachment to the lamas of Tibet and the bonzes of China¹ provoked the censure of the disciples of Confucius. His successors polluted the palace with a crowd of eunuchs, physicians, and astrologers, while thirteen millions of their subjects were consumed in the provinces by famine. One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis, his degenerate race, the dynasty of the Yuen, was expelled by a revolt of the native Chinese, and the Mogul emperors were lost in the oblivion of the desert. Before this revolution, they had forfeited their supremacy the dependent branches of their house, the khans of Kipzak and Russia, the khans of Zagatai, or Transoxians, and the khans of Iran or Persia. By their distance and power these royal lieutenants had soon been released from the duties of obedience; and after the death of Cublai, they scorned to accept a sceptre or a title from his unworthy successors. According to their respective situation they maintained the simplicity of the pastoral life, or assumed the luxury of the cities of Asia; but the princes and their hordes were alike disposed for the reception of a foreign worship. After some hesitation between the Gospel and the Koran, they conformed to the religion of Mahomet; and while they adopted for their brethren the Arabs and Persians, they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Moguls, the idolaters of China.

¹ The attachment of the khans, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bonzes and lamas (Duhalde, *Hist. de la Chine*, tom. i. p. 502, 503), seems to represent them as the priests of the same god of the Indian Fo, whose worship prevails among the sects of Hindustan, Siam, Tibet, China, and Japan. But this mysterious subject is still lost in a cloud, which the researches of our Asiatic Society may gradually dispel.

In this shipwreck of nations, some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were dismembered by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed, like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Scythia; and had the Tartars undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad. The glorious and voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube was insulted by the vain triumph of the Franks and Greeks,² and in a second expedition death surprised him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borga carried the Tartar arms into Bulgaria and Thrace, but he was diverted from the Byzantine war by a visit to Novogorod, in the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, where he numbered the inhabitants and regulated the tributes of Russia. The Mogul khan formed an alliance with the Mamalukes against his brethren of Persia: three hundred thousand horse penetrated through the gates of Derbend, and the Greeks might rejoice in the first example of domestic war. After the recovery of Constantinople, Michael Palæologus,³ at a distance from his court and army, was surprised and surrounded in a Thracian castle, by twenty thousand Tartars. But the object of their march was a private interest: they came to the deliverance of Azzadin, the Turkish sultan, and were content with his portion and the treasure of the emperor. Their general Noga, whose name is perpetuated in the horde of Astracan, raised a formidable rebellion against Mengo Timour, the third of the khans of Kipzak; obtained in marriage Maria

² Some repulse of the Moguls in Hungary (Matthew Paris, p. 545, 546), might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 310), after forty years, beyond the *limes*, might be easily deceived.

³ See Pachymer, l. iii. c. 25, and l. ix. c. 26, 27 and the false alarm at Nice, l. iii. c. 27. Nicephorus Gregoras, l. iv. c. 6.

the natural daughter of Palæologus; and guarded the dominions of his friend and father. The subsequent invasions of a Scythian cast were those of outlaws and fugitives; and some thousands of Alani and Comans, who had been driven from their native seats, were reclaimed from a vagrant life, and enlisted in the service of the empire. Such was the influence in Europe of the invasion of the Moguls. The first terror of their arms secured, rather than disturbed, the peace of the Roman Asia. The sultan of Iconium solicited a personal interview with John Vataces, and his artful policy encouraged the Turks to defend their barrier against the common enemy.¹ That barrier indeed was soon overthrown, and the servitude and ruin of the Seljukians exposed the nakedness of the Greeks. The formidable Holagou threatened to march to Constantinople at the head of four hundred thousand men; and the groundless panic of the citizens of Nice will present an you terror which he had inspired. The accident of a procession, and the und of a doleful litany, "From the fury of the Tartars, good Lord, deliver us," had scattered the hasty report of an assault and massacre. In the blind credulity of fear, the streets of Nice were crowded with thousands of both sexes, who knew not from what or to whom they fled; and some hours elapsed before the firmness of the military officers could relieve the city from this imaginary foe. But the ambition of Holagou and his successors was fortunately diverted by the conquest of Bagdad, and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars their hostility to the Moslems inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks,² and their generosity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vassal. The

fragments of the Seljukian monarchy were disputed by the emirs who had occupied the cities or the mountains; but they all confessed the supremacy of the khans of Persia; and he often interposed his authority, and sometimes his arms, to check their depredations, and to preserve the peace and balance of his Turkish frontier. The death of Cazan,³ one of the greatest and most accomplished princes of the house of Zingis, removed this salutary control, and the decline of the Moguls gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.⁴

Decline of the Mogul khans of Persia, A.D. 1304.

After the retreat of Zingis, the sultan Gelaeddin of Carvine had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdoms. In the space of eleven years, that hero fought in person fourteen battles, and such was his activity, that he led his cavalry in seventeen days from Tebis to Aciman, a march of a thousand miles. Yet he was oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes, and the innumerable armies of the Moguls, and after his last defeat, Gelaeddin perished ignobly in the mountains of Caudistan. His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carvinians or Colasmins many Turkman hordes, that had attached themselves to the sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem, the more humble engaged in the service of Ala-

Origin of the Ottomans

¹ G. Acropolita, p. 30, 37 Nic Greg I H. c. 6 l iv c 5.

² Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1234, declares, that the Moguls since the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks, and of this he is a competent witness. Hayton likewise, the Armenian prince, celebrates their friendship for himself and his nation.

³ Pachymer gives a splendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of Cyrus and Alexander (l xii c 1). In the conclusion of his history (l xiii c 30), he hopes much from the arrival of 30,000 Tatars or Tartars, who were ordered by the successor of Cazan to restrain the Turks of Bithynia A.D. 1308.

⁴ The origin of the Ottoman dynasty is illustrated by the critical learning of MM. de Guignes (Hist des Huns, tom iv p 329-3.), and D'Anville (Empire Turc, p 14-22), two inhabitants of Paris, from whom the Orientals may learn the history and geography of their own country.

* They may be still more enlightened by the Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, by M von Hammer Purgstall of Vienna.—M.

din, sultan of Iconium, and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Ness, and it is somewhat remarkable, that the same spot should have produced the first authors of the Persian and Turkish empires. At the head, or in the rear, of a Carizman army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates; his son Othogral became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families or tents whom he governed fifty-two years both in peace and war. He was the father

Reign of Othman, of Thaman, or Athman, A.D. 1209-1-20,

whose Turkish name has been melted into the appellation of the caliph Othman; and if we describe that pastoral chief as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all idea of ignominy and baseness. Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier, and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situated on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran sanctified his *gazi*, or holy war, against the infidels; and their political errors unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia. Till the reign of Palæologus, these passes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety and an exemption from taxes. The emperor abolished their privileges and assumed their office, but the tribute was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes was neglected, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants without spirit or discipline. It was on the twenty-seventh of July, in the year twelve hundred and ninety-nine of the Christian era, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nico-

media,* and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster. The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads, and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the most useful and defensive posts, fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged, and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capitals. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities, that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his descendants, but the Turks have transmitted or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation.

* See Pachymer l. x. c. 25, 26, l. xii. c. 32, 34, 36, and concerning the guard of the mountains, l. i. c. 3-6, Nicophorus Gregoras, l. vii. c. 1 and the first book of Laonicus Chalcondyles, the Athenian.

* I am ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II,* nor can I reach beyond a meagre chronicle (*Annals Turcici ad Annum 1660*) translated by John Gauthier, and published by Juchaeus (*ad cl. et m. Isaac. Chalcond. p. 311-350*), with copious pandects, or commentaries. The history of the Growth and Decay (A.D. 2300-1683) of the Ottoman empire was translated into English from the Latin MS. of Demetrius Canemir, prince of Moldavia (London, 1734, in folio). The author is guilty of strange blunders in Oriental history, but he was conversant with the language, the annals, and institutions of the Turks. Canemir partly draws his materials from the Synopsis of Saadi Effendi of Larissa, dedicated in the year 1690 to sultan Mustapha, and a valuable abridgment of the original historians. In one of the Rambles, Mr. Johnson praises Knolles (*A General History of the Turks to the present War* London, 1693) as the first of historians, unhappy only in the choice of his subject. Yet I much doubt whether a partial and verbose compilation from Latin writers, thirteen hundred folio pages of speeches and battles, can either instruct or amuse an enlightened age, which requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism.

* We could have wished that M. von Hammer had given a more clear and distinct reply

From the conquest of Prusa, we may date the true era of the Ottoman empire. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mohammedan capital. Prusa was decorated with a mosque, a college, and a hospital, of royal foundation; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors, of human and divine knowledge, attracted the Persians and Arabian students from the ancient schools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was instituted for Aladin, the brother of Orchan,* and a different habit distinguished the citizens from the peasants, the Moslems from the infidels. All the troops of Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry, who served without pay, and fought without discipline, but a regular body of infantry was first established and trained by the prudence of his son. A great number of volunteers was enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field. their rude manners,

to this question of Gibbon. In a note, vol. i p. 630, M. von Hammer shows that they had not only shiks (religious writers) and learned lawyers, but poets and authors on medicine. But the inquiry of Gibbon obviously refers to historians. The oldest of their historical works, of which V. Hammer makes use, is the "Tarich-i Aschik Paschamade," i. e. the History of the Great Grandson of Aschik Pasha, who was a dervish and celebrated ascetic poet in the reign of Murad (Amurat); I. Ahmed, the author of the work, lived during the reign of Bajaset II. but, he says, derived much information from the book of Sheikh Jachai I, the son of Hina, who was Imamu to Sultan Orchan (the second Ottoman king), and who related, from the lips of his father, the circumstances of the earliest Ottoman history. This book (having searched for it in vain for five-and-twenty years) our author found at length in the Vatican. All the other Turkish histories on his list, as indeed they were written during the reign of Mahomet II. It does not appear whether any of the rest cite earlier authorities of equal value with that claimed by the "Tarich-i Aschik Paschamade"—M. (In Quarterly Review, vol. xlix p. 202)

* Von Hammer Osm. Geschichte vol. i p. 82.—M.

and seditious temper, disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as his soldiers and those of the prophet, but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horseback, and follow his standard, with the appellation and the hopes of *freebooters*.† By these arts he formed an army of twenty-five thousand Moslems. A train of battering engines was framed for the use of sieges; and the first successful experiment was made on the cities of Nice and Nicomedia. Orchan granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects, but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors, and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vase, and the images, were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The Emperor Andronicus the Younger was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman;† he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign, which claimed the voluntary attachment of the Turks of Asia. Yet Orchan was content with the modest title of emir; and in the list of his competitors, the Division of Anatolia among the princes of Roum or Anatolia, his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Gherman and Caramania, each of whom could bring into the field an army of forty thousand men. Their dominions were situated in the heart of the Selju-

† Cantacuzene, though he relates the battle and heroic flight of the younger Andronicus (l. ii c. 6, 7, 8), dissembles by his silence the loss of Prusa, Nice, and Nicomedia, which are fairly confessed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii 15, ix 9, 13, xi 6). It appears that Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330, and Nicomedia in 1339, which are somewhat different from the Turkish dates.

‡ The partition of the Turkish emirs is extracted from two contemporaries, the Greek Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii 1), and the Arabian Marakeschi (De Gulnes, tom. II. p. 74, 77). See likewise the first book of Laonicus Chalcondyles.

* Von Hammer Osm. Geschichte, vol. i p. 91.—M.

† For the conquests of Orchan, over the ten pashaliks, or kingdoms, of the Seljuks, in Asia Minor, see *Ibid.* p. 112.—M.

khan kingdom but the holy warriors, though of inferior note, who formed new principalities on the Greek empire, are more conspicuous in the light of history. The maritime country from the Propontis to the Mæander and the Isle of Rhodes, so long threatened and so often pillaged, was finally lost about

Loss of the Asiatic provinces, A.D. 1312, &c.

the thirtieth year of Andronicus the Elder.¹ Two Turkish chieftains, Sarukhan and Aidin, left their names to their conquests, and their conquests to their posterity. The captivity or ruin of the seven churches of Asia was consummated; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity. In the loss of Ephesus, the Christians deplored the fall of the first angel, the extinction of the first candlestick, of the Revelations;² the desolation is complete, and the temple of Diana, or the church of Mary, will equally elude the search of the curious traveller. The circus and three stately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and foxes; Sardes is reduced to a miserable village; the God of Mahomet, without a rival or a son, is invoked in the mosques of Thyatira and Pergamus, and the populousness of Smyrna is supported by the foreign trade of the Franks and Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy, or courage. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years; and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect; a column in a scene of ruins, a pleasing example, that the paths of honour and safety may sometimes be the same.

¹ Pachymer, l. xiii. c. 13.

² See the *Travels of Wheeler and Spon*, of Pocock and Chandler, and more particularly Smith's *Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 295-296. The more pious antiquaries labour to reconcile the promises and threats of the author of the Revelations with the present state of the seven cities. Perhaps it would be more prudent to confine his predictions to the characters and events of his own times.

The servitude of Rhodes was delayed about two centuries by the establishment of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem;³ under the discipline of the order, that island emerged into fame and opulence, the noble and warlike monks were renowned by land and sea; and the bulwark of Christendom provoked, and repelled, the arms of the Turks and Saracens.

The Greeks, by their intestine division, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of the elder and younger Andronicus, the son of Othman achieved, almost without resistance, the conquest of Bithynia; and the same disorders encouraged the Turkish emirs of Lydia and Ionia to build a fleet, and to pillage the adjacent islands and the sea-coast of Europe. In the defence of his life and honour, Cantacuzene was tempted to prevent, or imitate, his adversaries; by calling to his aid the public enemies of his religion and country. Amir, the son of Aidin, concealed under a Turkish garb the humanity and politeness of a Greek, he was united with the great domestic by mutual esteem and reciprocal services, and their friendship is compared, in the vain rhetoric of the times, to the perfect union of Orestes and Pylades.⁴ On the report of the danger of his friend, who was persecuted by an ungrateful court, the prince of Ionia assembled at Smyrna a fleet of three hundred vessels, with an army of twenty-nine thousand men; sailed in the depth of winter, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. From thence, with a chosen band of two

The knights of St. John of Jerusalem, A.D. 1130-1523.

First passage of the Turks into Europe, A.D. 1341-47.

³ Consult the fourth book of the *Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe*, par l'Abbé de Vériot. That pleasing writer betrays his ignorance, in supposing that Othman, a freebooter of the Bithynian hills, could besiege Rhodes by sea and land.

⁴ Nicephorus Gregoras has expatiated with pleasure on this amiable character (l. xii. 7, xiii. 4, 10, xiv. 1, 9, xvi. 6). Cantacuzene speaks with honour and esteem of his ally (l. iii. c. 53, 57, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74), but he seems ignorant of his own sentimental passion for the Turk, and indirectly denies the possibility of such unnatural friendship (l. iv. c. 40).

thousand Turks, he marched along the banks of the river, and rescued the empress, who was besieged in Demotica by the wild Bulgarians. At that disastrous moment, the life or death of his beloved Cantacuzene was concealed by his flight into Servia; but the grateful Irene, impatient to behold her deliverer, invited him to enter the city, and accompanied her message with a present of rich apparel, and a hundred horses. By a peculiar strain of delicacy, the gentle barbarian refused, in the absence of an unfortunate friend, to visit his wife, or to taste the luxuries of the palace; sustained in his tent the rigour of the winter; and rejected the hospitable gift, that he might share the hardships of two thousand companions, all as deserving as himself of that honour and distinction. Necessity and revenge might justify his predatory excursions by sea and land: he left nine thousand five hundred men for the guard of his fleet; and persevered in the fruitless search of Cantacuzene, till his embarkation was hastened by a fictitious letter, the severity of the season, the clamours of his independent troops, and the weight of his spoil and captives. In the prosecution of the civil war, the prince of Ionia twice returned to Europe, joined his arms with those of the emperor, besieged Thessalonica, and threatened Constantinople. Calumny might affix some reproach on his imperfect aid, his hasty departure, and a bribe of ten thousand crowns, which he accepted from the Byzantine court; but his friend was satisfied; and the conduct of Amir is excused by the more sacred duty of defending against the Latins his hereditary dominions. The maritime power of the Turks had united the pope, the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venice, and the order of St. John, in a laudable crusade, their galleys invaded the coast of Ionia; and Amir was slain with an arrow, in the attempt to wrest from the Rhodian knights the citadel of Smyrna.² Before

his death, he generously recommended another ally of his own nation, not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful succour, by his situation along the Propontis and in front of Constantinople. By the prospect of a more advantageous treaty, the Turkish prince of Bithynia was detached from his engagements

Marriage of Orchan with a Greek princess. A.D. 1344.

with Anne of Savoy; and the pride of Orchan dictated the most solemn protestations, that if he could obtain the daughter of Cantacuzene, he would invariably fulfil the duties of a subject and a son. Parental tenderness was silenced by the voice of ambition: the Greek clergy connived at the marriage of a Christian princess with a sectary of Mahomet; and the father of Theodora describes, with shameful satisfaction, the dishonour of the purple.³ A body of Turkish cavalry attended the ambassadors, who disembarked from thirty vessels before his camp of Belybria. A stately pavilion was erected, in which the Empress Irene passed the night with her daughters. In the morning, Theodora ascended a throne, which was surrounded with curtains of silk and gold: the troops were under arms; but the emperor alone was on horseback. At a signal the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, to disclose the bride, or the victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs and hymeneal torches: the sound of flutes and trumpets proclaimed the joyful event; and her pretended happiness was the theme of the nuptial song, which was chanted by such poets as the age could produce. Without the rites of the church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord; but it had been stipulated, that she should preserve her religion in the

¹ See Cantacuzenus, l. iii. c. 95. Nicephorus Gregoras, who, for the flight of Mount Thabos, brands the emperor with the names of tyrant and Herod, excuses, rather than blames, this Turkish marriage, and alleges the passion and power of Orchan, ὁ ἡγήσατο, καὶ ἐν θυμῷ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ ἦν ἡ Παρσινοῦς (Turkish) ἡρωϊκὴς ἀνδρεία (l. xv. 5). He afterwards celebrates his kingdom and armies. See his reign in Cantemir, p. 24-30.

² After the conquest of Smyrna by the Latins, the defence of this fortress was imposed by Pope Gregory XI. on the knights of Rhodes (see Vertot, l. v.).

harem of Bursa, and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous situation. After his peaceful establishment on the throne of Constantinople, the Greek emperor visited his Turkish ally, who with four sons, by various wives, expected him at Scutari, on the Asiatic shore. The two princes partook, with seeming cordility, of the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, and Thiodora was permitted to repass the Bosphorus, and to enjoy some days in the society of her mother. But the friendship of Orchan was subservient to his religion and interest, and in the Genoese war he joined without a blush the enmities of Cantacuzene.

In the treaty with the Empress Anne, the Ottoman prince had inserted a singular condition, that it should be lawful for him to sell his prisoners at Constantinople, or transport them into Asia. A naked crowd of Christians of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market, the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption; and the indignant Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were led away to the worst evils of temporal and spiritual bondage. Cantacuzene was reduced to subscribe the same terms, and their execution must have been still more pernicious to the empire: a body of ten thousand Turks had been detached to the assistance of the Empress Anne, but the entire forces of Orchan were exerted in the service of his father. Yet these calamities were of a transient nature, as soon as the storm had passed away, the fugitives might return to their habitations; and at the conclusion of the civil and foreign wars, Europe was completely evacuated by the Moslems of Asia. It was in his last quarrel with his pupil that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound, which could never be healed by his successors, and which is poorly expiated by his theo-

logical dialogues against the prophet Mahomet. Ignorant of their own history, the modern Turks confound their first and their final passage of the Hellespont, and describe the son of Orchan as a nocturnal robber, who, with eighty companions, explores by stratagem a hostile and unknown shore. Soliman, at the head of ten thousand horse, was transported in the vessels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Romania, he performed some service and perpetrated more mischief, but the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony, and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace. After some artful delays between the Ottoman prince and his son, their ransom was valued at sixty thousand crowns, and the first payment had been made when an earthquake shook the walls and cities of the provinces; the dismantled places were occupied by the Turks, and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, was rebuilt and reconquered by the policy of Soliman. The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance, and his last advice admonished his countrymen to decline a rash contest, and to compare their own weakness with the numbers and valour, the discipline and enthusiasm, of the Moslems. His prudent counsels were despised by the headstrong vanity of youth, and soon justified by the

¹ In this passage, and the first conquests in Europe, Cantemir (p. 27 &c.) gives a miserable idea of his Turkish guides, nor am I much better satisfied with Chalcodyle (l. i. p. 12, &c.). They forget to consult the most authentic record, the fourth book of Cantacuzene. I likewise regret the last books, which are still manuscript, of Nicephorus Gregoras.

² Von Hammer excuses the silence with which the Turkish historians pass over the earlier intercourse of the Ottomans with the European continent, of which he enumerates sixteen different occasions, as if they disdained those peaceful incursions by which they gained no conquest, and established no permanent footing on the Byzantine territory. Of the romantic account of Soliman's first expedition, he says, "As yet the prose of history had not asserted its right over the poetry of tradition." This defence would scarcely be accepted as satisfactory by the historian of the Decline and Fall.—M. (in Quarterly Review, vol. xlix. p. 238)

³ The most lively and concise picture of this captivity may be found in the history of Ducas (c. 8), who faintly describes what Cantacuzene confesses with a guilty blush.

victories of the Ottomans. But as he practised in the field the exercise of the sword, Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse, and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant son.*

But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies, and the Turkish scimitar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan, and the brother of Soliman.

The reign and European conquests of Amurath I. A.D. 1440-1493

By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals,* we can discern that he subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Ilamus, and the verge of the capital; and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coeval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the East and West, but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed, for a while this easy conquest, and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the Emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched against the Slavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive invasions. Their countries did not abound either in gold or silver, nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the

natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age by their hardness of mind and body, and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness. The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mohammedan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives, and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed: the edict was proclaimed, many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms, and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let

The Janizaries.

(*Yengi cheri*, or new soldiers), may their countenance be ever bright; their hand victorious; their sword keen; may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies; and whosoever they go, may they return with a *white face*!"* Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics, but at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war, since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes in Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of

* See Cantemir, p. 37 41, with his own large and curious annotations.

* *White and black face* are common and proverbial expressions of praise and reproach in the Turkish language. *Hic nigræ est, luno tu Romæ caveto*, was likewise a Latin sentence.

* According to Von Hammer, vol. i. p. 90, Gibbon and the European writers assign too late a date to this enrolment of the Janizaries. It took place not in the reign of Amurath, but in that of his predecessor Orchan.—M.

* After the conclusion of Cantacuzene and Grigoras, there follows a dark interval of a hundred years. George Phranza, Michael Duca, and Laonicus Chalcondyles, all three wrote after the taking of Constantinople.

* In the 75th year of his age, the 35th of his reign. V. Hammer—M.

proselytes 'against their *idolatrous* countrymen; and in the battle of Cossova, the league and independence of the Slavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths, and listened to the flattering reply of his vizir, that age and wisdom would have taught them not to oppose his irresistible arms. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair, a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound.* The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue; but the Moslems were scandalised at his absence from public worship, and he was corrected by the firmness of the mufti, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause: a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfrequent in Oriental history.

The reign of
Bajazet I.
Ilderim.
A.D. 1389-1402.

The character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning, and he might glory in an epithet, which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive

march. In the fourteen years of his reign, he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Bourso to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates, and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mohammedan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience; he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother emirs of Gherman and Caramania, of Aidun and Sarukhan; and after the conquest of Iconium the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians, than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia.† Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master: an obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece, and we may observe, as a singular fact, that the widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the ancient seat of the oracle of Delphi, deserved his favour by the sacrifice of a beautiful daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty,

His conquests,
from the
Euphrates to
the Danube.

* See the life and death of Morad, or Amurath I. in Cantemir (p. 33-45), the first book of Chalcondyles, and the *Annales Turcici* of Leunclavius. According to another story, the sultan was stabbed by a Croat in his tent, and this accident was alleged to Busbequius (Eplst. i. p. 88) as an excuse for the unworthy precaution of pinning, as it were, between two attendants, an ambassador's arms, when he is introduced to the royal presence.

† Ducan has related this as a deliberate act of self-devotion on the part of a Servian noble who pretended to desert, and stabbed Amurath during a conference which he had requested. The Italian translator of Ducan, published by Bekker in the new edition of the Byzantines, has still further heightened the romance. See likewise in Voullamier (*Osmanische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 138) the popular Servian account, which resembles that of Ducan, and may have been the source of that of his Italian translator. The Turkish account agrees more nearly with Gibbon; but the Servian (Milosch Kobilovich), while he lay among the heap of the dead, pretended to have some secret to impart to Amurath, and stabbed him while he leaned over to listen.—M.

† The reign of Bajazet I. or Ilderim Bayazid, is contained in Cantemir (p. 46), the second book of Chalcondyles, and the *Annales Turcici*. The surname of Ilderim, or lightning, is an example, that the conquerors and poets of every age have felt the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror.

‡ Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of the great Stephen over the Turks (p. 47), had composed the ancient and modern state of his principality of Moldavia, which has been long promised, and is still unpublished.

he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peaceably reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp. Provoked by the loose and corrupt administration of justice, he collected in a house the judges and lawyers of his dominions, who expected that in a few moments the fire would be kindled to reduce them to ashes. His ministers trembled in silence, but an Ethiopian buffoon presumed to insinuate the true cause of the evil; and future venality was left without excuse, by annexing an adequate salary to the office of *cadhi*.¹ The humble title of emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes, a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion, by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title, and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismund, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West; his cause was that of Europe and the church, and, on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In the battle of Nicopolis,

² Battle of
Nicopolis
A.D. 1396

Bajazet defeated a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the

Danube; and Sigismund, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom.³ In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda, that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy, and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. His progress was checked, not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle, not by a crusade of the Christian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral are sometimes corrected by those of the physical, world, and an acrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man, may prevent or suspend the misery of nations.

Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war, but the disastrous adventure of the French has procured us some memorials which illustrate the victory and character of Bajazet.⁴ The Duke of Burgundy, sovereign of Flanders, and uncle of Charles the Sixth, yielded to the ardour of his son John, count of Nevers; and the fearless youth was accompanied by four princes, his cousins, and those of the French monarch. Their inexperience was guided by the sire de Coucy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom,⁵ but the constable, ad

³ Crusade and
captivity of the
French princes.
A.D. 1396-1398

¹ See the *Decades Forum Hungaricum* (Dux in I. II. p. 279) of Lontinus, an Italian, who, in the fifteenth century, was invited into Hungary to compose an eloquent history of that kingdom. Yet if it be extant and accessible, I should give the preference to some homely chronicle of the time and country.

² I should not complain of the labour of this work, if my materials were always derived from such books as the chronicle of honest Froissart (vol. iv. c. 67, 68, 72, 74, 79-83, 85, 87, 89) who read little, inquired much, and believed it. The original *Memoires* of the Marchal de Boucicault (Partie I. c. 27-35) add some facts, but they are dry and deficient, if compared with the pleasant garrulity of Froissart.

³ An accurate *Memoir* on the Life of Froissart, vol. I, sire de Coucy, has been given by the Baron de Zurlauben (*Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxv). His rank and possessions were equally considerable in France and England; and, in 1375, he led an army of adventurers into Switzerland, to recover a large patrimony which he claimed in right of his grandmother, the daughter of the Emperor

¹ *Journal Annal Turcic*, p. 318, 319. The venality of the caliph has long been an object of scandal and satire, and if we distrust the observations of our travellers, we may consult the feeling of the Turks themselves. (1) Herbelot, *Biblioth. Oriental*, p. 216, 217, 220, 230.

² The fact, which is attested by the Arabic history of Ben Bohounah, a contemporary Syrian (*De Conquis, Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 380), destroys the testimony of Nassi Effendi and Cantemir (p. 14, 16), of the election of Othman to the dignity of sultan.

miral, and marshal, of France' commanded an army which did not exceed the number of a thousand knights and squires.* These splendid names were the source of presumption and the bane of discipline. So many might aspire to command, that none were willing to obey; their national spirit despised both their enemies and their allies, and in the persuasion that Bajazet would fly, or *must* fall, they began to compute how soon they should visit Constantinople and deliver the holy sepulchre. When their scouts announced the approach of the Turks, the gay and thoughtless youths were at table, already heated with wine, they instantly clasped their armour, mounted their horses, rode full speed to the vanguard, and resented as an affront the advice of prudence, which would have deprived them of the right and honour of the foremost attack. The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians, but it might have been gloriously won, had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispersed the first line, consisting of the troops of Asia, forced a rampart of stakes, which had been planted against the cavalry, broke, after a bloody conflict, the Tatarians themselves, and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods, and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors. In the space and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired

the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his cruelty in the use of victory. After reserving the count of Nevers and four-and-twenty lords,* whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day, were led before his throne, and, as they refused to abjure their faith, were successively beheaded in his presence. The sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest Janizaries, and if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners,† they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation. A knight, whose life had been spared, was permitted to return to Paris, that he might relate the deplorable tale and solicit the ransom of the noble captives. In the meanwhile, the count of Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were dragged along in the marches of the Turkish camp, exposed as a grateful trophy to the Moslems of Europe and Asia, and strictly confined at Bourssa, as often as Bajazet resided in his capital. The sultan was pressed each day to expiate with their blood the blood of his martyrs, but he had pronounced that they should live, and either for mercy or destruction his word was irrevocable. He was assured of their value and importance by the return of the messenger and the gifts and intercessions of the kings of France and of Cyprus. A messenger presented him with a gold salt

Alfred I. of Austria (Smaller, Voyages, t. 1, p. 115, 116).

* That military officer, so respectable at present, was still more conspicuous when it was divided between two persons (Daniel, Hist. de la Ville de Vienne, tom. II, p. 6). One of these, the marshal of the crusade, was the famous Bonaparte, who afterwards defended Constantinople, and never (as he is said) invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azmouir.

* *Ann. Hist. de Venise*, vol. II, p. 101, marks the whole French army amount to 10,000 men, of whom 1000 were knights. The curious volume of Schiltberger, a German of Munich, who was taken prisoner in the battle (1241, Munich 1811), in which V. Unkmer receives as authentic, gives the whole number at 4000. See Schiltberger, t. I, l. 1, in *den Orient*, and V. Unkmer, note p. 111. — M.

† For this odious fact, the Abbé de Vertot quotes the Hist. Asienne, ed. de St. Denis, t. I, (Ordre de Malte, tom. I, p. 110).

* According to Schiltberger, there were only twelve French lords, invited to the prayer of the Duke of Burgundy, and Herr Stephan von R., and Johann von Bolten, Schiltberger, p. 111.

† See Schiltberger, a very graphic account of the massacre. He was killed to be scattered in cold blood with the rest of the Christian prisoners, amounting to 10,000. He was spared at the intercession of the son of Bajazet, with a few others, on account of their being young. No one under 20 years of age was put to death. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to be a spectator of this butchery, which lasted from early in the morning till four o'clock. It ceased only at the supplication of the leaders of Bajazet's army. Schiltberger, p. 111. — M.

callu of curious workmanship, and of the price of ten thousand ducats, and Charles the Sixth despatched by the way of Hungary a cast of Norwegian hawks, and six horse-loads of scarlet cloth, of fine linen of Rheims, and of Arras tapestry, representing the battles of the great Alexander. After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of two hundred thousand ducats for the count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons. the marshal Boucicault, a famous warrior, was of the number of the fortunate, but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle, and the constable, with the Sue de Coney, died in the prison of Boursa. This heavy demand, which was doubled by accidental costs, fell chiefly on the Duke of Burgundy, or rather on his Flemish subjects, who were bound by the feudal laws to contribute for the knighthood and captivity of the eldest son of their lord. For the faithful discharge of the debt, some merchants of Venice gave security to the amount of six times the sum, a lesson to those who like times, that commerce and credit are the links of the society of nations. It had been stipulated in the treaty, that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror, but the ungenerous restraint was abolished by Bajazet himself. "I despise," said he to the heir of Burgundy, "thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayest be ambitious of effacing the disgrace of misfortune of thy first chivalry. Assemble thy powers, proclaim thy design, and be assured that Bajazet will rejoice to meet thee a second time in a field of battle." Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Boursa. The French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falconers. In

their presence, and at his command, the belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goat's milk of a poor woman. The strangers were astonished by this act of justice, but it was the justice of a sultan who disdains to balance the weight of evidence, or to measure the degrees of guilt.

After his emasculation from an oppressive guardian, John

Palaologus remained The Emperor John Palaologus.

thirty-six years, the helpless, and, as it should seem, the careless, spectator of the public ruin. Love, or rather lust, was his only vigorous passion, and in the embraces of the wives and virgins of the city, the Turkish slave forgot the dishonour of the emperor of the *Roman*. Andronicus, his eldest son, had formed, at Adrianople, an intimate and guilty friendship with Sautes, the son of Amurath, and the two youths conspired against the authority and lives of their parents. The presence of Amurath in Europe soon discovered and dissipated their rash counsel, and, after depriving Sautes of his sight, the Ottoman threatened his rival with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy, unless he inflicted a similar punishment on his own son. Palaologus trembled and obeyed, and a cruel precaution involved in the same sentence the childhood and innocence of John the son of the criminal. But the operation was so mildly, or so unskilfully, performed, that the one retained the sight of an eye, and the other was afflicted only with the infirmity of squinting. Thus excluded from the succession, the Ducard of the Greeks. two princes were confined

in the tower of Anemas, and the prety of Manuel, the second son of the reign, having match of Timur 1 hounds with satin hounds, 2. leopards with collars set with jewels, 3. Green greyhounds, and, 4. dogs from Europe, as strong as African lions (idem, l. vi c. 14). Bajazet was particularly fond of flying his hawks at cranes (Chalcondyles, l. ii p. 3).

¹ For the reign of John Palaologus and his son Manuel, from 1354 to 1452, see Ducas, c. 9 16. Phranza, l. i c. 10 21 and the first and second books of Chalcondyles, whose proper subject is drowned in a sea of episode.

ing monarch, was rewarded with the gift of the Imperial crown. But at the end of two years, the turbulence of the Latins and the levity of the Greeks produced a revolution; and the two emperors were buried in the tower from whence the two prisoners were exalted to the throne. Another period of two years afforded Paleologus and Manuel the means of escape: it was contrived by the magic, or subtlety, of a monk, who was alternately named the angel or the devil: they fled to Scutari; their adherents armed in their cause, and the two Byzantine factions displayed the ambition and animosity with which Cæsar and Pompey had disputed the empire of the world. The Roman world was now contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black Sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth, a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Germany or Italy, if the remains of Constantinople had not still represented the wealth and populousness of a kingdom. To restore the public peace, it was found necessary to divide this fragment of the empire, and while Paleologus and Manuel were left in possession of the capital, almost all that lay without the walls was ceded to the blind prince, who fixed their residence at *Bladenosto* and *Selybria*. In the tranquil slumber of royalty, the passions of John Paleologus survived his reason and his strength: he deprived his favourite and heir of a *blooming princess of Trebizond*; and while the feeble emperor laboured to consummate his nuptials, Manuel, with a hundred of the noblest Greeks, was sent on a peremptory summons to the Ottoman *porte*. They served with honour in the wars of Bajazet, but a plan of fortifying Constantinople excited his jealousy: he threatened their lives, the new works were instantly demolished, and we shall bestow a praise perhaps above the merit of Paleologus, if we impute this last humiliation as the cause of his death.

* According to Von Hammer it was the power of Kaja : vol i p 218 - M

The earliest intelligence of that event was communicated to ^{The Emperor} Manuel, who escaped ^{Manuel} with speed and secrecy ^{A.D. 1381-1385} from the palace of Bouras to the Byzantine throne. Bajazet affected a proud indifference at the loss of this valuable pledge; and while he pursued his conquests in Europe and Asia, he left the emperor to struggle with his blind cousin John of Selybria, who, in eight years of civil war, asserted his right of primogeniture. At length the ambition of the victorious Sultan pointed to the conquest of Constantinople; but he listened to the advice of his vizier who represented, that such an enterprise might unite the powers of Christendom in a second and more formidable crusade. His epistle to the emperor was conceived in these words. — "By the divine clemency, our invincible scimitar has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with ^{Distress of Constantinople.} many and large countries ^{A.D. 1381-1385} in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople, for beyond the wall thou hast nothing left. Resign that city, stipulate thy reward, or tremble, for thyself and thy unhappy people, at the consequences of a rash refusal." But his ambassadors were instructed to soften their tone, and to propose a treaty, which was subscribed with submission and gratitude. A truce of ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold: the Greeks deposed the public toleration of the law of Mahomet, and Bajazet enjoyed the glory of establishing a Turkish *cadhi* and founding a royal mosque in the metropolis of the Eastern church. Yet this truce was soon violated by the restless sultan in the cause of the prince of Selybria, the lawful emperor, an army of Ottomans again threatened Constantinople, and the distress of Manuel implored the protection of the king of France. His plaintive embassy obtained much pity and some relief, and the conduct of the succour was en-

¹ Cantemir, p. 50-51. Of the Greeks Duca alone (c. 13, 15) acknowledges the Turkish *cadhi* at Constantinople. Yet even Duca dissembles the mosque.

trusted to the marshal Boucicault,* whose religious chivalry was inflamed by the desire of revenging his captivity on the infidels. He sailed with four ships of war, from Aiguemortes to the Hellespont; forced the passage, which was guarded by seventeen Turkish galleys, landed at Constantinople a supply of six hundred men at arms and sixteen hundred archers, and reviewed them in the adjacent plain, without condescending to number or array the multitude of Greeks. By his presence, the blockade was raised both by sea and land; the flying squadrons of Bajazet were driven to a more respectful distance; and several castles in Europe and Asia were stormed by the emperor and the marshal, who fought with equal valour by each other's side. But the Ottomans soon returned with an increase of numbers; and the intrepid Boucicault, after a year's struggle, resolved to evacuate a country which could no longer afford either pay or provisions for his soldiers. The marshal offered to conduct Manuel to the French court, where he might

solicit in person a supply of men and money; and advised, in the meanwhile, that, to extinguish all domestic discord, he should leave his blind competitor on the throne. The proposal was embraced. the prince of Solybria was introduced to the capital, and such was the public misery, that the lot of the exile seemed more fortunate than that of the sovereign. Instead of applauding the success of his vassal, the Turkish sultan claimed the city as his own; and on the refusal of the Emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such an enemy, prayers and resistance were alike unavailing, and the savage would have devoured his prey, if, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of Timour or Tamerlane, the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years, and thus important, though accidental, service may justly introduce the life and character of the Mogul conqueror.

CHAPTER LXV.

ELEVATION OF TIMOUR OR TAMERLANE TO THE THRONE OF SAMARGAND — HIS CONQUESTS IN PERSIA, GEORGIA, TARTARY, RUSSIA, INDIA, SYRIA, AND ANATOLIA—HIS TURKISH WAR—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF BAJAZET—DEATH OF TIMOUR—CIVIL WAR OF THE SONS OF BAJAZET—RESTORATION OF THE TURKISH MONARCHY BY MAHOMET THE FIRST—SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY AMURATH THE SECOND.

THE conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of TIMOUR. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages was the second wish of his magnanimous spirit. All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his secretaries: the authentic narrative

*Histories of
Timour, or
Tamerlane.*

was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and

Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in four vols. 12mo), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate, and he may be trusted for public facts, though he servilely praises the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries may be seen in the Institutions, p. 215, 217, 246, 351

* *Mémoires du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicault, Maréchal de France, partie Ire, c. 30, 35.*

* These journals were communicated to

family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the *commentaries* of his life, and the *institutions* of his government.³ But these cares were ineffectual for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or, at least, from the knowledge of Europe. The nations which he vanquished exercised a base and important revenge; and

ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny,⁴ which had disfigured the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of *Tamerlane*.⁵ Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debased, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia, nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.[†]

In the eyes of the Moguls, who hold the indefeasible succession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject, yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Borlass, his fifth ancestor, Chusshar Noian, had been the vizir of Zengatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana, and in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at least by the females.[‡]

¹ The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much esteemed for its florid elegance of style *Ahmedie Arabiade* (Ahmed Fbn Arabshah) *Historie et Rerum gestarum Timur Arabie et Latine*. Editit Samuel Henricus Manger. Francofurt 1707, 2 tom. in 4to. This byssian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant, enemy the very titles of his chapters are injurious: is how the wicked, as how the unpious as how the viper, &c. The copious article of Timur, in the *Asiatick Researches*, is a fine specimen of the style, and the *Lebharikh*

² *Demir* or *Timour* signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron, and *Shah* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into *Lam* or *Lame*, and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of *Tamerlane*.

³ After relating a true false and foolish tale of Timour *Lame*, Arabshah is compelled to speak truth, and to own him for a kinsman of Zingis, per misures (as he previously adds) *laqueus Satanae* (para 1 c 1 p 25). The testimony of Abdul Kadir Khan (P II c 5 P v c 4), is clear, unequivocal, and decisive.

⁴ According to the memoirs he was so called by a Shakh, who, when visited by his mother on his birth, was reading the verse of the Koran, "Are you sure that he who dwells in heaven will not cause the earth to swallow you up and belic it shall shake, I answr." The Shakh then stopped and said, "We have named your son *Timour*" p. 21 - V.

[†] He was lamed by a wound at the siege of the capital of Sistan Sherafoddin lib. iii c. 17, p. 138 See Von Hammer, vol. I p. 230. —M.

[‡] In the memoirs the title Gurkan is in one place (p. 23) interpreted the son in law, in another (p. 28) as Kurkan, great prince, generalissimo, and prime minister of Jagatai. —JL.

¹ These Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe, but Mr White gives some hope that they may be imported and translated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the East this "minute and faithful narrative of an interesting and eventful period."

I am ignorant whether the original institution, in the Turki or Mogul language, be still extant. The Persian version, with an English translation, and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1773, in 4to) by the joint labours of Major Davy and Mr White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persick into French (Paris 1787) by M. Langes a learned Orientalist, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

² Shaw Allum, the present Moul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the institutions of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence; but if any suspicions should arise of fraud and fiction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism, the patronage of a prince, less honourable, perhaps, is not less lucrative than that of a bookseller: nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Persian, the real author, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price of the work.

³ The manuscript of Major Davy has been translated by Major Stewart, and published by the Oriental Translation Committee of London. It contains the life of Timour, from his birth to his forty first year, but the last thirty years of western war and conquest are wanting. Major Stewart intimates, that two manuscripts exist in this country containing the whole work, but excuses himself, on account of his age, from undertaking the laborious task of completing the translation. It is to be hoped that the European public will be soon enabled

Book of Dreams and Omens—a wild, but characteristic, chronicle of Visions and Mortes Koranic! Strange that a life of Timour should awaken a reminiscence of the diary of Archbishop Laud! The early dawn and the gradual expansion of his not less splendid but more real visions of ambition are touched with the simplicity of truth and nature. But as long to escape from the petty feuds of the pastoral chieftain, to the triumphs and the legislation of the conqueror of the world.—M.

with the Imperial stem.¹ He was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sehzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his father were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thousand horse.² His birth³ was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Asiatic dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatu were extinct, the mirs aspired to independence, and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes or Cinnucks,⁴ invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had

His first advent entered the field of action, in the twenty-fifth* he

A.D. 1361-1370 stood forth as the deliverer of his country, and the eyes

¹ According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth ancestor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers, and they agreed, that the posterity of the elder should succeed to the dignity of Khan, and that the descendants of the younger should fill the office of their minister and general. This tradition was at least convenient to justify the first steps of Timour's ambition (Institutions, p. 24, 25, from the MS fragments of Timour's history).

² See the prefect of Sherfeddin, and Abulfeida's Geography (I. horasmia, &c. Descriptio, p. 60, 61), in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Greek Geographers.

³ See his nativity in Dr Hyde (Syntagma Dissertation, tom. ii. p. 406), as it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson, Ulugh Beg. He was born A.D. 1360, April 9, 11th 67th I. H. 1st 31. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the surname of Sahib Kuran, or master of the conjunctions (Jabuti Uranic, p. 87b).

⁴ In the Institutions of Timour, these sub-

* He was twenty seven before he served his first war under the emir Housain, who ruled over Khorasan and Mawerannahr. Von Hamnour, vol. i. p. 202. Neither of these statements agree with the memoirs. At twelve he was a boy. "I fancied that I perceived in myself all the signs of greatness and wisdom, and who ever came to visit me, I received with great haughtiness and dignity." At seventeen he undertook the management of the flocks and herds of the family (p. 24). At nineteen he became religious and "left off playing chess," made a kind of Buddhist vow never to injure living thing, and felt his foot paralysed from having accidentally trod upon an ant (p. 10). At twenty, thoughts of rebellion and greatness rose in his mind, at twenty one he seems to

and wishes of the people were turned towards a hero who suffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their salvation to support him with their lives and fortunes, but in the hour of danger they were silent and afraid, and, after waiting seven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the desert with only sixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Getes, whom he repulsed with incredible slaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten a number which was soon diminished by the desertion of three Carizmans.* He wandered in the desert with his wife, seven companions, and four horses, and sixty-two days was he plunged in a loathsome dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage, and the remorse of the oppressor. After swimming the broad and rapid stream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during some months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw, on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame shone brighter in adversity, he learned to distinguish the friends of his person, the associates of his fortune, and to apply the various char-

acters of the khun of Kashgar are most improperly styled Uzbeks, or Uzbuks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, I. v. c. vii. c. 6). Could I be sure that this word is in the Turkish original, I would boldly pronounce that the Institutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, since the establishment of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana †

have performed his first feat of arms. He was a practiced warrior when he served, in his 27th year, under emir Housain.

* Compare memoirs, page 61. The impression in there stated at 23 days. "At this time I made a vow to God that I would never keep any person, whether guilty or innocent, for any length of time, in prison or in chains." p. 63.—M.

† Col Stewart observes that the Persian translator has sometimes made use of the name Uzbek by anticipation. He observes, likewise, that these Jits (Getes) are not to be confounded with the ancient Gutes, they were unconquered. Furka (ol. 104 (History of Hajathian, vol. i. p. 164) would identify the Jits with the ancient, &c.—M.

acters of men for their advantage, and, above all, for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was successively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously sought him in the desert, nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He presented himself as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. "When their eyes fell upon me," says Timour, "they were overwhelmed with joy, and they alighted from their horses, and they came and knelt; and they kissed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of the second, and the third I clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept also, and the hour of prayer was nigh, and we prayed. And we mounted our horses, and came to my dwelling, and I collected my people, and made a feast." His trusty hands were soon increased by the bravest of the tribes; he led them against a superior foe, and, after some vicissitudes of war, the Getae were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory, but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and some blood to be spilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their master. The birth and power of emir Houssein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose sister was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous, but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy, and, after a final defeat, Houssein was slain by some sagacious friends, who presumed, for the last time, to disobey the commands of their lord.* At the

* Timour, on one occasion, sent him this message — "He who wishes to embrace the bridle of royalty, must kiss her across the edge of the sharp sword" p. 83. The scene of the trial of Houssein, the resistance of Timour gradually became more feeble, the vengeance of the chiefs becoming proportionably more

age of thirty-four," and in a general diet or *couroulas*, he was invested with Imperial command, but he affected to revere the house of Zingis, and while the emir Timour reigned ^{He ascends the throne of Zingis} Zagatai and the

East, a nominal khan A.D. 1370. served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject, but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world. And before his death, the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns, without describing the lines of march, which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Asia, I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I Persia, II Tartary, and III India,² and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

I For every war, a motive of safety or revenge, of honour or ^{His conquests} zeal, of right or ^{A.D. 1370-1400} convenience, may be readily ^{I. Of Persia.} found in the jurisprudence of conquerors. No sooner had Timour reunited to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizmo and Candahar, then he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris, that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Abou-said, the last of the descendants of the great Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above

determined, is strikingly portrayed. Mem. p. 130 — M.

¹ The first book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero, and he himself, or his secretary (Institutions, p. 377), enlarges with pleasure on the thirteen designs and enterprises which most truly constitute his personal merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah (P. 1 c. 112).

² The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India are represented in the second and third books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabshah (c. 13 56). Consult the excellent Indexes to the Institutions.

* Compare the seventh book of Von Hammer, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches — M.

forty years; and the Mogul invader might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms. They separately stood, and successively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of submission or the obstinacy of resistance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kissed the footstool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of silks, horses, and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces. but a critical spectator observed, that there were only eight slaves. "I myself am the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour.¹ Shah Mansour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand soldiers, the *core* or main-body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour. he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a scimitar. the Moguls rallied, the head of Mansour was thrown at his feet and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian Gulf, and the richness and weakness of Ormuz² were displayed in an annual

¹ The reverence of the Tartars for the mysterious number of nine is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reason, divides his Genealogical History into nine parts.

² According to Arababab (P. i. c. 23, p. 133) the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himself from the pursuit of Shah Mansour under the women's garments. Perhaps Shereffeddin (l. iii. c. 25) has magnified his courage.

³ The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was destroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fishery, possessed large territories both in Persia and Arabia, but they were at first the tributaries of the sultans of Kerman, and at last were delivered (A. p. 1506) by the Portuguese tyrants from the

tribute of six hundred thousand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the seat of the caliphs, but the noblest conquest of Holacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious successor. The whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience. he entered Edessa, and the Turkmen of the black sheep were chastised for the sacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Christians still braved the law and the sword of Mahomet, by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the *qazis*, or holy war, and the prince of Iellis became his proselyte and friend.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the invasion of Turke in of Turkistan, stan, or the Eastern Tar- A.D. 1363. tary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Gutes. he passed the Sihoon, subdued the kingdom of Kashghar, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. His most distant camp was two months' journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north east of Samarcand, and his emirs, who traversed the river Irtysh, engraved in the forests of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conquest of Kipzak, or the western Tartary,¹ was founded on the double motive of aiding the distressed, and chastising the ungrateful. Toctamish, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court the ambassadors of Auruss Khan were dismissed with a haughty denial, and followed on the same day by the armies of Zagatai and their success established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the North. But, after a reign of

tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16, fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda, Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 281, 282, an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Stevens' History of Persia, p. 376 416, and the itineraries inserted in the first volume of Mamusio, of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 107, of Andrea Corsali (1517), fol. 202, 203, and of Odoardo Barbessa (in 1510), fol. 315 318).

¹ Arababab had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a singular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (l. i. c. 45 49).

ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor, the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of ninety thousand horse with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, and Russia; he passed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidst the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation,

of Kipzak,
Russia, &c.
A.D. 1350-1356

and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge, and by the east, and the west, of the Caspian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers, that the town miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man, and then daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length the armies encountered each other, but the treachery of the standard bearer, who, in the heat of action, reversed the Imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zingians, and Tatarish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Tonsu to the wind of desolation.¹ He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania, again returned to the banks of the Volga, and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia; a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital, and Yelctz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might easily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the resistance would have been feeble, since the hopes of the Russians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the casual and voluntary retreat of the

conqueror. Ambition and prudence, recalled him to the South, the desolate country was exhausted, and the Mogul soldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of precious furs, of linen of Antioch,² and of ingots of gold and silver.³ On the banks of the Don, or Tamar, he received a humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt,⁴ Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Liscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered them gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the state of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes, the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed, but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery.⁵ Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Astrachan, the monuments of rising civilisation, and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight, a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mohammedan doctors to

¹ The furs of Russia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Italian merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

² M. Levesque (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. ii. p. 247. *Vie de Timour*, p. 61-67, before the French version of the Institutions) has corrected the error of Shereffeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquest. His arguments are superfluous, and a simple appeal to the Russian annals is sufficient to prove that Moscow, which six years before had been taken by Toktamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

³ An Egyptian consul from Grand Cairo is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in 1480, after the city had been rebuilt (*Ramusio*, tom. ii. fol. 92).

⁴ The sack of Azoph is described by Shereffeddin (l. iii. c. 55), and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (*Andreas de Redemis de Quero*, in *Chron. Tarvisiano*, in *Muratorii Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xix. p. 802-805). He had conversed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been sent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had lost at Azoph three sons and 12,000 ducats.

¹ Institutions of Timour, p. 129-135. Mr

White, the editor, bestows some animated version on the superficial account of Shereffeddin (l. iii. c. 74, 11, 14) who was ignorant of the designs of Timour, and the true springs of action.

dispense with the obligation of evening prayer.¹

III When Timour first proposed to his princes and lords the invasion of India or Hindustan, he was answered by a murmur of discontent "The rivers and the mountains and deserts and the soldiers clad in armour and the elephants, destroyers of men!" But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors, and his superior reason was convinced that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution.

He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindustan, the soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion, and the perpetual infancy of sult in Mahmood was despised even in the harem of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions, and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet.² Between the Jiloon and the Indus they crossed one of the ridges of mountains, which are styled by the Arabian geographers, The stony Girdles of the North. The highland robbers were subdued or extirpated, but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow, the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold—the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom,

¹ Shereffeddin only says (I. iii. c. 13), that the rays of the setting, and those of the rising, sun, were exactly separated by any interval, a problem which may be solved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis, and a long summer twilight. But a day of forty days (Rhondemir and 12th. ch. 10, p. 280) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

² For the Indian war, see the Institutions (p. 129-130), the fourth book of Shereffeddin, and the history of Ferishta (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 120), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindustan.

* Gibbon (observes M. von Hammer) is mistaken in the correspondence of the ninety-two squadrons of his army with the ninety-two names of God, the names of God are ninety-nine, and Allah is the hundredth, p. 286, note. But Gibbon speaks of the names or epithets of Mahomet, not of God.—M.

this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok, and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the Punjab, or five rivers, that fall into the master stream from Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than six hundred miles, but the two conquerors deviated to the south-east, and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had achieved by his command the conquest of Moultan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept, the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batmir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mohammedan kings.³ The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time, but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmood and his vizir to descend into the plain with ten thousand cuirassiers, forty thousand of his footguards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tusks are said to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condescended to use some extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron spikes and a rampart of bucklers, but the event taught the Moguls to smile at their own fears, and, as soon as these unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior species (the men of India) disappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindustan, and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the stately mosque, but the order or licence of a general

¹ The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennell's incomparable map of Hindustan. In his Critical Memoir, he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

* They took, on their march, 100,000 slaves, Guebans, they were all murdered. V. Hammer, vol. i. p. 286. They are called idolaters. Briggs' Ferishta, vol. i. p. 491.—M.

† See vol. i. ch. ii. note 1.—M.

pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who still surpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems.* In this pious design, he advanced one hundred miles to the north east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, fought several battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the statue of the cow,† that seems to discharge the mighty river, whose source is far distant among the mountains of Thibet. His return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindus

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by sixty-three years, and innumerable fatigues, and after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of

His war against
Sultan Bajazet.
A.D. 1400

¹ The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, rise in Thibet, from the opposite ridges of the same hills, separate from each other to the distance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding course of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the Gulf of Bengal. Yet so capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late discovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern story. Coupele, the scene of Timour's last victory, must be situated near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta, and, in 1774, a British camp! (Rennel's Memoir, p. 7, 89, 90, 91, 99).

* See a curious passage on the destruction of the Hindu idols, Memoirs, p. 15.—M

† Consult the very striking description of the Cow's Mouth by Captain Hodgson, Asiatic Res. vol. xiv. p. 117. "A most wonderful scene. The Bhagiratha or Ganges issues from under a very low arch at the foot of the grand snow bed. My guide, an illiterate mountaineer, compared the pendant icicles to Mahodera's hair." (Compare Poems, Quarterly Rev. vol. xiv. p. 27, and at the end of my translation of Nala.) "Hindus of research may formerly have been here, and if so, I cannot think of any place to which they might more aptly give the name of a cow's mouth than to this extraordinary debouché."—M

Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war he granted the choice of remaining at home, or following their prince, but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Persia were commanded to assemble at Ispahan, and wait the arrival of the Imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter season; but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour: the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran; and if both religions boasted of their martyrs, that name is more justly due to the Christian prisoners, who were offered the choice of abjuration or death. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces, which fermented two years before the final explosion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory, of threatening his vassals, and protecting his rebels, and by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior. The first epistle of the Mogul emperor

¹ See the Institutions, p. 141, to the end of the first book, and Shereddin (l. v. c. 1-16) to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

² We have three copies of these hostile epistles in the Institutions (p. 147), in Shereddin (l. v. c. 16), and in Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 19, p. 182-201); which agree with each other in the spirit and substance rather than in the style. It is probable, that they have been

must have provoked, instead of reconciling, the Turkish sultan, whose family and nation he affected to despise.¹ "Dost thou not know, that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? that our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we have compelled fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by the apostle of God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the infidels, is the sole consideration that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Moslem world. Be wise in time; reflect, repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire, why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas! they will trample thee under their feet." In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a soul which was deeply stung by such unusual contempt. After retorting the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boasted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove, that Timour had never triumphed unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "Thy armies are innumerable.

translated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Persian tongues."

The Mogul emir distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and stigmatises the race and nation of Bajazet with the less honourable epithet of *Infidels*. Yet I do not understand how the Ottomans could be descended from a Turkman sailor, those inland shepherds were so remote from the sea, and all maritime affairs.²

* Von Hammer considers the letter which Gibbon inserted in the text to be spurious. On the various copies of these letters, see his note, p. 616.—M.

* Price translates the word *piloh*, or boatman.—M.

be they so; but what are the arrows of the flying Tartar against the scimitars and battle axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? I will guard the princes who have implored my protection seek them in my tents. The cities of Arzangan and Erzeroum are mine; and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sultania." The ungovernable rage of the sultan at length betrayed him to an insult of a more domestic kind. "If I fly from thy arms," said he, "may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed but if thou hast not courage to meet me in the field, mayest thou again receive thy wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger!" Any violation by word or deed of the secrecy of the harem is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations;³ and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and personal resentment. Yet in his first expedition, Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Siwas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia, and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman, on a garrison of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty.* As a Mussulman he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, and after this salutary lesson,

¹ According to the Koran (c. ii p. 27, and Sale's Discourses, p. 134) a Mussulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce) could not take her again, till after she had been married to and repudiated by another husband, an ignominious transaction, which it is needless to aggravate, by supposing that the first husband must see her enjoyed by a second before his face (Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, l. ii. c. 21).

² The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arababah to the Turkish nations, and it is remarkable enough, that Chalcondyles (l. ii p. 55) had some knowledge of the prejudices and the insult.

* Still worse barbarities were perpetrated on these brave men. Von Hammer, vol. i p. 295.—M.

† See Von Hammer, p. 308, and note, p. 621.—M.

the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt. In these transac-

Timour invades
Syria
A.D. 1400

tion, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is styled the *Kaimak* of *Roum*, the Czar of the Romans, a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine.

The military republic of the Mamluks still reigned in Egypt and Syria, but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians,¹ and their favourite Barkok, from slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midst of rebellion and discord, he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the ambassadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his son Farage. The Syrian emirs² were assembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion: they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamluks, in the temper of their swords and lances of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of sixty thousand villages; and instead of sustaining a siege, they throw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union, and some powerful emirs had been seduced to desert or betray their more loyal companions.

¹ For the style of the Moguls, see the Institutions (p. 131, 147), and for the Persians, the Bibliothèque Orientale (p. 882), but I do not find that the title of Czar has been applied by the Arabians, or assumed by the Ottomans themselves.

² See the reigns of Barkok and Farage, in M. de Guignes (tom. iv. 1 xiii.) who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahasson, Ebn Schounah, and Aintabi, has added some facts to our common stock of materials.

³ For these recent and domestic transactions, Aribshah, though a partial, is a credible witness (tom. i. c. 64 68, tom. ii. c. 1-14). Timour must have been odious to a Syrian, but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in some measure, to respect his enemy and himself. His errors may correct the luscious sweets of Sherifeddin (l. v. c. 17 20).

Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose targets were filled with archers and Greek fire; the rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the dismay and disorder, the Syrian crowds fell back on each other, many thousands were killed or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street, the Moguls entered with the fugitives, and after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was surrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the suppliants and captives, Timour *sacks Aleppo*, distinguished the doctors *A.D. 1400*

of the law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a personal conference. The Mogul prince was a zealous Mussulman, but his Persian schools had taught him to reverse the memory of Ali and Hussein, and he had imbibed a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the son of the daughter of the apostle of God. To these doctors he proposed a captious question, which the casuists of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of resolving: "Who are the true martyrs, of those who are slain on my side, or on that of my enemies?" But he was silenced, or satisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the design, constitutes the martyr, and that the Moslems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation. The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature; and the frankness of a doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as false as those of Damascus. Monwiyah was a usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquillity, and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation: "What is your age?" said he.

¹ These interesting conversations appear to have been copied by Arabshah (tom. i. c. 68, p. 625 646) from the cadhi and historian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive seventy-five years afterwards (D'Herbelot, p. 792)?

to the caliph. "Fifty years"—"It would be the age of my eldest son: you see me here (continued Timour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet by my name has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, Ionia, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood, and God is my witness that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor, and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity." During this peaceful conversation, the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and it echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice, but their cruelty was enforced by the presumptuous command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered and almost overthrown by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his distress and despair: one of his nephews deserted to the enemy, and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the sultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls, and Timour consented to raise the siege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ransom, each article of nine pieces. But no sooner

Damascus
and Bagdad
A.D. 1401.

had he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold, and animated his troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians who had executed, or approved, the murder of the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a

colony of artificers, whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone preserved in the general massacre, and, after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The losses and cruelties of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt, but in his return to the Euphrate, he delivered Aleppo to the flames, and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Ali, who were desirous to visit the tomb of his son. I have expatiated on the personal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero, but I shall briefly mention¹ that he erected on the ruins of Babel a pyramid of ninety thousand heads, again visited Georgia, encamped on the banks of the Araxes, and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list,² but the splendid commands of five, and ten thousand horse, may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective soldiers.³ In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches: but the do-

¹ The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars are represented by Shireh-i-din (I v c 2943) and Arabshih (tom i c 1519).

² This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabshih, or rather by Ebn Shounah, ex-rationario Timour on the faith of a Circassian officer (tom i c 68, p 617), and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek historian (Pharazar, l i c 29) adds no more than 30,000 men. Poggins reckons 1,000,000, another Latin contemporary (Chron Turcistanum, apud Muratori, tom xix p 800) 1,100,000, and the enormous sum of 1,600,000 is attested by a German soldier, who was present at the battle of Angora (Leuriclav ad Chalcondyl l i p 82). Timour, in his Institutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his subjects, or his revenues.

³ A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Janner's patron was Fenge Hazari, commander of 1400 horse, of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom i p 288, 289).

livery of their pay and arrears for seven years more firmly attached them to the Imperial standard.

During this diversion of the Mogul ^{Invades Anatolia, arms, Bajazet had two A.D. 1402.} years to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot,¹ whose merit and fidelity wore of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries, who have been gradually raised to an establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times, twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour, the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had assigned a settlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearless confidence of the sultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the meanwhile, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia. his boldness was secured by the wisest precautions, his speed was guided by order and discipline, and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying squadrons, who marked his road and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp, dexterously inclined to the left; occupied Cæsarea, traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora while the sultan, immovable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail;²

he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora, ^{Battle of Angora, A.D. 1402.} and as both generals were

alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalised the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. For this signal victory the Mogul emperor was indebted to himself, to the genius of the moment, and the discipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners of his nation,³ whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous cavalry. From a single troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the same. A foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forwards in their several divisions, and in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person.⁴ But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindustan ostentatiously showed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments of victory. the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans; but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of

¹ Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 153), which is reduced to 160,000 by Phranza (l. i c. 29), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident that the Moguls were the more numerous.

² It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journeys of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty five miles; to Smyrna, twenty, to Kiotahia, ten, to Bourza, ten, to Cæsarea, eight, to Sinope, ten, to Nicomedia, nine, to Con-

stantinople, eleven, or twelve (see Tournefort, Voyage au Levant tom. ii. lettre xxi.).

³ See the Systems of Tactics in the Institutions, which the English editors have illustrated with elaborate plans (p. 373-407).

⁴ The sultan himself (says Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French version of the Institutions (p. 156, 157).

either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day.¹ In that day Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief, but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant, and, from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice² had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emissaries of Timour;³ who reproached their ignoble servitude under the slaves of their fathers; and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient country. In the right wing of Bajazet the cuirassiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irresistible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit, and the Janizaries, alone without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers, and the unfortunate sultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was pursued and taken by

the titular khan of Zagatai, and, after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who planted his standard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and

destruction. Mirza Mohammed Sultan, the eldest and best beloved of his grandsons, was despatched to Bursa, with thirty thousand horse; and such was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course; and Soliman, the son of Bajazet, had already passed over to Europe with the royal treasure. The spoil, however, of the palace and city was immense: the inhabitants had escaped; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashes. From Bursa, the grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city, and the Mogul squadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same success attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excursions, and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence, the place was taken by storm: all that breathed was put to the sword, and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carricks, or great ships of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortress which had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet.⁴

The iron cage in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Timour. The history of his lane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity.⁵ They appeal with confi-

¹ The Greek fire, on Timour's side, is attested by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47), but Voltair's strange suspicion, that some cannon, inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Delhi, is refuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

² Timour has dissembled this secret and important negotiation with the Tartars, which is indisputably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 47, p. 301), Turkish (Annal Leunclav p. 321), and Persian historians (Khondemir, apud D'Herbelot, p. 882).

³ See V. Hammer, vol. i. p. 710, for the singular hints which were conveyed to him of the wisdom of unlocking his hoarded treasures. —M.

⁴ For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44-65), and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 20-35). On this part only of Timour's history it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir, p. 68-66 Annal Leunclav p. 320-322), and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29 Ducas, c. 16-17 Chalcondyles, l. iii).

⁵ The scepticism of Voltair (*Essai sur l'Histoire*).

clence to the Persian history of Sheroffeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiosity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more spacious narrative of this memorable transaction. No sooner was

Disapproved by the Persian historians of Timour Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent, than

he graciously stepped forwards to receive him, seated him by his side, and mingled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas!" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault, it is the web which you have woven, the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted. I wished to spare, and even to assist, the champion of the Moslems; you braved our threats, you despised our friendship, you forced us to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the event! Had you vanquished, I am not ignorant of the fate which you reserved for myself and my troops. But, I disdain to retaliate: your life and honour are secure, and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man." The royal captive showed some signs of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his son Mousa, who, at his request, was sought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavilion, and the respect of the guards could be surpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the harem from Boura, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband, but he proudly required, that the Serbian princess, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring

toire (Général, c. 84), is ready on this as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue, and on most occasions his incredulity is reasonable.

him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan's untimely death amidst the care of the most skilful physicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akshehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave: his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the museum which he had erected at Boura, and his son Mousa, after receiving a rich present of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his decease. And, at a time when the truth was remembered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Persian histories, yet half-true, more especially in the East, is base and audacious. And the harsh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, some of whom shall be produced in the order of their time and country. The reader has not forgot the garrison of French, whom the marshal Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive the earliest and most faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adversary, and it is more than probable, that some of them accompanied the Greek embassy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the hardships of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the

¹ See the History of Sheroffeddin (l. v. c. 40, 52, 53, 59, 60). This work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1421, and dedicated to sultan Ibrahim, the son of Sharokh, the son of Timour, who reigned in Persia in his father's lifetime.

² After the persual of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, &c., the learned D'Herbelot (Biblioth. Orientale, p. 883) may affirm, that this tale is not mentioned in the most authentic histories, but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.

marshal's servant and historian, within the distance of seven years.¹ 2. The name of Poggius the Italian² is deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the vicissitudes of fortune³ was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty eight years after the Turkish victory of Tamerlane,⁴ whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illustrious barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and discipline Poggius was informed by several ocular witnesses nor does he forget an example so apposite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beast in an iron cage, and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the same story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe with the first tidings of the revolution.⁵ 3. At the

time when Poggius flourished at Rome, Ahmed Ebn Arabshah composed at

¹ It fit lui mense (August) p. 113, et in prison, on laquelle mourut de deux mois. Mémoires de Boucicault p. 1 c. 37. These memoirs were composed while the marshal was

expelled in the year 1409, by a popular insurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xlii. p. 478, 474).

² The reader will find a satisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant and in the Bibliotheca Latina nunc et infima latus de Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305, 306). Poggius was born in the year 1350, and died in 1419.

³ The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1721, in 4to), was composed a short time before the death of Pope Martin V (p. 5) and consequently about the end of the year 1430.

⁴ See a splendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane p. 86-90. Ipse enim novus (says Poggius) qui tuere in ejus castris. R. cum vivum cepit, cavæque in modum feræ inclusum per omnem Asiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque spectaculum fortune.

⁵ The Chronicon Tarvisianum (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 880), and the Annales Estenses (tom. xviii. p. 74). The two authors, Andrea de Reduelli di Quirò, and James de Belayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevis, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the most positive

Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journeys over Turkey and Tartary.¹ Without any possible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage, and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indiscreet mention of women and divorce was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar in the feast of victory, the wine was served by female cupbearers, and the sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the slaves, and exposed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said that his successors, except in a single instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials, and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbequins,² ambassador from the court of Vienna to the great Soliman. Such is the reputation of language, that the testimony of a Greek is not less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab.

I suppress the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas, who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza,³ protovestiarius of the last emperor, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was sent ambassador to Amurath the Second, and the historian might converse with some veteran Janizaries, who had been

¹ See Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28, 54. He travelled in various Rumanas, A. H. 820 (A. D. 1415 July, 27) tom. ciii. 2, p. 13.

² Busbequius in Legatione Turcica, part. 1. p. 62. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent narratives of Amurath II. with a Serbian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic, princess (Cantimir, p. 88, 93).

³ See the testimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29), and his life in Hancikus (de Script. Byzant. p. i. c. 340). Chalcondyles and Ducas speak in the most general terms of Bajazet's chains.

made prisoners with the sultan, and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in every

s. By the Turkish sense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir.¹ They unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage, and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot stigmatise the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country

From these opposite promises, a fair

Probable and moderate conclusion may be deduced. I am satisfied that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully described the first ostentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonised by success, affected the character of generosity. But his mind was insensibly alienated by the unseasonable arrogance of Bajazet, the complaints of his enemies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement, and Timour betrayed a design of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impose a harsher restraint, and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton insult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in some fabulous history a similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia, and Bajazet was condemned to represent the person, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Caesar.² But the

¹ Annales Leunclav. p. 321. Pocock Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag Dynast. Cantemir, p. 55.

² A Sapor, king of Persia, had been made prisoner, and enclosed in the figure of a cow's hide by Maximian or Galerius Caesar. Such is the fable related by Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 421 vers. Pocock). The recollection of the true history (Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. p. 140-152) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orientals of the ages which precede the Hegira.

* Von Hammer, p. 318, cites several authorities unknown to Gibbon.—M.

† Von Hammer's explanation of this contested point is both simple and satisfactory. It originated in a mistake in the meaning of the Turkish word kafe, which means a covered Matar or palanquin drawn by two horses, and

strength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injustice, be ascribed to the severity of Timour. He warred not with the dead: a tear and a sepulchre were all that

he could bestow on a cap-
tive who was delivered from his power; and if Mousa, the son of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Bursa, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful sovereigns.

From the Irish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour: his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land, but an insuperable, though narrow, sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia; and the lord of so many

tomans, or myriads, of horse, was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double straits were guarded with

¹ Arabahah (tom. ii. c. 25) describes, like a curious traveller, the heights of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events, I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambassador mentions this hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, p. 98).

is generally used to convey the harem of an Eastern monarch. In such a litter, with the lattice-work made of iron, Bajazet either chose or was constrained to travel. This was either mistaken for, or transformed by, ignorant relations into a cage. The European Schiltberger, the two oldest of the Turkish historians, and the most valuable of the later compilers, Seadeddin, describe this litter. Seadeddin discusses the question with some degree of historical criticism, and ascribes the choice of such a vehicle to the indignant state of Bajazet's mind, which would not brook the sight of his Tartar conquerors. Von Hammer, p. 320.—M.

ships and fortifications; and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time, they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself, accepted, by a real patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Rumania, which he already held by the sword, and reiterated his ardent wish of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor¹ (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new design of vast and romantic compass, a design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the straits of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the submission of the sultan of Egypt the honours of the pique and the com attended at Cairo the supremacy of Timour, and a rare gift of a *qurass*, or camelopard, and nine ostriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates, and almost accomplishes, the invasion of the Chinese empire.² Timour was

urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Mussulman blood could be expiated only by the equal destruction of the infidels, and as he now stood at the gates of paradise, he might best secure his glorious entrance by demolishing the idols of China, founding mosques in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God, and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an insult on the Mogul name, and the disorders of the empire afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongvou, founder of the dynasty of *Man*, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandson, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war.³ Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour despatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irish to the wall of China. During these preparations, the emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia, passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes, appeased the troubles of Persia, and slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

On the throne of Samarcand,⁴ he displayed, in a short time, his magnificence and power, listened to the complaints of the people, distributed a just measure of rewards and punishment, employed his riches in the

shah (tom II c 83) paints a vague and the torrid zone.

¹ Synopsis Hist. Sines, p 7176 (in the fourth part of the relations de Thovenot), Dubaldi, Hist. de la Chine (tom I p 507, 508, folio edition), and for the Chronology of the Chinese emperors, De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom I p 71, 72.

² For the return, triumph, and death of Timour see Sherefeddin (I vi c 130) and Arabshah (tom II c 35 47).

¹ Since the name of Caesar had been transferred to the sultans of Roum the Greek princes of Constantinople (Sherefeddin I v c 64) were confounded with the Christian lords of Gallipoli, Thessalonica, &c., under the title of Taktar, which is derived by corruption from the gentile *τὸν καὶ τὸν* (Cangemir, p 51).

² See Sherefeddin, I v c 4, who marks, in a just itinerary, the road to China, which Arab

architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suite of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. The marriage of six of the emperor's grandsons was esteemed an act of religion as well as of paternal tenderness, and the pomp of the ancient eclipses was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Cambrul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens, the plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were continuously invited, the orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet, not were the ambassadors of Europe (viz. the mighty Persian) excluded from the feast since even the *cassia*, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean. The public joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades, the trades of Sumatra and Persia in review, and every trade was anxious to execute some quaint device, some marvellous, pregnant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage contracts had been ratified by the caliph, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; and, according to Asiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed, and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed, the people were free, the

¹ Sherifuddin (l. vi. c. 21) mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Castile. The two embassies are still extant (Mariana, first Hispan. l. xix. c. 11, tom. ii. p. 329, 330. See also *Monist. de l'Inde* p. 28.) There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mongol emperor and the court of Charles VII. king of France (Hist. de France, par Volley et Villard, tom. xii. p. 334.)

sovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China. The emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iran and Touman their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great waggons, and an immense train of horses and camels, and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than six months were employed in the tranquil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age, nor the severity of the winter, could retard the impetuosity of Timour, he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched seventy-six parasangs, three hundred miles, from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Olai, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiscreet use of ice

His death, on the road to China. A.D. 1398

water, accelerated the progress of his fever, and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventh year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagitai. His designs were lost, his armies were disbanded, China was saved, and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Pekin.

The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West, his Character and prosperity is still invested with the Imperial title, and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the power or conquest of his bitterest enemies. Although

I see the translation of the Persian account of this embassy, a curious and original piece (in the fourth part of the *Relations de l'Inde*) This embassy was sent by the emperor with an old proverb, *Il n'y a rien de plus difficile que de vaincre un homme qui a vaincu*. It was likewise reported from the court of Herat to which place they returned in 1392 from which - from *Arabshah*, tom. ii. c. 96. The original

he was lame of a hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercise. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science, and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements. In his religion, he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Mussulman, but his sound understanding may tempt us to believe, that a superstitious reverence for omens and prophecies, for saints and astrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vast empire, he stood alone and absolute, without a rebel to oppose his power, a favourite to seduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his earnest

that whatever might be the consequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled, but his foes have maliciously observed, that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour. His sons and grandsons, of whom Timour left six and thirty at his decease, were his first and most submissive subjects, and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of Zingis, with the bastinado, and afterwards restored to honour and command. Perhaps his

or softer colours are borrowed from Sherafeddin, Dilerbelok, and the Institutions.

¹ The new system was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 squares to 6 pieces and 110 or 130 squares; but, except in his coin, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleased than hurt with the victory of a subject chess player with the value of this annuum.

- See Sherafeddin, l. v. c. 15, 25. Abulshah (tom. ii. c. 90, p. 501, 503) reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almost preferred to the Koran the *Yasna*, or Law of Zingis (and Deus maledictus), nor will he believe that Ruzbehān had abolished the use and authority of that Pagan code.

heart was not devoid of the social virtues, perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies, but the rules of morality are founded on the public interest; and it may be sufficient to applaud the wisdom of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoverished, and for the justice by which he is strengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chastise the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deserving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to secure the traveller and merchant, to restrain the depredations of the soldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate assessment, to increase the revenue, without increasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince, but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompense. Timour might boast, that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, fearless and unharmed might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories, and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude, and perhaps we shall conclude, that the Mogul emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind. 1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By their rapine, cruelty, and discord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subjects, but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Astracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ispahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Bursa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were sacked, or burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his pre-

sence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order.¹ 2. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipchak, Russia, Hindustan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he deputed laden with spoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated or caused, nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and sometimes blasted, by the absence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his servants, and even his sons, forget their master and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redressed by the tardy rigour of inquiry and punishment, and we must be content to praise the *Institutions* of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren,² the enemies of each other

and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Shirokh, his youngest son, but after his decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood, and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmens of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if a hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindustan. His successors (the great Moguls)³ extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber, and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern ocean.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massive trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away, than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every sense, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hordes of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin, the recent conquests of Bajazet were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in his revenge, demolished his sepulchre, and his two sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions.² 1. It is doubtful, whether I

Civil wars of
the sons of
Bajazet.
A.D. 1402, 1421.

¹ Besides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the first volume of the *Decline and Fall* which in a single note accumulates near 500,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Poy's play on the fifth of November I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7). Yet I can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the *Institutions*.

- Consult the last chapters of Sheroffeddin and Arabahah, and M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. l. xx). Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah* (l. 62). The story of Timour's dependants is imperfectly told, and the

second and third parts of Sheroffeddin are unknown.

² Shah Allum, the present Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour, by Miran Shah, his third son. See the second volume of Dow's *History of Hindustan*.

³ The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Mustapha, are related, according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58, 59). Of the Greeks, see Balcondyles (l. iv. and v.), Phranza (l. l. c. 30-32) and Ducas (c. 18-27); the last is the most copious and best informed.

relate the story of the true *Mustapha*, or of an impostor who personated that lost prince. He fought by his father's side in the battle of Angora but when the captive sultan was permitted to inquire for his children, Mousa alone could be found, and the Turkish historians, the slaves of the triumphant faction, are persuaded that his brother was confounded among the slain. If *Mustapha* escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Thessaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the son and successor of *Bajazet*. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true, or false, *Mustapha* been saved by the Greeks, and restored, after the decease of his brother *Mahomet*, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind seemed to argue his spurious birth, and if, on the throne of *Adrianople*, he was adored as the Ottoman sultan, his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt. A similar character and claim was asserted by several rival pretenders. thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of *Mustapha*, and these frequent executions may perhaps insinuate, that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his

1. *Isa*. father's captivity, *Isa* reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea, and his ambassadors were dismissed from the presence of *Timour* with fair promises and honourable gifts. But their master was soon deprived of his province and life, by a jealous brother, the sovereign of *Amasia*; and the final event suggested a pious allusion, that the law of *Moses* and *Jesus*, of *Isa* and *Mousa*, had been abrogated by the greater

2. *Soliman*. *Mahomet*. 3. *Soliman* A.D. 1403-1410. not numbered in the list of the Turkish emperors yet he checked the victorious progress of the *Moguls*;

1. *Arabshah*, tom ii. c. 26, whose testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of *Isa* (unknown to the Turks) is likewise confirmed by *Sherefeddin* (l. v. c. 57).

and after their departure, united for a while the thrones of *Adrianople* and *Boursa*. In war he was brave, active, and fortunate his courage was softened by clemency, but it was likewise inflamed by presumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleness. He relaxed the nerves of discipline, in a government where either the subject or the sovereign must continually tremble his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law, and his daily drunkenness, so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the slumber of intoxication he was surprised by his brother *Mousa*, and as he fled from *Adrianople* towards the Byzantine capital, *Soliman* was overtaken and slain in a bath,* after a reign of seven years and ten months. 4. The investiture of *Mousa* degraded him as the slave of the *Moguls* 4. *Mousa*. A.D. 1410

Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treasury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the sovereign of *Romania*. *Mousa* fled in disguise from the palace of *Boursa*, traversed the *Propontis* in an open boat; wandered over the *Walachian* and *Servian* hills, and after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of *Adrianople* so recently stained with the blood of *Soliman*. In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious against the Christians of *Hungary* and the *Mores*; but *Mousa* was ruined by his timorous disposition and unseasonable clemency. After resigning the sovereignty of *Anatolia*, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers, and the superior ascendant of his brother *Mahomet*. 5. The final victory of *Mahomet* 5. *Mahomet* I. was the just recompense A.D. 1413-1442, of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been entrusted with the

* He escaped from the bath, and fled towards Constantinople. Five brothers from a village, *Dagundachi*, whose inhabitants had suffered severely from the exactions of his officers, recognised and followed him. *Soliman* shot two of them, the other discharged their arrows in their turn, the sultan fell, and his head was cut off. V. *Hausamer*, vol. i. p. 349.—M

government of Amasia, thirty days' journey from Constantinople, and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia. The castle, in Asiatic warfare, was esteemed impregnable, and the city of Amasia, which is equally divided by the river Iris, rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and represents on a smaller scale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and conterminous angle of Anatolia, and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his silent independence, and chafed from the proximity the last struggles of the Tartar host.* He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isaa, but in the contests of their more powerful brethren his firm neutrality was respected, till after the triumph of Mousa, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty, and Roumania by arms, and the soldier who presented him with the head of Mousa was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his sole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim,² who might guide the youth of his son

Reign of
Amurath II.
A.D. 1421-1451.

Amurath, and such was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days the emperor's death, till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Bourssa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head, but the more fortunate

Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

In these conflicts, the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire, and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were united by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers, and had they occupied, with a confederate fleet, the straits of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, might have been speedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterprise; they enjoyed the present respite without a thought of futurity, and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese,³ which had been planted at Phocæa⁴ on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum,⁵ and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was secured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath, and undertook, with seven stout galleys, to transport him from Asia to Europe.

¹ See Pechymur (l. v. c. 20), Nicéphorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1), Sherifeddin (l. v. c. 67), and Ducas (c. 25). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that resorted to New Phocæa, he mentions the English ('Ἰγγλίζου'), an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

² For the spirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phœaciæ, consult the first book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator, M. Tacher (tom. vii. p. 289).

³ Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxv. 42) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the first, and for the second the Isle of Melos, whose alum mines are described by Strabo (tom. i. l. iv.), a traveller and a naturalist. After the loss of Phocæa, the Genoese, in 1450, found that useful mineral in the Isle of Iechia (Ismael Bouillaud, ad Ducas, c. 26).

¹ Arabshah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 363. Barbequius, epist. l. p. 90, 97, in Itinere CP. et Amasiæ.

² The virtues of Ibrahim are praised by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey; they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the sultan (Antamir, p. 76).

³ See his nine battles. Von Hammer, p. 339.—P

The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship, which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands, nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midst of the passage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his attacks of tribute. They landed in sight of Mustapha and Gallipoli, two thousand Italians, armed with pikes and battle axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople, and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Amour had generously marched at the request, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians: But a Mussulman, who carried into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to pity or succour the idolaters of Europe.

The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition, and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel implicated the government, it was his policy, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days, and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On sudden, he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel immediately sailed from Mo-

doon in the Morea, ascended the throne of Constantinople, and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence, but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest: they were awed by the just apprehension, lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the emperor by the name of father, solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania, and promised to deserve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Stymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mousa, the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople, but they were repulsed by sea and land, and unless the city was guarded by some foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to resist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli. The sultan and his troops were transported over the bosphorus, he was hospitably entertained in the capital, and his successful ally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror, he faithfully discharged his own obligations and those of Soliman, respected the laws of gratitude and peace, and left the emperor guardian of his two younger sons, in the vain hope of saving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion, and the divan unanimously pronounced that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal, the Byzantine councils were divided, but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the

¹ The writer who has the most abused this fabulous generosity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 340, 2d, octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtues. After the conquest of Russia, &c., and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, visits, admires, and refuses to the city of Constantinople. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of history, yet his pleasing fictions are more excusable than the gross errors of Gautier.

- For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath I. see the Ottoman history of Cantemir (p. 70-97), and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.

presumption of his son John; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hostage, and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers.¹ At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal, and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no sooner was he seated on the throne of Romania, than he dismissed the Greek ambassadors with a smile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath, than for the surrender of a Mussulman city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals, from whom he had sustained, and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the ensuing spring, by the siege of Constantinople.

Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II. A.D. 1452.

The religious merit of subduing the city of the Cæsars attracted from Asia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promise of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the sultan's ambition was consecrated by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet,² who arrived

¹ The Turkish asper (from the Greek *ἀσπρῶς*), is, or was, a piece of white or silver money, at present much debased, but which was formerly equivalent to the fifty fourth part, at least of a Venetian ducat or sequin, and the 300,000 aspers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at £2500 sterling (Lounclav's Pandect Turc. p. 400-408).

² For the siege of Constantinople, in 1452 see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 188-190).

³ Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who describes Seid Bechar without naming him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet assumed in his

* According to Von Hammer, this calculation is much too low. The asper was a century before the time of which Lounclavius writes, the tenth part of a ducat, for the same tribute which the Byzantine writers state at 300,000 aspers, the Ottomans state at 80,000 ducats, about £15,000. Note, vol. i. p. 638.—M.

in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his assurances. The strength of the walls resisted an army of two hundred thousand Turks; their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack, and the enthusiasm of the dervish, who was snatched to heaven in visionary converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who beheld the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage. After a siege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Boursa by a domestic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and procacious respite of thirty years. Manuel sunk into the grave, and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond the suburbs of Constantinople.

The Emperor John Palæologus II. A.D. 1425-1448.

In the establishment and restoration of the Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans; since, in human life, the most important scenes will depend on the character of a single actor. By some shades of wisdom and virtue, they may be discriminated from each other, but, except in a single instance, a period of nine reigns, and two hundred and sixty-five years, is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their

Hereditary succession and merit of the Ottomans.

the privilege of a prophet, and that the fairest of the Greek nuns were promised to the saint and his disciples.

¹ For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Mussulman saint, but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?

subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Instead of the glothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field, from early youth they were entrusted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies, and this manly institution, which was often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style themselves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or successors of the apostle of God, and the kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth.¹ Their origin is obscure; but their sacred and indefeasible right, which no time can erase, and no violence can infringe, was soon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their subjects. A weak or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot; nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign.² While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

To the spirit and constitution of that nation, a strong and discipline of the singular influence may ^{Turks} however be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his

ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are still covered with the white and black tents of their rustic brethren. But this original drop was dissolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished subjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroun to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moslems, the first and most honourable inhabitants, but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours, and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command. From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the sultans were persuaded that a government of the sword must be renewed in each generation with new soldiers, and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia, became the perpetual seminary of the Turkish army, and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years, the most robust youths were torn from their parents, their names were enrolled in a book, and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and maintained, for the public service. According to the promise of their appearance, they were selected for the royal schools of Bursa, Pera, and Adrianople, entrusted to the care of the bashaws, or dispersed in the houses of the Anatolian peasantry. It was the first care of their masters to instruct them in the Turkish language, their bodies were

¹ See Ricaut (l. i. c. 13). The Turkish sultans assume the title of khan. Yet Abulghasi is ignorant of his Ottoman cousin.

² The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was slain at the battle of Salankamen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 393), presumed to say, that all the successors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to abolish the race (Marsigli Stato Militare, &c. p. 28). This political heretic was a good Whig, and justified against the French ambassador the revolution of England (Mignot Hist des Ottomans, tom iii. p. 431). His presumption condemns the singular exception of continuing offices in the same family.

³ Chalcondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish soldiers.

exercised by every labour that could fortify their strength, they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the musket, till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and severely trained in the military or monastic discipline of the order. The youths most conspicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior class of *Agha mevlans*, or the more liberal rank of *Irchoqlans*, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the person of the prince. In four successive schools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horsemanship and of darting the javelin were their daily exercise, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in seniority and merit, they were gradually dismissed to military, civil, and even ecclesiastical employments: the longer their stay, the higher was their expectation, till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who stood before the sultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the first honours of the empire.¹ Such a mode of institution was admirably adapted to the form and spirit of a despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their instruction and support. When they left the seraglio, and suffered their bonds to grow as the symbol of enfranchisement, they found themselves in an important office, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raised them from the dust, and which, on the slightest displeasure, could break in pieces these statues of glass as they

are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb.² In the slow and painful steps of education, their characters and talents were unfolded to a discerning eye: the man, naked and alone, was raised to the standard of his personal merit, and, if the sovereign had wisdom to choose, he possessed a pure and boundless liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abstinence to those of action, by the habits of submission to those of command. A similar spirit was diffused among the troops, and their silence and sobriety, their patience and modesty, have extorted the reluctant praise of their Christian enemies.³ Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the discipline and exercise of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and disorder which so long contaminated the armies of Europe.

The only hope of salvation for the Greek empire, and the adjacent kingdoms, would have been some more powerful weapon, some discovery in the art of war, that should give them a decisive superiority over their Turkish foes. Such a weapon was in their hands, such a discovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chemists of China or Europe had found, by casual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, produced, with a spark of fire, a tremendous explosion. It was soon observed, that if the expansive force were compressed in a strong tube, a ball of stone or iron might be expelled with irresistible and destructive velocity. The precise era of the invention and application of gunpowder⁴ is involved in doubtful tradi-

Invention and
use of
gunpowder

¹ This sketch of the Turkish education and discipline is chiefly borrowed from Ricaut's state of the Ottoman Empire, the *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano* of Count Marsigli (in Hays, 1732, in folio), and a Description of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Creeves himself, a curious traveller, and inserted in the second volume of his works.

² From the series of one hundred and fifteen vizirs, till the siege of Vienna (Marsigli, p. 13), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchase.

³ See the entertaining and judicious letters of Busbequius.

⁴ The first and second vols. of Dr. Watson's Chemical Essays contain two valuable discourses on the discovery and composition of gunpowder.

tions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly discern, that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century, and that before the end of the same, the use of artillery in battles and sieges, by sea and land, was familiar to the states of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England. The priority of nations is of small account, none could derive any exclusive benefit from their previous or superior knowledge; and in the common improvement, they stood on the same level of relative power and military science. Nor was it possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church: it was disclosed to the Turks by the treachery of apostates and the selfish policy of rivals, and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors, and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was cast and directed at the siege of

Constantinople. The first attempt was indeed unsuccessful, but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on *their* side, who were most commonly the assailants for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was suspended and thus thundering artillery was pointed against the walls and towers which had been erected only to resist the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power: the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia, and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mysterious discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.

CHAPTER LXVI

APPLICATIONS OF THE EASTERN EMBASSIES TO THE POPE—VISITS TO THE WEST OF JOHN THE FIRST, MANUEL, AND JOHN THE SECOND, PALAIOLOGUS—UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES, PROMOTED BY THE COUNCIL OF BASIL,² AND CONCLUDED AT FERARA AND FLORENCE—STATE OF THE PATRIARCH AT CONSTANTINOPLE—ITS REVIVAL IN ITALY BY THE GREEK FUGITIVES—CURIOSITY AND EMULATION OF THE LATINS

In the four last centuries of the Greek emperors, their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or

distress, as the scale of the rise and fall of the barbarian dynasties. When

sage from Petrarca (de Remedii atriis:que fortunæ Dialog), who, before the year 1341, execrates this terrestrial thunder, *nuper rara, nunc communis*.³

¹ The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30) first introduces before Belgrade (A.D. 1440), is mentioned by Chalcondyles (l. v. p. 122) in 1422, at the siege of Constantinople.

² Mr. Hallam makes the following observation on the objection thrown out by Gibbon.—“The positive testimony of Villani, who died within two years afterwards, and had manifestly obtained much information as to the great events passing in France, cannot be rejected. He ascribes a material effect to the cannon of Edward, *Colpi delle bombarde*, which, I suspect, from his strong expressions,

¹ On this subject, modern testimonies cannot be trusted. The original passages are collected by Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. i. p. 678, *Bombardaria*). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, sound, fire, and effect, that seem to express our artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek fire. For the English cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 66) must be withheld against the silence of Froissard. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italianæ medii ævi, tom. II. Dissert. xvi. p. 514, 516), has produced a decisive pas-

the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia, and threatened Constantinople, we have seen at the council of Placentia, the suppliant ambassadors of Alexius imploring the protection of the common father of the Christians. No sooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the sultan from Nice to Iconium, than the Greek princes resumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the West, which precipitated the first downfall of their empire. The date of the Mogul invasion is marked in the soft and charitable language of John Vatices. After the recovery of Constantinople, the throne of the first Paleologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies: as long as the sword of Charles was suspended over his head, he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff, and sacrificed to the present danger his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. On the decease of Michael, the prince and people asserted the independence of their church, and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins, in his last distress pride was the safeguard of superstition, nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandson, the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and situation, and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes. After a separation and silence of fifty years, a secret agent, the monk Barlaam, was despatched to Pope Benedict the Twelfth, and his artful instructions appear to have been drawn by the master-hand of the great domestic.

The arguments for a crusade and union. "Most holy father," was he commissioned to say, "the emperor is not less desirous than

yourself of a union between the two churches, but in this delicate transaction, he is obliged to respect his own dignity and the prejudices of his subjects. The ways of union are twofold—force and persuasion. Of force, the efficacy has been already tried, since the Latins have subdued the empire, without subduing the minds, of the Greeks. The method of persuasion, though slow, is sure and permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of our doctors would probably agree with those of the Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of belief, but on their return, what would be the use, the recompense, of such an agreement? the scorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a blind and obstinate nation. Yet that nation is accustomed to reverence the general councils, which have fixed the articles of our faith; and if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is because the Eastern Churches were neither heard nor represented in that assembly. For this salutary end, it will be expedient, and even necessary, that a well chosen legate should be sent into Greece, to convene the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and, with their aid, to prepare a free and universal synod. But at this moment," continued the subtle agent, "the empire is assailed and endangered by the Turks, who have occupied four of the greatest cities of Anatolia. The Christian inhabitants have expressed a wish of returning to their allegiance and religion; but the forces and revenues of the emperor are insufficient for their deliverance, and the Roman legate must be accompanied, or preceded, by an army of Franks, to expel the infidels, and open a way to the holy sepulchre." If the suspicious Latins should require some pledge, some previous effect of the sincerity of the Greeks, the answers of Barlaam were perspicuous and rational. "1. A general synod can alone consummate

¹ This curious instruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoarius Raynaldus, in his *Continuation of the Annals*

had not been employed before, except against stone walls. It seems, he says, as if God thundered con grande uolstone di genti, e sfondamento di cavalli." *Middle Ages*, vol. i p. 510.—M.

of Baronius (Rome 1646-1677, in ten volumes in folio). I have contented myself with the Abbé Fleury (*Hist. Ecclésiastique*, tom. xx p. 1-8), whose abstracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

the union of the churches, nor can such a synod be held till the three Oriental patriarchs, and a great number of bishops, are enfranchised from the Mohammedan yoke. 2. The Greeks are alienated by a long series of oppression and injury they must be reconciled by some act of brotherly love, some effectual succour, which may fortify the authority and arguments of the emperor, and the friends of the union. 3. In some difference of faith or ceremonies should be found incurable, the Greeks however are the disciples of Christ, and the Turks are the common enemies of the Christian name. The Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodians, are equally attacked, and it will become the duty of the French princes to draw their swords in the general defence of religion. 4. Should the subjects of Andronicus be treated as the worst of schismatics, of heretics, of pagans, a judicious policy may yet instruct the powers of the West to embrace a useful ally, to uphold a sinking empire, to guard the confines of Europe, and rather to join the Greeks against the Turks, than to expect the union of the Turkish arms with the troops and treasures of captive Greece. The reasons, the offers, and the demands, of Andronicus, were clouded with evil and stately indifference. The kings of France and Naples declined the dangers and glory of a crusade the Pope refused to call a new synod to determine old articles of faith, and his regard for the obsolete claims of the Latin emperor and clergy engaged him to use an offensive superscription — "To the *moderator* of the Greeks, and the persons who style themselves the patriarchs of the Eastern churches." For such an embassy, a time and character less propitious could not easily have been found. Benedict the Twelfth was a dull peasant, perplexed

The ambiguity of this title is striking and ingenious, and *moderator* as synonymous to *reitor gubernator*, is a word of classical, and even Ciceroian, Latin, which may be found not in the Glossary of DuCange, but in the Thesaurus of Robert Stephens.

The first epistle (line 614) of Petrarch exposes the danger of the *barb*, and the incapacity of the *judas*. *Hinc inter, vincto madidus,*

with scruples, and immersed in sloth and wine his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the pastoral office.

After the decease of Andronicus while the Greeks were distracted by intestine war, they could not presume to agitate a general union of the Christians. But as soon as Cantacuzene had subdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to justify, or at least to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe, and the nuptials of his daughter with a Mussulman prince. Two officers of state, with a Latin interpreter, were sent in his name to the Roman Court, which was transplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhone, during a period of seventy years they represented the hard necessity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the miscreants, and pronounced by his command the specious and edifying sounds of union and crusade. Pope Clement the Sixth, the successor of Benedict, received them with hospitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their sovereign, excused his distress, applauded his magnanimity, and displayed a clear knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honest accounts of a Sirey and lady, an attendant of the Empress Anne. If Clement was ill endowed with the virtues of a priest, he pos-

Negotiation of
Cantacuzene
with Clement VI
A.D. 1343

sesso gravis, ac soporifero rore perfusus janijam nutritat, dormitat, jam, somno proceps atque (ut hanc solus) ruit. Heu quanto felicius patrio terram sulcasset aratro, quam ut illum plecentium ascendisset. This satire caught his biographer to which the virtues and vices of Benedict VI, which have been exaggerated by Catholics and Protestants, by Catholics and Protestants (see Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. I. p. 29 n. not xv. n. 1. 16) He gave occasion to the saying, *Bianco e papaver*.

See the original letter of Clement VI, in Muratori (script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. VI. p. 850 &c.) Matteo Villani (Cliron. l. vi. c. 43, in Muratori, tom. XIV. p. 180) who styles him, *molto cavallaresco, poco religioso*, Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. XX. p. 126) and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. II. p. 4245). The Abbé de Sade treats him with the most indulgence, but he is a gentleman as well as a priest.

Her name (most probably corrupted) was

assed, however, the spirit and magnificence of a prince, whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign Avignon was the seat of pomp and pleasure: in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed chamber of the pope, was adorned, or polluted, by the visits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England were adverse to the holy enterprise, but his vanity was amused by the splendid idle and the Greek ambassadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople, the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence, and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual prizes and promises, by which both parties were amused, and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," said the devout Cantuzene, "with the project of our holy war, which must redound to my personal glory, as well as to the public benefit of Christendom. My dominions will give a free passage to the armies of France: my troops, my galleys, my treasures, shall be consecrated to the common cause, and happy would be my fate, could I deserve and obtain the crown of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to express the ardour with which I sigh for the reunion of the scattered members of Christ. If my death could avail, I would gladly present my sword and my neck: if the spiritual phoenix could arise from my ashes, I would erect the pile, and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor presumed to observe, that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he disclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus, and firmly declared, that he would never submit his conscience unless to the decrees of a free and universal synod. "The situ-

Zampar. She had accompanied, and alone remained with her mistress at Constantinople, where her prudence, a rudition, and politeness, deserved the praises of the Greeks themselves. (*Cantacuzen* I. i. c. 42.)

ation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and myself to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; but some maritime city may be chosen on the verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, and to instruct the faithful, of the East and West." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition, and Cantuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloister, and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state.¹

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey, the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptised in the bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship, but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion: she had formed the infancy of her son, and she governed the emperor, after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the size of man. In the first year of his deliverance and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the son of Cantacuzenus was in arms at Adrianople, and Palæologus could depend neither on himself nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he injured the rights both of the church and state, and the act of slavery, subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the golden bull, was privately entrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the Sixth and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promises to en-

¹ See this whole negotiation in Cantacuzene (I. 17 c. 8), who amidst the praises and virtues which he bestows on himself, reveals the unconsciousness of a guilty conscience.

² See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (*Hist. Eccl.* p. 151 152) from Raynaldus who took it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

*Treaty of John
Palæologus I
with Innocent VI.
A.D. 1380.*

certain with due reverence their legates and nuncios, to assign a palace for their residence, and a temple for their worship, and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these condescensions he requires a prompt succour of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Mussulman enemies. Palaeologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same spiritual yoke, but as the resistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legatus was empowered to distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiastics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican: three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins, and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the measures of persuasion or force, Palaeologus declares himself unworthy to reign, and transfers to the pope all sacred paternal authority, and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage, of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman galleys were as vain and unavailing as the submission of the Greeks, and it was only by the secrecy that their sovereign escaped the dishonour of this fruitless humiliation.

The first post of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head, and, after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was enclosed in his capital, the vessel of the hungry Annanath, with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state, Palaeologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and setting himself at the feet of the pope. He was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West, yet in the alone he could seek consolation or relief, and with less violation of his

dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman Porte. After a long absence, the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tiber. Urban the Fifth,* of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince, and, within the same year, enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two Imperial shadows who represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit, the emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed, and in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true Catholic, the supremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter. Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne, the Greek monarch after three genuflections, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who bared his head in his presence, allowed him to lead the bull of his nuptials, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palaeologus was friendly and honourable, yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the East and West, nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chanting the Gospel in the rank of a deacon. In favour of his proselyte,

* See the two first original lives of Urban V. in *‘‘Inforti, Script. de sum. Pontificum tom. ii. p. 612, 613,’’* and the Ecclesiastical Annals of Spondanus, tom. i. p. 573, A. D. 1369, No. 7) and Raynaldus (cleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 224, 225). Yet, from some variations I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genuflections of Palaeologus.

Paulo minus quam si fuisset Imperator Romanorum. Yet his title of Imperator Romanorum was no longer disputed (Vit. Urban V. p. 612).

It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas day. On all other festivals these Imperial devotions were confined to seven the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the corporal. Yet the Abbe de Maille generously thinks that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though

Vit. of John
I. de la Roche
Urban V. at

A. D. 1369

Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king, and the other powers of the West, but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood,¹ or Acuto, who, with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; sold his services to the hostile states, and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise, and it was for the advantage, perhaps, of Palaeologus to be disappointed of a succour, that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous. The disconsolate Greek prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large sums at exorbitant usury, but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best security for the pay-

ment. His eldest son Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhaust every resource, and, even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and disgrace. But the unnatural youth was insensible of the disgrace, and secretly pleased with the captivity of the emperor: the state was poor, the clergy were obstinate; nor could some religious scruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was severely reproved by the piety of his brother Manuel, who instantly sold or mortgaged all that he possessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his return to Constantinople, the parent and king distinguished his two sons with suitable rewards, ^{His return to Constantinople A.D. 1370} but the faith and manners

of the slothful Palaeologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage, and his apostasy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.²

Thirty years after the return of Palaeologus, his son and successor, Manuel, from ^{Visit of the Emperor Manuel} a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West. In a preceding chapter, I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the severe blockade of Constantinople, and the French succour under the command of the gallant Boncicault.³ By his ambassadors, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers, but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest barbarians,⁴ and the marshal who advised the journey prepared the reception of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks, but the navigation of Venice was safe and open.

¹ His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1378 (Ducange *Fam. Byzant.* p. 213), leaves some intermediate era for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.

² *Memoires de Boncicault*, P. I. c. 35, 36.

³ His journey into the west of Europe is slightly, and, I believe, reluctantly, noticed by Chalcondyles (I. ii. c. 44-50) and Ducas (c. 14).

not on the proper day (A.D. 1368 November 1), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just value on the privilege, and the mar (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 7-8).

¹ Thron, h. some Italian corruptions, the etymology of *Palaeologus* in *bono* (Matteo Villani xi. c. 70, in Muratori tom. xv. p. 740) suggest the English word *Hawkwood*, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Anglican. Inter Scriptores* Cambdeni, p. 181). After two and twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1381, general of the Florentines, and was buried with such honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, *Annali Italia* tom. xii. p. 12-13).

² This torrent of English (by birth or service) overflowed from France into Italy after the peace of Brignoly in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (Annali tom. xii. p. 13) is rather true than civil: "Crimine non tantum peccato, sed dolo in calcestris illi infamissimi tradidit edidit, ut videretur non tam doli iniquitatem novam in fine diabolica."

³ Chalcondyles, I. i. p. 25, 26. The Greek supposes his journey to the king of France, which is sufficiently refuted by the silence of the national historians. Nor are I much more inclined to believe, that Palaeologus departed from Italy, *valde bene consolaturs et contentus* (Vit. Urban V. c. 23).

Italy received him as the first, or, at least, as the second of the Christian princes, Manuel was pitted as the champion and confessor of the faith, and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the duke of Milan, a secret ally of Bajazet, gave him safe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions.¹ On the confines of France² the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expenses; and two thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him

To the court of as far as Charenton, in France, the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the Sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk, and mounted on a milk-white steed—a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular importance. the white colour is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and, in a late visit, the German emperor, after a haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence, and amuse his grief he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel, and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance

on the state of the kingdom must teach him to despair of any effectual assistance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity: the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factions competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolved in luxury and love the latter was the father of John, Count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity, and, if the feeble son was averse to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiosity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent ^{To the court of England.} island. In his progress

from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury, with due reverence, by the prior and monks of St Austin; and, on Blackheath, King Henry the Fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as Emperor of the East.³ But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year, the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered: the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealousy and ——— nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by conspiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the Emperor of Constantinople; but if the English monarch assumed the cross, it

¹ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom xii p 408 John Galasso was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Froissart, and he contributed to save and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

² For the reception of Manuel at Paris, see Spelmanus (*Annal Eccles* tom i p 676, 677, A 11 1400, No. 5), who quotes Juvénal des Ursins, and the monk of St. Denis, and Villaret (*Hist. de France* tom xii p 331 334), who quotes nobody, according to the last fashion of the French writers.

³ A short note of Manuel in England is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (*de Grecis Illustribus*, p 14) C P Imperator, diu variisque et horrendis Paganorum insulsi-bus coarctatus, ut pro eadem resistentiam infamphalem perquireret, Anglorum Regem visitare decrevit, &c. Rex (says Walsingham, p. 304) nobili apparatu . . . suscepit (ut decuit tantum Herop, duxitque Londoniam, et per multos dies exhibuit gloriosa, pro expensis hospitii sui solvens, et eum respiciens tanta fastigio donavit. He repeats the same in his *Upodigma Neustria* (= 456).

was only to appease his people, and perhaps his conscience, by the merit or semblance of this pious intention.¹ Satisfied, however, with gifts and

His return to Greece. Manuel returned to Paris; and, after a residence of two years in the West, shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private sale. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism the kings, the nations, the universities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon, and the Emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any correspondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he passed through Italy without desiring, or deserving, the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the sins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect, accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ, and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic.²

During the period of the crusades, the Greeks beheld with astonishment and terror the perpetual stream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer presumed to brand with the name of barbarians. The observations of Manuel, and his more inquisitive followers, have been preserved by a Byzantine historian of the times.³ his

¹ Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

² This fact is reserved in the *Historia Politica*, A.D. 1391-1474, published by Martin Crusius (Turco Crucia, p. 143). The image of Christ, which the Greek Emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.

³ The Greek and Turkish history of Leontius

scattered ideas I shall collect and abridge; and it may be amusing enough, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern state are so familiar to our minds. I

GERMANY (says the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample Of Germany latitude from Vienna to the ocean; and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague, in Bohemia, to the river Tareassus and the Pyrenean mountains.¹ The soil, except in figs and olives, is sufficiently fruitful, the air is salubrious, the bodies of the natives are robust and healthy, and these cold regions are seldom visited with the calamities of pestilence or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations: they are brave and patient, and were they united under a single head, their force would be irresistible. By the gift of the pope, they have acquired the privilege of choosing the Roman emperor,² nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates, but Stassburg, Cologne, Hamburg, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed

Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digressions, the modest historian has never introduced himself, and his editor, Launcelotus, as well as Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 474), seems ignorant of his life and character. For his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see l. ii. p. 30, 37, 44, 50.

¹ I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this instance, he perhaps followed, and mistook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 31), whose text may be explained (Herodot. de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220), or whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks ever read Strabo or any of their less accurate predecessors?

² A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome survived, would have scorned to dignify the German *Fræ* with the titles of *Βασιλεὺς* or *Αὐτοκράτωρ* *Ρωμανῶν*; but all pride was extinct in the bosom of Chalcondyles, and he describes the Byzantine prince, and his subject, by the proper, though humble, names of *Βασιλεὺς*, and *Βασιλεὺς* *Ρωμανῶν*.

By sage and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage, of the whole community. The use of duels, or single combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war. their industry excels in all the mechanic arts, and the Germans may boast of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the

OF FRANCE.

THE kingdom of FRANCE is spread above fifteen or twenty days' journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean, containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the seat of the king, which surpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his palace, and acknowledge him as their sovereign. the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter possesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own, and the more remote, seas. The French are an ancient and opulent people, and their language and manners, though somewhat different, are not dissimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland,¹ they esteem themselves the first of the Western nations, but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the inhabitants of the British island. III

OF ENGLAND.

BRITAIN, in the ocean, and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one, or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the same manners, and by a similar government. The measure of its circumference is five thousand stadia. the land is overspread with towns and

villages. though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, is fertile in wheat and barley, in honey and wool, and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populousness and power, in riches and luxury, London,² the metropolis of the isle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the West. It is situated on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which, at the distance of thirty miles, falls into the Gallic Sea, and the daily flow and ebb of the tide affords a safe entrance and departure to the vessels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent aristocracy. his principal vassals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure, and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic sedition, but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms, and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their swords from the Greeks, the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent. in the habits of domestic life they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France. but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters. among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame, nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce, and its inevitable consequences.³ Informed

¹ *Λωδίνη*. *ὅτι τὴν πόλιν δυνάμει τὴν πρῶτον τὴν ἐν τῇ νήῳ ταύτῃ παρὸν πολέμῳ, ἔλθω ἐπὶ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐνδοκίμοις οὐδὲ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἐστέρῳ λισσομένων*. In the time of Fitzstephen (the twelfth century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude, and her gradual increase has, at least, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

² If the double sense of the verb *κύνω* (to suckle, and in utero gerere), be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake (p. 49).

³ I can discover no "pious horror" in the

¹ Most of the old romances were translated in the fourteenth century into French prose, and soon became the favourite amusement of the knights and ladies in the Court of Charles V. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may surely be excused, since the monks of St. Denis, the national historians, have inserted the fables of Archbishop Turpin in their *Chronicles of France*.

as we are of the customs of old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that derives from the laws of nature and the character of man.

After his return, and the victory of Tunour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion, and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance, announces the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church: the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican, and the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him

Indifference of
Manuel towards
the Latins.
A.D. 1403 1417

to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the Fifth ascended without a rival the chair of St Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side, and distress ^{His negotiations} on the other, dictated the A.D. 1417 1423. same decent language of charity and peace. the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princesses, and the Roman, not less artful, dispatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to soften, by their charms, the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger and repose, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers, and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of collecting the sense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions it will appear that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a succour, a council, and a final re-union, while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first, as a consequential and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an opportunity of unfolding the most secret ^{His private} intentions of Manuel, as ^{motives}

¹ Erasmus (Epist. Fausto Andreano) has a pretty passage on the Turkish fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

² Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Caesar and Dion (Dion Cassius, l. lxxi. tom. ii. p. 1007), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The *Arrroy* of Otaheite, as certain at Bret, is become less visible and scandalous, in proportion as we have studied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

See Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 576., and for the ecclesiastical history of the times, the Annals of Spoudurus, the Bibliothéque of Dupin, tom. xii. and twenty-first and twenty-second volumes of the History, or rather the Continuation, of Fleury.

plain manner in which Chalcondyles relates this strange usage—he says, *αὐτὸ ἀρχαῖον τοῦτο φίλον ἔστω, αἰσχροῦ τὰς τι γυναικας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας*, yet these are expressions beyond what would be used, if the ambiguous word *αἰσχροῦ* were taken in its more innocent sense. Nor can the phrase *αἰσχροῦ τὰς θυγατέρας* be *αἰσχροῦ γυναικας* in *τὴν ἱστορίαν*, well bear a less coarse interpretation. Gibbon is, I am fully right as to the origin of this extraordinary mistake—M.

he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age, the emperor had associated John Palæologus, the second of the name, and the eldest of his sons on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza,¹ his favourite

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¹ From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the service of the state and palace, and Hancikus (de Script. Byzant. p. i. c. 40) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the strongest terms to his successor. Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen

chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and successor the true principle of his negotiations with the pope. "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the walllike nations of the West, who may aim for our relief and for their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger before their eyes. Propose a council, consult on the means, but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate, neither party will recede or retract, and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of the barbarians." Impatient of this salutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in silence, and the wise monarch (continued Phranza) casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse. "My son deems himself a great and heroic prince, but, alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit might have suited the happier times of our ancestors, but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty expectations which he built on our alliance with Mustapha, and much do I fear, that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our downfall." Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preserved the peace, and eluded the council; till, in the seventy

tibi commendo, qui ministravit mihi fideliter et diligenter (Phranza, l. ii. c. 1). Yet the Emperor John was cold, and he preferred the service of the despots of Peloponnesus.

* The Greek text of Phranza was edited by F. C. Aitzinger, Vindobonæ, 1796. It has been re-edited by Bekker for the new edition of the Byzantine. Romæ, 1838.—M

eight year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his death.

his career, dividing his precious movables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his favourite servants. Of his six sons, Andronicus the Second was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans. the fertile peninsula might have been sufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas, but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength, and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

The eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the Second, acknowledged, after his father's death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract new marriage with the Princess of Trebizond. Beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress, and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus, was over a Jew,¹ whom, after a long

¹ See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 243-248.

² The exact measure of the Hexamilion, from sea to sea, was 3800 oxylas, or furlongs, of six Greek feet (Phranza, l. ii. c. 38), which would produce a Greek mile, still smaller than that of 600 French fathoms, which is assigned by D'Anville as still in use in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the isthmus. See the Travels of Spion, Wheeler, and Chandler.

³ The first objection of the Jews is on the death of Christ. If it were voluntary, Christ was a suicide which the emperor parried with a mystery. They then dispute on the concep-

and learned dispute, he converted to the Christian faith: and this momentous conquest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the East and West, and regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should seem with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the Fifth, and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negotiation, the emperor received a summons from the Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basel, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cause of the Latin church. ecclesiastical freedom, but the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer, and his sacred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Then great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commutations, disappointed by reverentary grants, and superseded by previous and arbitrary reservations. A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the spoils of nations, and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benches were accumulated on the heads of aliens and absentees. During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes subsided meaner passions of avarice and luxury

tion of the Virgin, the scene of the pope's life. (Pharisee, l. ii. c. 12, a whole chapter.)

¹ In the *trattato delle Matriche* by Nicolo de' Fra-Paolo (in the fourth volume of the last, and best, edition of his works) the papal system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history, and a salutary warning.

² Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of seven millions more in plate and jewels. See the *Chronicle of John Villani* (l. ii. c. 20, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xlii. p. 766), whose brother received the account from the papal treasurers. A treasure of six or

they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism.

of the West, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed, and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore the monarchy, of the church, the synods of Pisa and Constance were successively convened, but these great assemblies, conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they disposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy, nor did they separate till they had established the authority, above the pope, of a general council. It was enacted, that for the government and reformation of the church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals, and that each synod, before its dissolution, should appoint the time and place of the subsequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Vienna was easily eluded, but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Basel had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius.

A just suspicion of his the Fourth. A just suspicion of his

eight millions sterling in the fourteenth century is enormous, and almost incredible.

³ A learned and liberal Protestant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel, in six volumes in quarto, but the last part is the most hasty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

⁴ The original acts or minutes of the council of Basel are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basel was a free city, conveniently situated on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swiss. In 1459, the university was

Schism.
A.D. 1377-1429.

Council of Pisa,
A.D. 1409
of Constance
A.D. 1414-1418.

Of Basel,
A.D. 1431-1449.

design prompted the fathers to hasten the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the church-militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious success or of St. Peter

^{Their opposition to Eugenius IV} After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared, that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom. The Emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause, the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius, and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice. By a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council, incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body, and seemed to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East, and it was in their presence that Sigismund received the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan, who laid at his feet twelve large

vases, filled with robes of silk and pieces of gold. The fathers of Basil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations. Palaeologus was not averse to the proposal, and his ambassadors were introduced with due honours into the Catholic senate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he refused to pass the Alps, or the sea of Sicily, and positively required that the synod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily stipulated. It was agreed to defray the travelling expenses of the emperor, with a train of seven hundred persons, to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats for the accommodation of the Greek clergy, and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers and some galleys, for the protection of Constantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expenses, and the embarkation was prepared at Marseilles with some difficulty and delay.

In his distress, the friendship of Palaeologus was disputed by the ecclesiastical powers of the West, but the dexterous activity of a monarch prevailed over the slow debates and inflexible temper of a republicanist. Spondanus, A.D. 1453, No. 2, tom I p. 824.

¹ Syropulus, p. 19. In this list, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly specified by the great ecclesiarch. He 75,000 florins which they asked in this negotiation of the pope (p. 9) were more than they could hope or want.

I use indifferently the words *ducat* and *scudo*, which derive their names, the former from the dukes of Milan, the latter from the republic of Florence. These gold pieces, the first that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world may be compared in weight and value to one third of the English guinea.

founded by Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius), who had been secretary to the council. But what is a council, or a university, to the press of Froben and the studies of Erasmus?

¹ This Turkish embassy, attested only by Cragius, is related with some doubt by the

Negotiations with
The Greeks
A.D. 1452-1457

John Palaeologus
or dukes in the
po

lic The decrees of Basil continually tended to circumscribe the despotism of the pope, and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke, and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was lost if they passed the Alps. Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were described at Constantinople as situated far beyond the pillars of Hercules, the emperor and his clergy were apprehensive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by a haughty declaration, that after suppressing the *new* heresy of the Bohemians, the council would soon eradicate the *old* heresy of the Greeks. On the side of Eugenius, all was smooth, and yielding, and respectful, and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his presence the schism of the Latin, as well as of the Eastern, church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic, was proposed for their amicable interview; and with some indulgence of forgery and theft, a surreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the synod, with its own consent, to that Italian city. Nine galleys were equipped for this service at Venice, and in the isle of Candia, their diligence anticipated the slower vessels of Basil: the Roman admiral was commissioned to burn, sink, and destroy;³

³ At the end of the Latin version of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epistle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who advises the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the schismatic assembly of Basil, the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps, *ὁ δὲ λαὸς* (says he) *οὐ καὶ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ συνόδου ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στόλου καὶ τὰς γαλιῶνας ἐξέδουσι*. Was Constantinople unprovided with a map?

⁴ Syropulus (p. 283) attests his own indignation and that of his countrymen, and the Basil deputies, who excused the rash declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

⁵ Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expressly declared, *ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἔχου* *παρὰ τοῦ Ἰλλάκα ἑνα καὶ ἡμιμύρια δούδιν δι' ἑνὸς καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς Συνόδου, καὶ ἡ συνόδου, κατὰ*

and these priestly squadrons might have encountered each other in the same seas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the pre-eminence of glory. Assaulted by the importunity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palaeologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory; and reason must suggest, that since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigismund dissuaded the unseasonable adventure, his advice was impartial, since he adhered to the council, and it was enforced by the strange belief that the German Caesar would nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the West.¹ Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court, yet he declared with seeming magnanimity that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate in the absence of her sovereign.² The resolution of Palaeologus was decided by the most splendid gifts and the most specious promises. he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and distress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman galleys. The age of the patri-

δούρην καὶ ἀφαιρίαν. The naval orders of the synod were less peremptory, and, till the hostile squadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

¹ Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palaeologus (p. 36), and the last advice of Sigismund (p. 57). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death, had he known it sooner, he would have returned home (p. 79).

² Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13). Utinam ne synodus ista unquam fuisset, si tantas offensiones et detrimenta paritura erat. This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58), and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 126 219), but he never attacked, the city.

arch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin synod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the West to deliver the church from the yoke of kings.¹ The five *cross-bearers*, or dignitaries, of St. Sophia, were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus,² has composed a free and curious history³ of the false union.⁴ Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice

and Nicomedia, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church, and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appealed by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primates of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendour: whatever gold the emperor could procure, was expended in the massy ornaments of his bed and chariot;⁵ and while they affected to maintain the prosperity of their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary preparations, John Palaeologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the most respectable persons of the church and state, embarked in eight vessels with sails and oars, which steered through the Turkish straits of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf.⁶

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of seventy-seven days, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and mag-

His triumphal entry at Venice and Ferrara, A.D. 1453.

¹ The reader will smile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favourite: *καὶ οὕτως ἀλαφροῦς ἐσχίσεν ἡλπίς καὶ διὰ τοῦ Πάπ᾽ ἰδιωτῶναι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποτίσεως ἐν τῷ βουλῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως* (p. 92). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practised the lessons of Gregory VII.

² The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, *σούλες*, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words, nor can any reasoning of Creighton, the editor, excuse his changing into Syropulus (*Σύρουρος*, *fuscus*) the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

³ From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office (secutio xii p. 330-350). His passions were cooled by time and retirement; and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

⁴ *Vera historia unionis non vera inter Græcos et Latinos* (Hagæ Comitæ, 1660, in folio) was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creighton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The seal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style, but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

⁵ Syropulus (p. 68) simply expresses his intention in *ὅταν περπατῶν ἐν ἰσθμῶν μεγάλῃ βασιλεὺς παρ' ἡμῶν νομιζέται*; and the Latin of Creighton may afford a specimen of his florid paraphrase. *Ut pompâ circumductus noster Imperator Italici populi aliquis deservatus Jupiter crederetur, aut Cæsar ex opulenta Lydia.*

⁶ Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will observe that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the fourth section (p. 67-100), and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye.

nificance of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modest Augustus had never claimed such honours from his subjects as were paid to his feeble successor by an independent state seated on the poop, on a lofty throne, he received the visit, or, in the Greek style, the *adoration*, of the dogs and *scunators*.¹ They sailed in the *Buccintaur*, which was accompanied by twelve stately galleys the sea was overspread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pिकासुर, the air resounded with music and acclamations, the maimers, and even the vessels, were dressed in silk and gold, and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, passed under the bridge of the Rialto, and the Eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city, that seems to float on the bosom of the waves.² They sighed to behold the spoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the sack of Constantinople. After an hospitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus pursued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara, and on this occasion the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the emperor of the East. He made his entry on a black horse, but a milk-white steed, whose trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him, and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Este, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a sovereign more powerful than himself.³ Palæologus

did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase the pope advanced to the door of the apartment, refused his proffered genuflexion; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a seat on his left hand. Nor would the patriarch descend from his galleys till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The latter was saluted by his brother with a kiss of union and charity, nor would any of the Greek ecclesiastics submit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the synod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclesiastical chiefs, and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not assisted in person at Nice or Chalcedon, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left sides of the church should be occupied by the two nations; that the solitary chair of St Peter should be reserved the first of the Latin line, and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West.⁴

But as soon as festivity and form had given place to a more serious treaty, the Greeks were dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state, at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his

*Council of the
Greeks and
Latins at Ferrara
and Florence
A.D. 1438-1439.*

years (A.D. 1393-1441), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Bologna, and Comacchio. See his *Life* in Muratori (*Antichità Estense*, tom. II. p. 150-201).

¹ At the time of the synod, Phranzes was in Peloponnesus, but he received from the despot Demetrius a faithful account of the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (*Dux sedentem Imperatorem adorant*), which are more slightly mentioned by the Latins (l. II. c. 14, 15, 16).

² The astonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambassador (*Mémoires de Philippe de Comines* l. vi. c. 18), at the sight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the fifteenth century it was the first and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, see Syropulus (p. 87).

³ Nicholas III. of Este reigned forty eight

⁴ The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards, nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (*Hody de Græcis Illustribus*, p. 31). Yet another spectator confesses, that the Greek fashion was *plus grave et plus digne* than the Italian (*Vespasiana*, in Vit. Eugen. IV. in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 201).

weakness; and the Latins opened the first session with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors, nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palaeologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union, and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and *Jauzaries*, fixed his summer residence at a pleasant spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara, forgot, in the pleasures of the chase, the distress of the church and state, and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaint of the marquis or the husbandman.¹ In the meanwhile, his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty, for the support of each stranger, a monthly allowance was assigned of three or four gold florins, and although the entire sum did not amount to seven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court.² They sighed for a speedy de-

¹ For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulus (p. 143, 144, 191). The pope had sent him eleven miserable hawks, but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of *Jauzaries* may surprise, but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman to the Byzantine court, and is often used in the last age of the empire.

² The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins per month to the person of honourable rank, and three florins to their servant, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince, or despot, Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 601 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105). On the 20th October 1436, there was an arrear of four months, in April, 1439, of three, and of five and a half in

liverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain: a passport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara, the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives, and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople, excommunication, fines, and a sentence, which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and publicly whipped.³ It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to open the first conference, and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the of a flying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the fidelity of the marquis might be suspected, the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates, and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine.⁴

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the Fifth, who was successively a duke of Savoy, a hermit and a pope, and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation, the council of Basil was reduced to thirty-nine bishops, and three hundred of the im-

July, at the time of the union (p. 172, 225, 271).

³ Syropulus (p. 141, 142, 204, 221), deprecates the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

⁴ The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the thirteenth volume of the *Annals* of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

ferior clergy,¹ while the Latins of Florence could produce the subscriptions of the pope himself, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and forty-five abbots, or chiefs of religious orders. After the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five sessions, they attained the advantage and glory of the re-union of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches, 1. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body. 2. The nature of purgatory. 3. The supremacy of the pope. And, 4. The single or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions: the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of Cardinal Julian, and Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek force. We may bestow some praise on the progress of human reason, by observing, that the first of these questions was *now* treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the second, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial sins of the faithful, and whether their souls were purified by elemental fire was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently settled on the spot by the disputants. The claims of supremacy appeared of a more weighty and substantial kind, yet by the Orientals the Roman bishop had ever been respected as the first of the five patriarchs, nor did they scruple to admit, that his jurisdiction should be exercised agreeably to the holy canons, a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, or from

the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had sunk much deeper into the minds of men, and in the sessions of Ferrara and Florence, the Latin addition of *filioque* was subdivided into two questions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast on this subject of my own impartial indifference, but I must think that the Greeks were strongly supported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon, against adding any article whatsoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople. In earthly affairs, it is not easy to conceive how an assembly of legislators can bind their successors invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable, nor should a private bishop, or a provincial synod, have presumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the substance of the doctrine the controversy was equal and endless: reason is confounded by the procession of a deity, the Gospel, which lay on the altar, was silent, the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by sophistry, and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin saints.² Of this at least we may be sure, that neither side could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a superficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties. But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words: their national and personal honour depended on the repetition of the same sounds,

¹ The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to rally from this strong fortress (p. 178, 193, 195, 202, of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with *filioque* in the Nicene creed. A palpable forgery! (p. 173).

² Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extravagant number could not be supplied by all the ecclesiastics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by all the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

² 'Οι Ἕλληες (said an eminent Greek) ἰδὲς τις νόον νοῦν ἡμεῖς ἔχουσιν ἐν πρῶτῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκείνου ἀγίου, καὶ οὐδὲ γινώσκουσι τὴν (Syropulus, p. 192). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218, 252, 253, 278).

and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute

While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview, and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negotiation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities, his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant bench might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Besarrion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Besarrion, in the first debates, had stood forth the most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church, and if the apostate, the bastard, was reproached by his country, he appears in ecclesiastical story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court favour by loud opposition and well timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins: an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was soon exhausted: the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome, and such was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would

¹ See the polite altercation of Mark and Besarrion in Syropulus (p. 257), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

² For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 81). One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one and twenty years in his monastery Besarrion himself had collected forty gold florins: but of these, the archbishop had expended twenty eight in his voyage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus, p. 127).

be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe. The danger and relief of Constantinople might excuse some prudent and pious dissimulation; and it was insinuated, that the obstinate heretics who should resist the consent of the East and West would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff. In the first private assembly of the Greeks the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve members, but the five *cross-bearers* of St Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to speak their own sentiments and those of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark of Ephesus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himself the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed. In the treaty between the two nations, several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins, without dishonouring the Greeks, and they weighed the scruples of words and syllables, till the theological balance trembled with a slight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must entreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and

¹ Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the act of union (p. 283) yet he relates some suspicious circumstances, and their bribery and corruption are positively affirmed by the historian Ducas.

² The Greeks most piteously express their own fears of exile and perpetual slavery (Syropulus, p. 196), and they were strongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 200).

³ I had forgot another popular and orthodox protester: a favourite hound, who usually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne, but who barked most furiously while the act of union was reading, without being silenced by the soothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 266, 265).

the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds by the Son, being of the same nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father and the Son, by one *spiration* and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty, that the pope should defray all the expenses of the Greeks in their return home, that he should annually maintain two galleys and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople, that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem should be obliged to touch at that port, that as often as they were required, the pope should furnish ten galleys for a year, or twenty for six months, and that he should powerfully solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occasion for land forces.

The same year, and almost the same day, were marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil, and at Florence.

by his re-union of the Greeks and Latins. In the former synod (which he styled indeed an assembly of demons), the pope was branded with the guilt of synony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism, and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. In the latter,

Re-union of the
Greeks at
Florence

he was revered as the true and holy vicar of Christ, who, after a separation of six hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East and West in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus, had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might

be taken from the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. p. li. tom. xzv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appears to have been decent, and even exemplary. His situation, exposed to the world and to his enemies was a restraint, and is a pledge.

¹ Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both, and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the emperor (p. 290, 292).

have sufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not satisfied, unless four authentic and similar transcripts were signed and attested as the monuments of his victory. On a memorable day, the sixth of July, the successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones, the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence, their representatives, cardinal Julian and Bessarion archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced, in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his ministers then officiated according to the Roman liturgy, the creed was chanted with the addition of *filioque*, the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarticulate, sounds, and the more scrupulous Latins refused any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unamiable of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their consent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they spared, and secretly respected, the generous firmness of Mark of Ephesus, and, on the decrease of the patriarch, they refused to elect his successor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the distribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes, and his promises the Greeks, with less pomp and pride, returned by their return to the same road of Ferrara, Constantinople, and Venice, and their reception at Constantinople was such

¹ None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preserved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Breguigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet several of these may be esteemed as authentic copies, which were subscribed at Florence, before (28th of August, 1439) the final separation of the pope and emperor (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xiii. p. 287, 311).

² *Ἰσχυρὸς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἰσίδωρος Φάβος* (Syropulus p. 297).

as will be described in the following chapter.¹ The success of the first trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the same edifying scenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians and the Ethiopians, were successively introduced, to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they presumed to represent,² diffused over the West the fame of Eugenius; and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition³ was succeeded by the last attitude of despair: the council of Basil was silently dissolved, and Felix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille.⁴ A general peace was secured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity.

¹ Final peace of the church
A.D. 1449

all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.⁴

¹ In their return, the Greeks conversed at Bologna with the ambassadors of England, and after some questions and answers, those impartial strangers⁵ laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Synodus p. 307).

² No nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these relations of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c., that I have turned over, without success, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemanus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

³ Ripaille is situated near Thonon in Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthusian abbey, and Mr Addison (Travels into Italy, vol. II. p. 147, 148, of Baskervilles edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder Anas Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit, but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

⁴ In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the seventeenth and eighteenth tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perspicuous, though partial, history of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the fifteenth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliothèque Eccles. tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.),

The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence, the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect, and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words, of Arabic, Turkish, Slavonian, Latin, or French origin.¹ But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college, and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian,² who, by a long residence and noble marriage,³ was naturalised at Constantinople about

State of the
Greek language at
Constantinople.
A.D. 1800 1403

and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

¹ In the first attempt, Meursius collected 3600 Greek barbarous words, to which, in a second edition, he subjoined 1800 more: yet what plentiful gleanings did he leave to Fortius, Buzange, Labroff, the Hollandists &c. (Fabrici Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, &c.) Some Persian words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plutarch, and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce, but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this slight alloy.

² The Life of Francis Philadelphus, a sophist, proud, restless, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 631 711) and Tiraboschi (Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282 294) for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epistles still describe the men and the times.

³ He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the grand daughter of Manuel Chrysoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy, and her noble family was allied to the Ducas of Greece and the emperors of Constantinople.

thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philoſophus, "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato; so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the contagion, are those whom we follow; and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens; and the style of their writings is still more elaborate and correct. The persons who, by their birth and offices, are attached to the Byzantine court, are those who maintain, with the least alloy, the ancient standard of elegance and purity, and the native graces of language most conspicuously shine among the noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourse with foreigners. With foreigners, do I say? They live retired and sequestered from the eyes of their fellow citizens. Seldom are they seen in the streets, and when they leave their houses, it is in the dark of evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their husbands, or their servants."

Among the Greeks a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the service of religion: their monks and

¹ *Græci quibus lingua depravata non sit . . . ita loquuntur vulgo hæc etiam tempestate ut Aristophanes comicus, aut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes, ut historiographi, ut philosophi. Literati autem homines et doctius et emendatius. Nam viri aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant in primis ipsæ nobiles mulieres, quibus cum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum sermo servabatur intactus (Philoſophus Epistolæ ad ann. 1471, apud Hædum, p. 183, 189). He observes in another passage, *uxor illa mea Theodora locutione erat admodum moderatâ et suavi et maxime Atticâ.**

² Philoſophus, absurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealousy from the manners of ancient Rome.

bishops have ever been distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners, nor were they diverted, like the Latin priests, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion, the laziness, and the discord of the church and cloister, the more inquisitive and ambitious minds would explore the sacred and profane erudition of their native language. The ecclesiastics presided over the education of youth; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West.¹ But an important distinction has been already noticed. The Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the ^{Comparison of the Greeks and Latins.} Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preserved by superstition, the universities, from Bologna to Oxford,² were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science, Italy was the

¹ See the state of learning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in the learned and judicious *Mosheim* (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 434 440, 497 498).

² At the end of the fifteenth century, there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their scarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1367 the number at Oxford had decreased from 20,000 to 6000 scholars (*Henry's History of Great Britain*, vol. iv. p. 478). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day.

A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the sack of Constantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lyppus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow, but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen, and such copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to possess and understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism, that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds, before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have revived the Greek learning in confessed and applauded Italy the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years.¹ Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted, some profound scholars, who in the darker ages were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue, and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. Without scrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth must observe, that their science is without a cause, and

¹ Of those writers who professed a treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Rodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (de Græcis Illustribus, Linguæ Græcæ Titularumque humaniorum Induritionibus, Londini, 1742, in fuge octavo) and Irabeschi (istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 304 377, tom. vii. p. 112 143). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern national historian.

without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves and their more ignorant contemporaries, and that the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy, it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect.² The first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erased: the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople, and the monks of St Basil pursued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador, and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the ^{Lessons of Barlaam} memory, or at least the writings, of Homer.³ He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace,⁴ as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius, of a piercing discernment, though of a slow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy, and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant, and the Emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his advices, is forced to allow that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato were familiar to that profound and subtle logician.⁵ In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch;⁶ the

² In Calabria quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, colonis Græcis repleta remansit quædam linguæ veteris cognitio (Rodius, p. 2). If it were eradicated by the Romans it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St Basil, who possessed seven convents at Positano alone (Giannone, istoria di Napoli, tom. 1. p. 50).

³ Il Barbari (says Petrarch, the French and Germans), vixit in libris sed nomen hic laudaverunt. Perhaps, in that respect, the thirteenth century was less happy than the age of Charlevargus.

⁴ See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace's Genealogia Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.

⁵ Citations in l. ii. c. 36.

⁶ For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam.

first of the Latin scholars, and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce.

The Tuscan applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language; and in a laborious struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant. Barlaam relinquished his restless embassy, and, on his return to Greece, he rashly provoked the swarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to substitute the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement, and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally settled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria. The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his various correspondence and frequent journeys, the Roman land, and his elaborate compositions in prose and verse in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign school, and he advanced in life the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend, and a master of both tongues, presented him with a copy of Homer, and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his viloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds:—"You present of the

in, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1349, and at Naples in 1352 see the excellent *Memories sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 409, 410, 411, ii. p. 75, 77.

The bishopric to which I allude retired, was the old seat, in the middle ages, of the Cyrillians, and by corruption Hieracum, Cerer (Disert. Chronographica Italicæ medii ævi p. 312). The lives of some of the Norman times were led into poverty, and even the church was poor (with town still contris 300) in habitants (Savigni, ii. p. 100).

genuine and original text of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, in worthy of yourself and of me: you have fulfilled your promise, and satisfied my desires. Yet your liberality is still imperfect with Homer you should have given me yourself; a guide, who could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the precious miracles of the Iliad and Odyssey. But, alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I possess. I have seated him by the side of Plato, the prince of poets near the prince of philosophers, and I glory in the sight of my illustrious guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever had been translated into the Latin idiom, I had already acquired; but, if there be no profit, there is some pleasure, in beholding these venerable Greeks in their proper and national habit. I am delighted with the aspect of Homer, and as often as I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh, 'Illustrious bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and lost by the death of one friend, and in the lamented absence of another.' Nor do I yet despair, and the example of Cato suggests some comfort and hope, since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters."

The prize which crowned the efforts of Petrarch, was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boecace, the father of

I will transcribe a passage from this *Gestæ* of Petrarch (I. i. c. 2). Bonasti Romæ non in alium sermonem viol. no alio der. vatum sed ex hys tunc eloqui. quæ est divio fili prolixius incensio. Sin. ter voce. Homerus tunc et me mutus immo vero ego apud illum scribis sum. C. uide. lumen vel aspectu suo ac sibi illum simplex atque suspensus illico, O magne vir, &c.

For the life and writings of Boecace, who was born in 1313 and died in 1375, I consulted *Latini medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 248, &c. and *Phidias* (tom. i. p. 83, 439, 451) &c. consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps scandalous, work to Petrarch, his respectable friend, in whose letters and memoirs he conspicuously appears.

the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the *Decamerone*, a hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year one thousand three hundred and sixty, a disciple of Balaam, whose name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccaccio, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe. The appearance

Leo Pilatus,
first Greek pro-
fessor at Florence
and in the
West

of Leo might disgust the most eager disciple, he was clothed in the mantle of a philosopher, or a mendicant, his countenance was hideous, his face was overshadowed with black hair, his beard long and uncombed, his deportment rustic, his temper gloomy and inconstant, nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the rapidity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning: history and fable, philosophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccaccio composed * and then culled a literal prose version of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which, perhaps, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valli, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the same Boccaccio collected the materials for his treatise on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he ostentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers. The first steps

* Boccaccio indulges an honest vanity, *Optentationis causa Græca carmina adscripsit*.

* This translation of Homer was by Philo, not by Boccaccio. See Hallam, *Hist. of Lit.* vol. I. p. 122 - M.

of learning are slow and laborious, no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy, and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a single name to this studious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progress would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquished an honourable and beneficial station. In his passage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time; he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unsocial temper of the man. Discontented with the world and with himself, Leo depreciated his present enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Thessalian, in Greece a native of Calabria: in the company of the Latins he disclaimed their language, religion, and manners; no sooner was he landed at Constantinople, than he again sighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity, he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage, but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was assailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropped a tear on his destroyer, but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccaccio had printed, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the

Foundation of
the Greek lan-
guage in Italy
by Manuel
Chrysoloras
A.D. 1390-1416

*jurator meo meum est hoc decus, mea gloria
silect inter I troicos turres uti caputibus
Nomen igni qui Leontium Pilatum, de
Genealogia Deorum, l. xv. c. 7, a work which
though now forgotten, has run through thirteen
or fourteen editions.*

Leontius, or Leo Pilatus is sufficiently
made known by Hody (p. 271) and the *Abbe de
Sade* (Vie de Petrarque, tom. III. p. 625 (184,
170-173), who has very happily caught the
lively and clear manner of his original.

improvement of Latin eloquence; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy.¹ Previous to his own journey, the Emperor Manuel despatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras,² of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek, but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation, of the republic. His school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank and age, and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. "At that time," says Leonard Aretin,³ "I was a student of the civil law, but my soul was inflamed with the love of letters, and I bestowed some application on the sciences of logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, I hesitated whether

I should desert my legal studies, or relinquish this golden opportunity; and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed with my own mind—Wilt thou be wanting to thyself and thy fortune? Wilt thou refuse to be introduced to a familiar converse with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes? with those poets, philosophers, and orators, of whom such wonders are related, and who are celebrated by every age as the great masters of human science! Of professors and scholars in civil law, a sufficient supply will always be found in our universities, but a teacher, and such a teacher, of the Greek language, if he once be suffered to escape, may never afterwards be retrieved. Convinced by these reasons, I gave myself to Chrysoloras, and so strong was my passion, that the lessons which I had imbibed in the day were the constant subject of my nightly dreams." At the same time and place, the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrararch,⁴ the Italian, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school, and Florence became the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman erudition.⁵ The presence of the emperor recalled Chrysoloras from the college to the court; but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Constantinople, between embassies and lessons. In the noble office of enlight-

¹ Dr Hody (p. 51) is angry with Leonard Aretin (Constantinus Paulus Jovinus, &c. for affirming that the Greek letters were restored in Italy post septingentes annos, &c. If, says he, they had flourished till the end of the seventh century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate, and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

² See the article of Emmanuel, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Hody (p. 123) and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. p. 113-115). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

³ The name of Aretinus has been assumed by five or six natives of Arezzo in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the sixteenth century. Leonardus Pirrus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1441, at the age of seventy-five (Fabrici Bibliot. medii ævi tom. i. p. 100, & Tiraboschi tom. vii. p. 30-33).

⁴ See the passage in Aretin Commentario Rerum suo Tempore in Italia gestarum, apud Hodium, p. 2830.

⁵ In this domestic discipline, Petrararch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (Mémoires sur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 700-701).

⁶ Hinc Græci Latineque scholæ exorte sunt, Guarino Philippi, Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, ac plerique aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum emulatione multa ingenia delinquebat ad laudem exaltata sunt (Platina in Bonifacio IX.). Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergilius Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciscus Barbarus, &c. But I question whether a rigid chronology would allow Chrysoloras and these eminent scholars (Hodium, p. 2837, &c.).

ening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more sacred duty to his prince and country, and Emanuel Chrysoloras died at Constance on a public mission from the emperor to the council.

After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who

The Greeks in Italy.
A.D. 1400-1600

were destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language. From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. The synod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of Platonic philosophy, and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian, but for the Catholic cause. A patriot, who sacrifices his party and conscience to the allurements of favour, may be possessed however of the private and social virtues he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of slave and prostrate; and the consideration which he acquires among his new associates will restore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of

Cardinal Bessarion, &c. Bessarion was rewarded with the Roman purple, he fixed his residence in Italy, and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation. His abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France, and his election to the chair of St Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave.

¹ See in Hody the article of Bessarion p. 126-177. • Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond and the rest of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inserted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewise Tiraboschi, in the first and second parts of the sixth tome.

² The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavist refused to interrupt the studies of Bessarion, "Nicholas," said he, "thy respect has cost thee a hat, and me the tunic."

³ Roscoe (Life of Lorenzo de Medici, vol. I. p. 75), considers that Hody has refuted this little tale.—M.

His ecclesiastical honours diffused a splendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and service his palace was a school; as often as the cardinal visited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations, of men applauded by themselves and the public, and whose writings, now over-spread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century, and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropolus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to those of Bes. Their faults and errorion, whose pupils they revered, and whose fortune the secret object of their envy.

But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church, their dress and manners secluded them from the commerce of the world, and since they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards of learning. From this character, Janus Lascaris² will deserve an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and Imperial descent, recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the same cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negotiate. Duty and interest prompted them to cultivate the study of the Latin language; and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and

¹ Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropolus, Andronicus of Thessalonica, Philoponus, Poggius Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (says Hody, with the pious zeal of a scholar) nullo sevo perituri (p. 156).

² He was born before the taking of Constantinople, but his honourable life was stretched far into the sixteenth century (A.D. 1536), Leo X. and Francis I. were his noblest patrons, under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247-275). He left posterity in France, but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris from a doubtful marriage in the thirteenth century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 224-230).

speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country; their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and subsistence, and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully.¹ The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language, and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation, which they introduced, was banished from the schools by the reason of the succeeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant, and the musical notes which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, must have been the secret soul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than minute and unmeaning marks, in prose superfluous, and troublesome in verse. The art of grammar they truly possessed; the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were transferred into their lessons, and their treatises of syntax and etymology, though devoid of philosophical spirit, are still useful to the Greek student. In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of some author, who, without his industry, might have perished; the transcripts were multiplied by an assiduous, and sometimes an elegant pen; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or those of the elder scholists. The sense, though not the spirit of the Greek classics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of style evaporate in a version, but the judgment of Theodoro Gaza selected the more solid works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and their natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental science. Yet the fleeting shadows of natural philosophy were pursued. The Platonic with more curiosity and Philosophy ardour. After a long oblivion, Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek,² who taught in the house of Cosmo de Medicis. While the synod of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial consequences might flow from the study of his elegant philosophy, his style is the purest standard of the Attic dialect, and his sublime thoughts are sometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a sage, and, as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral system inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry, and if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions

¹ Two of his epigrams against Virgil, and three against Tully, are preserved and refuted by Franciscus Floridus who can find no better names than *Circulus inceptor et impudens* (Hoy, p. 271). In our own times, an English critic has accused the Field of confining multa languida nugatoria, spiritus et majestate carminis heroum de foris, many such verses as he, the good Jeremiah Markland, would have been ashamed of owning (*prefat. ad Statii Sylvas*, p. 21, 22).

² Emanuel Chrysoloras, and his colleagues are accused of ignorance, envy, or avarice (*Sylloge*, &c. tom. ii. p. 24). The modern Greeks pronounce the β as a V consonant, and confound three vowels (α = ϵ), and several diphthongs. Much was the vulgar pronunciation which the stern Cardiner maintained by penal statutes in the university of Cambridge, but the monosyllable $\beta\alpha$ represented to an Attic ear the blighting of $\alpha\eta\upsilon\alpha$, and a bellwether is better evidence than a bishop or a chancellor. The treatises of those scholars, particularly Erasmus, who asserted a more classical pronunciation, are collected in the *Sylloge* of Havercamp (2 vols. in octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1730, 1740), but it is difficult to paint sounds by words, and in their reference to modern use, they can be understood only by their respective countrymen. We may observe, that our peculiar pronunciation of the ϕ , is approved by Lissamus (tom. ii. p. 130).

³ George Gemistus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Pesarion, and all the Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, and soon returned to end his days in Peloponnesus. See the curious Diatribes of Leo Allatius de Georgitis, in Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* tom. x. p. 739, 750).

and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Aristotle, that they may be balanced in endless controversy, but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two sects with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders, and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophical debate soon degenerated into an angry and personal quarrel of grammarians, and Bessarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned, but their philosophic society was quickly dissolved, and if the writings of the Attic sage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagyrite continued to reign, the oracle of the church and school.

I have fairly represented the literary merits of the Greeks, yet it must be confessed, that they were seconded and surpassed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states, and at that time it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the Fifth has not been adequate to his merits.

Nicholas V. From a plebeian origin A.D. 1447-1455, he raised himself by his virtue and learning, the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope, and he sharpened those

weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman church. He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age, he became their patron, and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence, and when modest merit declined his bounty, "Accept it," would he say, "with a consciousness of his own worth." "ye will not always have a Nicholas among you." The influence of the holy see prevailed Christianity, and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity, and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture, and such was the industry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian, of Strabo's Geography, of the *libri* of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medici, a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medici was the

¹ The state of the Platonic philosophy in Italy is illustrated by Bonvin (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. ii. p. 715-720), and Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. 1 p. 279-288).

² See the Life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. p. 1 p. 905-982) and Vesputianus of Florence (tom. xxv. p. 287-290) in the collection of Muratori, and consult Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. 1 p. 46-52, 109), and Hody in the articles of Theodorus Gass, George of Trebizond, &c.

³ Lord Bolingbroke observes, with truth and spirit, that the popes in this instance were worse politicians than the muslis, and that the charm which had bound mankind for so many ages was broken by the magicians themselves (*Letter on the Study of History*, l. vi. p. 106, 109, octavo edition, 1779).

⁴ See the literary history of Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medici, in Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. 1 p. 1 c. 2), who bestows a due measure of praise on Alphonso of Arragon, king of Naples.

father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning; his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind, he corresponded at once with Cairo and London, and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward; his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian, and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe.¹ The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature, and those disciples of Greece were soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided: but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps, and the natives of France, Germany, and England,² imparted to

their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome.³ In the productions of the mind, as in those of the soil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill. The Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Ilissus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames. And Bessarion or Gaza might have envied the superior science of the barbarians, the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske, or of Bentley. On the side of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a casual advantage, but this useful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable successors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity.⁴ A single manuscript imported from Greece is revived in ten thousand copies, and each copy is fairer than the original. If this form, Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings, and their scholars must resign the prize to the labours of our Western editors.

Before the revival of classic literature, the Barbarians in use and abuse of Europe were immersed in ancient learning, ignorance, and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science, to the society of

the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, &c. The republic of Venice has deserved the least from the gratitude of scholars.

¹ *Trabocchi* (tom vi p 101) from the preface of Janus Lascaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494. Lat bant says Aldus in his preface to the Greek orators, apud Hodum, p. 249, in Atholhracis monte. *Lascaris* In Italiam reportavit. *Miserat enim Iysum Laurentius ille Medicus in Graeciam ad inquirendos simul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros.* It is remarkable enough, that the research was facilitated by Sultan Bajazet II.

² The Greek language was introduced into the university of Oxford in the last years of the fifteenth century, by Grocy, Linacer, and Lettmer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr Knight's curious Life of Erasmus. Although a stout semidical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

³ The jealous Italians were desirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publish the Greek scholiasts on Sophocles and Euripides, (aye said they), *cave hoc facias, ne barbari istis adjuti domi maneat, et pauciores in Italiam ventent* (Dr Knight, in his life of Erasmus, p 365 from *Beatus Rhenanus*).

⁴ The press of Aldus Manutius, a Roman, was established at Venice about the year 1494. He printed above sixty considerable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time, several containing different treatises and authors, and of several authors two, three, or four editions (*Fabric Biblot. Græc tom xiii p. 605, &c.*). Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget, that the first Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1476, and that the Florence Homer of 1488 displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the *Annales Typographiques* of Maitre, and the *Bibliographie Instructive* of De Bur, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns, and yet, from the first experiments, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast, and the first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times might have improved or adorned the present state of society; the critic and metaphysician were the slaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age, the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus, and some Pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato. The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries. the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccaccio was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repose on our shelves, but in that era of learning it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country. But as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life, the modern idioms were refined, the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation, and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleasing reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity, but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

CHAPTER. LXVII.

SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS—REIGN AND CHARACTER OF AMURATH THE SECOND—CRUSADE OF LADISLAUS, KING OF HUNGARY—HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH—JOHN HUNIAD—SCANDERBEG—CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS, LAST EMPEROR OF THE EAST.

THE respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are singular and cele-

¹ I will select three singular examples of this classic enthusiasm. 1. At the synod of Florence, Gemistus Pletho said, in familiar conversation to George of Trebizond, that in a short time mankind would unanimously renounce the Gospel and the Koran, for a religion similar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751). 2. Paul II. persecuted the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Laetus, and the principal members were accused of heresy, impiety, and paganism (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. I. p. 81, 82). 3. In the next century, some scholars and poets in France celebrated the success of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra by a festival of Bacchus, and, as it is said, by

brated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian schools.

The view of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most san-

the sacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionnaire, JODELLE Fontenelle, tom. iii. p. 50-51). Yet the spirit of bigotry might often discern a serious impiety in the sportive play of fancy and learning.

² The survivor Boccaccio died in the year 1375, and we cannot place before 1430 the composition of the Morgante Maggiora of Pulci, and the Orlando Innamorato of Boyardo (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P. II. p. 174, 177).

³ The epistle of Emanuel Chrysoloras to the Emperor John Palæologus will not offend the

Comparison of
Rome and
Constantinople.

guine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras, and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods and those men had long since vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Cæsars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian, and he confessed that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony, and the Byzantine patriot expatiated with zeal and truth on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit of their children. "Constantinople," says the orator, "is situated on a commanding point, between Europe and Asia, between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By her interposition, the two seas and the two continents are united for the common benefit of nations, and the gates of commerce may be shut or opened at her command. The harbour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and the continent, is the most secure and capacious in the world. The walls and gates of Constantinople may be compared with those of Babylon, the towers are many, each tower is a solid and lofty structure, and the second wall, the outer fortification, would be

sufficient for the defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A broad and rapid stream may be introduced into the ditches, and the artificial island may be encompassed, like Athens, by land or water." Two strong and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe, and in the accomplishment of his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time: their beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity, and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind, and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the subjects and successors of the first monarch. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble, but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia, and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, cisterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The superfluity of wealth was spread along the shores of Europe and Asia, and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be considered as a populous suburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully confounded; but a sigh and a confession escape from the orator that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self. The works of ancient sculpture

eye or ear of a classical student (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C¹ p. 107-120). The supercription suggests a chronological remark, that John Paleologus II. was associated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chrysoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest sons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both *Po. Hyrogeniti* (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 241-247).

¹ Somebody observed that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (*ἡ ἐστὶν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ περιελαίῃ*). But what may be true in a rhetorical sense of Constantinople, cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not intersected or surrounded by any navigable streams.

had been defaced by Christian zeal or barbaric violence, the fairest structures were demolished and the marbles of Páros or Nymphia were burnt for lime, or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal, of many a column, the size was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were scattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes, and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver. From these wonders, which live only in memory or belief, he distinguishes, however, the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian,¹ and the church, more especially the dome of St Sophia; the best conclusion, since it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets that, a century before, the trembling fabrics of the colossus and the church had been saved and supported by the timely care of Andronicus the Elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St Sophia with two new buttresses or pyramids, the eastern hemisphere suddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the sanctuary, were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief, indeed, was speedily repaired, the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labour of every rank and age, and the poor remains of riches and industry were consecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the East.²

¹ Nicephorus Gregoras has described the Colossus of Justinian (l vii 12), but its measures are false and inconsistent. The editor Havlin consulted his friend Girardon, and the sculptor gave him the true proportions of an equestrian statue. That of Justinian was still visible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column, but in the outward court of the seraglio: and he was at Constantinople when it was melted down and cast into a brass cannon (de Topographia C. P. l. ii c. 17).

² See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l vii 12, l xv 2). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1217, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly

The last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of

The Greek schism after the council of Florence A.D. 1420-42.

Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the Synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised, but these signs of friendship were perfidious or fruitless, and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys, but as they touched at the Morea and the isles of Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore, than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical rulers: fanaticism fermented in anarchy, the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots, and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of a prompt relief and a powerful succour, and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to

heaven, the abode of angels, and of God Himself, &c.

¹ The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 812 361), opens the schism from the first office of the Greeks at Venice, to the general opposition at Constantinople of the clergy and people.

² On the schism of Constantinople, see Piranesi (l. ii c. 17), Leonicus Chalcondyles (l. vi p. 155 156), and Ducas (c. 81), the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom xxii p. 338, &c. 401, 420, &c.) and Spondanus (A.D. 1440-50). The sense of the latter is drowned in prejudice and passion, as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.

dread from the public resentment, than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justifying¹ their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, what had been the event or the use of their Italian Synod? they answered with sighs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new faith, we have exchanged piety for impiety, we have betrayed the immaculate sacrifice, and we are become *Azymistes*" (The Azymites were those who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times) "Alas! we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off, and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines, and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preserved some regard for honour and consistency. After the decease of the patriarch Joseph, the archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and cardinal Besarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus, he was consecrated in St Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The cross-bearers abdicated their service; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes discharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephesus, the champion of his country; and the sufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious discord, age and infirmity soon removed

him from the world, but the gospel of Mark was not a law of forgiveness, and he requested with his dying breath, that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obsequies or pray for his soul.

The schism was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure ^{Zeal of the Orientals and Russians,} under the Mamaluke sceptre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, assembled a numerous synod; disowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Constantinople with the censures of the Eastern church. Of the sectaries of the Greek communion, the Russians were the most powerful, ignorant, and superstitious. Their primate, the cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow, to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Russian bishops had been educated at Mount Athos, and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priests. They were scandalised by the title, the pomp, the Latin cross of the legate, the friend of those impious men who shaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers. Isidore was condemned by a synod, his person was imprisoned in a monastery; and it was with extreme difficulty, that the cardinal could escape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people.² The Russians refused a passage to the missionaries of Rome who aspired to convert the Pagans beyond the Ta-

¹ Isidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks subject to Poland have removed that see from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg, or Leopold (Herbstein, in Ramusio, tom ii p 127). On the other hand, the Russians transferred their spiritual obedience to the archbishop, who became, in 1555, the patriarch of Moscow (Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom iii. p 188, 190, from a Greek MS at Turin, Iter et labores Archiepiscopi Arsenii).

² The curious narrative of Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom ii p 242-247), is extracted from the patriarchal archives. The scenes of Ferrara and Florence are described by ignorance and passion, but the Russians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

nais ;¹ and their refusal was justified by the maxim, that the guilt of idolatry is less damnable than that of schism. The errors of the Bohemians were excused by their abhorrence for the pope ; and a deputation of the Greek clergy solicited the friendship of those sanguinary enthusiasts.² While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest, it was soon cooled by opposition. an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown, nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion ; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

"Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty nine, and reigned thirty years, six months and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable ; a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or science, a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath, Belgrade alone withstood

Reign and character of Amurath II.

¹ The Shamanism, the ancient religion of the Samanians and Gymnosophists, has been driven by the more popular Brahmins from India into the northern deserts. the naked philosophers were compelled to wrap themselves in fur, but they insensibly sunk into wizards and physicians. The Mordvans and Tcheremisses in the European Russia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his ministers or angels, and the rebellious spirits who oppose his government. As these tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more justly retort on the Latin missionaries the name of idolaters (Levesque, *Hist. des Peuples soumis à la Domination des Russes*, tom. I. p. 194-237, 423-460).

² Spondanus, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. II. A.D. 1451, No. 13. The Epistle of the Greeks, with a Latin version, is extant in the college library at Prague.

his attacks.* Under his reign the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his first care was to build mosques and caravansaries, hospitals, and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons of the prophet, and sent two thousand five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.³ This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Othman empire but the applause of a servile and superstitious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants ; and the virtues of a sultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, must be awed by the flashes of arbitrary power the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice, his profusion, of liberality ; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible, and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be secure. The tranquillity of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field. war was the trade of the Janizaries, and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their sovereign. To propagate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Mussulman the unbelievers were his enemies, and those of the prophet ; and, in the hands of the Turks, the scimitar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves, who consider a prosperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his singular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power he seldom engaged in war till he

¹ See Cantemir, *History of the Othman Empire*, p. 94. Murad, or Morad, may be more correct but I have preferred the popular name, to that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in translating an Oriental, into the Roman alphabet.

² See the siege and massacre at Thessalonica Von Hammer, vol. I. p. 434. M.

was justified by a previous and adequate provocation the victorious sultan was disarmed by submission, and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and sacred.¹ The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors, he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg, and the perfidious Caramanlar was twice vanquished, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprised by the despot in the conquest of Thessalonica the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians, and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the distress, the absence, or the injuries of Palaeologus to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

But the most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath is the double abolition of the Turkish throne, and, were not his motives debased by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher,² who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son he retired to the pleasant vale of Magnesia, but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so adverse to his genius, but in the age of the crusades, the various orders of Dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin monks.³ The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn

round* in endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit.⁴ But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm, by the Hungarian invasion, and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered, but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnetic ballion. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and slaughter, and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed, and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or surprise, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne, and they have had leisure to repent of their irrevocable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has repeated his preference of a private life.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Egegnus had not been unmindful of ^{Eng. miss forms a lewens a sinat the turks A. 1449} their temporal interest, and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by

¹ See Chalcondyles (l vii p 188 198), Ducas (c. 11), and Marinus Barlaam (in Vit Scanderbeg, p 115, 140). In his good faith towards the garrison of Scutari, he was a lesson and example to his son Mahomet.

² Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, c. 80, p. 28, 284) admires the philosopher would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery. In his wit, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

³ See the articles *Derwiche, Fakir, Su Bohannut*, in Dictionnaire de l'Asie Orientale. Yet the subject is superficially treated from the Persian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that these orders have principally flourished.

⁴ Rycaut (in the present State of the Ottoman Empire, p 242-248) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervishes, most of whom ascribed their origin to the time of Orkhan. He does not mention the *Zuhde* of Chalcondyles (l vii p 286), among whom Amurath retired the *Serde* of that author are the descendants of Mahomet.

Gibbon has fallen into a remarkable error. The monastic retreat of Amurath was that of an epicurean rather than of a dervish more like that of Seneca than of Charles the Fifth. The *lebensart* was its chief occupation. It belonged to the country, not to the city.

a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired, and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre, but in the sixteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible storehouse of men and arms; but that complex and languid body required the impetus of a vigorous hand, and Frederic the Third was alike impotent in his personal character and his imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England; but Philip duke of Burgundy was a vain and magnificent prince, and he enjoyed, without danger or expense, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Millespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action, and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and these nations might

appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarchy are incapable of maintaining a standing force, and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given incalculable weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the cloquence of Cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus, a young and ambitious soldier; by the valour of a hero, whose name, the name of John Hunyadi, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate, many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner, and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ailment of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sally from Constantinople.

¹ In the year 1431, Germany raised 40,000 horse men at arms against the Hussites of Bohemia (L'infant Hst du Comte de Basle, tom. 1. p. 315). At the siege of Vuis, on the Rhine, in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities, sent their respective quotas: and the bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 140 horse (6000 ft. l.), all in green, with 1200 wagons. The united armies of the king of England, and the duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one third of this German host (Mémoires de Philippe de Commin, l. 1. c. 25). At present, six or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline by the powers of Germany.

² It was not till the year 1413 that France and England could agree to a truce of some months. (See Rymer's and the chronicles of both nations.)

does not admit Turk
note, p. 63. M

³ In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1443, 1444) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials; the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous, and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

⁴ Thavac retailed the harsh letter (Wladislaus) which mo't withers add to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. The coronation for the crown of Hungary is described by Villanius (l. 1. c. 1. p. 467. 154) Dominicus (Decret. l. 1. c. 1. v.) Spondanus, and L'infant.

⁵ The Greek historians, Phryza, Chalkondyles, and Ducas, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he seems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by his fears.

at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Carmania¹ announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia, and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be discovered and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, installed the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God, and his divine mother.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry, and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp, in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days' march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot, he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations, and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen *bashaws*, nine standards, and four

¹ Cantemir (p. 88) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and transcribes his animating epistle to the king of Hungary. But the Mohammedan powers are seldom informed of the state of Christendom, and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Carmania.

thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle. The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument: a truce of ten years was concluded, and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic deity, but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious conscience is less forcibly bound by the spiritual energy, than by the outward and visible symbols, of an oath.²

During the whole transaction, the cardinal legato had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice and Burgundy, were masters of the Hellespont, and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant

Violation of the peace.

¹ In their letters to the Emperor Frederic III the Hungarians slay 80,000 Turks in one battle, but the modest Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000 or even 2000 infidels (*Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 1, and epist. 44, 81, apud Spondanum*).

² See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the fifth and sixth books of the third decad of Bonifacius, who, in his division of style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii p. 487-490) is still more pure and authentic.

of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal, "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith, and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff, without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin." This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular assemblies. War was resolved, on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn, and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assailed by the Christians, to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of Infidels. "The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath was palliated by the religion of the times, the most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command, and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple, and

¹ I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 460, 467), Bonifacius (dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the misfortune of Warma.

the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, joined the royal standard with vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the sultan, and the gift of two horses of matchless speed might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms, and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont, the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus, the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Enns, in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a movable fortification of waggons.

The latter was judiciously preferred. Catholus marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with winter cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives: and their last station was at Warma, near the sea-shore, on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name.

It was on this fatal spot that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and

Battle of
Warma.
A.D. 1444.

¹ Warma under the Grecian name of Odessus, was a colony of the Milesians, which they denominated from the hero Ulysses (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374. D'Anville, tom. i. p. 312). According to Arrian's Perplus of the Euxine (p. 21, 22, in the first volume of Hudson's Geographers), it was situated 1740 stadia or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 300 to the north of a ridge or promontory of Mount Hæmus, which advances into the sea.

transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the sultan advanced by hasty marches, at the head of sixty thousand men, and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die, and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre, and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Roumania, commanded on the right and left, against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset, but the advantage was fatal, and the rash victors, in the heat of pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy, or support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire, a veteran Janizary seized his horse's bridle, and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle, and it is said, that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth, and called on the proud Julius himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion.¹ With inferior numbers and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary

rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath;² he fell among the spears of the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished, and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Wallachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Warna, the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength, yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess, that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory.* At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen, but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour and bewailed the misfortune of the Hungarian youth.

¹ A critic will always distrust those *spolia opima* of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Antemir, p. 60, 61) Callimachus (l. iii p. 617) more simply and probably asserts, *supervenientibus Janizariis, telorum multitudine, non iam confossus est, quam obrutus.*

² Besides some valuable hints from *Æneas Sylvius*, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our best authorities are three historians of the fifteenth century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a Vladislao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege gestis, libri iii in Bæi Script. Sacrum Hungaricarum, tom. i p. 43, 518), Borfinus (decad. iii l. v p. 44, 167), and Chacondyles (l. vi p. 165, 179). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Æneas Biblot Latin med. et infimæ Asiæ, tom. i p. 324, Noëlus, de Hist. Latin. l. i c. 9, 11 Bævi Dictionnaire, BOURGIGNON). A small tract of Felix Petancius, chancellor of Segna (ad calcem Consular. de Cesaribus p. 716, 717), represents the theatre of the war in the fifteenth century.

* Compare Von Hammer, p. 463.—M

¹ Some Christian writers affirm, that he drew from his bosom the host or wafer on which the treaty had not been sworn. The Moslems suppose with more simplicity an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise insinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 616, Spon. Ann. a. d. 1444 No. 8).

Before I lose sight of the field of
 The Cardinal Warma, I am tempted to
 Julian pause on the character
 and story of two principal actors, the
 Cardinal Julian and John Huniades.
 Julian¹ Cesarini was born of a noble
 family of Rome: his studies had em-
 braced both the Latin and Greek
 learning, both the sciences of divinity
 and law, and his versatile genius was
 equally adapted to the schools, the
 camp, and the court. No sooner had
 he been invested with the Roman
 purple, than he was sent into Germany
 to arm the empire against the rebels
 and heretics of Bohemia. The spirit
 of persecution is unworthy of a Chris-
 tian, the military profession ill be-
 comes a priest, but the former is ex-
 cused by the times and the latter was
 ennobled by the courage of Julian, who
 stood dauntless and alone in the dis-
 graceful flight of the German host. As
 the pope's legate, he opened the council
 of Basil, but the president soon ap-
 peared the most strenuous champion of
 ecclesiastical freedom, and an opposi-
 tion of seven years was conducted by
 his ability and zeal. After promoting
 the strongest measures against the au-
 thority and person of Eugenius, some
 secret motive of interest or conscience
 engaged him to desert on a sudden the
 popular party. The cardinal withdrew
 himself from Basil to Ferrara: and, in
 the debates of the Greeks and Latins,
 the two nations admired the dexterity
 of his arguments and the depth of his
 theological erudition². In his Hun-
 garian embassy, we have clearly seen
 the mischievous effects of his sophistry
 and eloquence, of which Julian himself
 was the first victim. The cardinal,
 who performed the duties of a priest
 and a soldier, was lost in the defeat of
 Warma. The circumstances of his
 death are variously related, but it is

¹ M. Lefant has described the origin (Hist. du Concile de Bâle, tom. 1. p. 247, &c.), and Bohemian campaign, in pp. 311 &c.) of Cardinal Julian. His services at Basil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occasionally related by Spandanus, and the continuator of Henry.

² Syropulus honourably praises the talents of an enemy (p. 117), *τοιαντα τινά εστιν ο Ιουλιανός πωλεσσομενός ἀγόν και λογίμους, και μισοί ενιστήμενος και διεισέτης* "Patriotism

believed, that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of some Christian fugitives.

From a humble, or at least do ubt-
 ful origin, the merit of John Corvinus
 John Huniades promoted
 him to the command of the Hungarian
 armies. His father was a Walachian,
 his mother a Greek: her unknown race
 might possibly ascend to the emperors
 of Constantinople, and the claims of
 the Walachia³ with the surname of
 Corvinus from the place of his nativity,
 might suggest a thin pretence for ming-
 ling his blood with the patricians of
 ancient Rome⁴. In his youth he served
 in the wars of Italy, and was returned,
 with twelve horsemen, by the bishop
 of Zagreb the valour of the *white*
*knight*⁵ was soon conspicuous, he in-
 creased his fortunes by a noble and
 wealthy marriage, and in the defence
 of the Hungarian borders he won in
 the same year three battles against the
 Turks. By his influence, Ladislaus of
 Poland obtained the crown of Hungary,
 and the important service was rewarded
 by the title and office of Woiwode of
 Transylvania. The first of Julian's
 crusades added two Turkish laurels on
 his brow, and in the public distresses
 the fatal errors of Waina were for-
 gotten. During the absence and min-
 ority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular
 king, Huniades was elected supreme
 captain and governor of Hungary, and
 if envy at first was silenced by terror,
 a reign of twelve years supposes the
 arts of policy as well as of war. Yet
 the idea of a consummate general is not
 delineated in his campaigns, the white
 knight fought with the hand rather
 than the head, as the chief of deserters

³ See Bonfinius, deced. lib. 1. iv. p. 475. Could the Italian historians pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a blush, an un-
 derd slave which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the usual though glorious, epithet of a noble branch of the Vicerian family at Rome?

⁴ Philip de Comines (Memoires, l. vi. c. 17), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high commendation, but under the whimsical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valachie (Walachia). The Greek Chalkondyles, and the Turkish annals of Leonicavius presume to accuse his fidelity or valour.

barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated *Jancus Lani*, or the Wicked. their hatred is the proof of their esteem, the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain and his country irrecoverably lost. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Varna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria, and in the plain of Cossova sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was surprised by two robbers, but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, slew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, consoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the Second in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat, and the

His defence of
Belgrade and
death.
A.D. 1456

joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Christendom. About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired, and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and

¹ See Bonifolius (deced III 1 viii. p. 492) and Spondanus (A.D. 1456, No. 17). Huniades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capistrum, a Franciscan friar, and in their respective narratives, neither the saint nor the hero condescend to take notice of his rival's merit.

long Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character.

In the list of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated,² and they are both entitled to our notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg,³ was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic Sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute; he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mohammedan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy.⁴ The three eldest brothers were con-

Birth and
education of
Scanderbeg,
prince of
Albania.

¹ See Bonifolius, deced III 1 viii.—deced IV 1 viii. The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus are curious and critical (A.D. 1464, No. 1, 1476, No. 6, 1478, No. 14-16, 1490, No. 4, 5). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum (p. 322-412) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wise and facetious sayings are registered by Galestus Martius of Narni (528-538), and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the first vol. of Bal's scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.

² They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing Essay on Heroic Virtue (Works, vol. III p. 389), among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing a royal crown, Bismarck, Narvik, the saviour of Corlova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

³ I could wish for some simple authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (de Vita, Moribus, et Rebus gentis Georgii Castrioti, &c. libri xiii, pp. 367. Argentorat 1537, in fol.), his gaudy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcondyles, l. vii p. 156 l. viii p. 229.

⁴ His circumcision, education, &c. are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7).

founded in the crowd of slaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (*Iskenuder beg*), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province; but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes that in every encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Mussulman foes. The glory of Humades is without reproach: he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the slavery of his country, and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal with which he asserted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran: he was ignorant of the Gospel; the religion of a soldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty¹ could

be poured into his soul. His motives would be less exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was sensible of its weight; but a long oblivion had surely unpaired his original right, and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the sultan and his subject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind must condemn the base dissimulation, that could serve only to betray, that could promise only to be forsworn, that could actively join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thousands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praise a secret correspondence with Humades, while he commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? shall we excuse the desertion of his standard, ^{His revolt from the Turks. A.D. 1443} which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the *Rais Effendi* or principal secretary: with the dagger at his breast, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania, and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train prevented the consequences of an immediate discovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate, and no sooner did he command the fortress, than George Castriot dropped the mask of dissimulation, shewed the prophet and the sultan, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a mutual race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his re- has remarked this inconsistency, A.D. 1431, No. 31, 1443, No. 14.

¹ Since Scanderbeg died A.D. 1468, in the sixty-third year of his age (*Marinus*, l. xiii. p. 370), he was born in 1405, since he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was *novennis* (*Marinus*, l. i. p. 10), that event must have happened in 1412, nine years before the accession of Amurath II., who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian throne. Sponan

spective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estate, and from the valuable salt-pits of Selua, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats;¹ and the entire sum, exempt from the demands of luxury, was strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular, but his discipline was severe, and every superfluous vice was banished from his camp; his example strengthened his command, and under his conduct the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion

and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his service; his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horses and seven thousand foot, the horses were small, the men were active; but he viewed with a discerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains, and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the strongest posts. With such unequal arms Scanderbeg resisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire, and two conquerors, Amurath the Second, and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they pursued with scathing contempt and implacable resentment. At the head of sixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into mosques, circumcise the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives; but the conquests of the sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrade, and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple.² Amurath returned with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence

of the Castriots: the march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invisible adversary,³ and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the sultan.⁴ In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the Second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn: his lieutenants were permitted to negotiate a truce, and the Albanian prince may justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus, nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman; but his narrow dominion, and slender powers, must leave him at a humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid achievements, the battles whom he encountered the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were slain by his single hand, must be weighed in the scale of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark solitude of Epirus, his partial biographers may safely indulge the latitude of romance; but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history, and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succour of the king of Naples.⁵ Without disparagement to

¹ His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44).

² There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17), was contiguous to the fortress of Sfetigrade, whose inhospitable refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traitorously been cast (l. v. p. 139, 140). We want a good map of Epirus.

³ Compare the Turkish narrative of Canemir (p. 92), with the pompous and prolix declamation in the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of the Albanian priest, who has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

⁴ In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 189, 192) kills the sultan, by disease indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disavowed by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

⁵ See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ninth and tenth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the testimony or silence of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiii. p. 201), and his original author (Joh. Simonetta de Rebus Francisci Sfortie, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 728, et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Stradioti*, soon became famous in the wars of Italy (Mémoires de Comines, l. viii. c. 6).

his fame, they might have owned, that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers; in his extreme danger he applied to Pope Pius the Second for a refuge in the ecclesiastical state; and his resources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lussus, on the Venetian territory.¹ His sepulchre was soon violated by the Turkish conquerors, but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory, yet, had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck, the Castriots² were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A Colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.³

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars

Constantine the
last of the
Roman or
Greek emperors,
A.D. 1453-55.

¹ Spondanus, from the best evidence, and the most rational criticism, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human size (A.D. 1401, No 20, 1403, No 9, 1405, No 12, 13, 1407, No 1). His own letter to the pope, and the testimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28), a refugee in the neighbouring isle of Corfu, demonstrate his last distress, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.)

² See the family of the Castriots, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, &c. xviii. p. 348 350).

³ This colony of Albanians is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (Travels into the Two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350 354).

On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade, the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the Emperor Manuel. Of these the first and the last were far distant in the Morea; but Demetrius, who possessed the dominion of Selybria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party his ambition was not chilled by the public distress, and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste; the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimsy sophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the anse of the lawful successor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, assented with becoming zeal to the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately despatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurat received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts, but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfall of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donations the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned, to his brothers the possession of the Morea,

¹ The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic, but instead of four years and seven months, Spondanus (A.D. 1445, No 7) assigns seven or eight years to the reign of the last Constantine, which he deduces from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Ethiopia.

and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected to the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate, and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia, and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire.¹

The *protovestiar*, or great chamberlain, Phranza sailed from Constantinople as the minister of a bridegroom, and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks, he was attended by a band of music, and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers, and such was their simplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above a hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the barbarians,² and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India,³ from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea.⁴ From

¹ Phranza (I. iii. c. 1-6) deserves credit and esteem.

² Suppose him to have been captured in 1794, in Timur's first war in Georgia (Sherefidin, I. iii. c. 50) he might follow his Tartar master into Hindustan in 1798, and from thence sail to the Spice Islands.

³ The Indians and Java Indians lived a hundred and fifty years and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale (dragons seventy cubits, ants (the *formica indica*) nine inches long, sheep like elephants, elephants like sheep. Quiddibot panderib &c.

⁴ He sailed in a country vessel from the

this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife, Maria, the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice, and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious objections that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal aims and the dispensation of the church, the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked, and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond, but the factions of the court opposed his marriage, and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess, and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national

Spice Islands to one of the ports of the exterior India, *invenitque novam grandem Iberiam, qua in Portugalliam est delatus*. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, I. iii. c. 30), twenty years before the discovery of the cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by the old and incommensurable error which places the source of the Nile in India.

¹ Cantemir (p. 83), who styles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogil, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not easily be believed, that in six-and-twenty years' cohabitation, the sultan corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza I. iii. c. 23).

custom, a price for his daughter,¹ he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance, that, as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the golden bull, and assured the Georgian envoy, that in the spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. "Since the death

State of the of my mother and of
Byzantine court. Cantacuzene, who alone
advised me without interest or passion,² I am surrounded," said the emperor, "by men who I can neither love, nor trust, nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral, obstinately attached to his own sentiments, he declares, both in private and public, that his sentiments are the absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their personal or factious views; and how can I con-

¹ The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (*Iliad*, I, v. 144), and the general practice of antiquity.

² Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domestic, a firm asserter of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (*Syropoulos*, p. 37, 38, 49).

sult the monks on questions of policy and marriage? I have yet much employment for your diligence and fidelity. In the spring you shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the succour of the Western powers, from the Morea you shall sail to Cyprus on a particular commission, and from thence proceed to Georgia to receive and conduct the future empress."—"Your commands," replied Phranza, "are irresistible, but deign, great sir," he added, with a serious smile, "to consider, that if I am thus perpetually absent from my family, my wife may be tempted either to seek another husband, or to throw herself into a monastery." After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely consoled him by the pleasing assurance that *this* should be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heiress; for himself, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated, but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requisite to negotiate a consent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared, and half suppressed, lest it might be displeasing to an insolent and powerful favourite. The winter was spent in the preparations of his embassy, and Phranza had resolved, that the youth his son should embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public designs, which were interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

REIGN AND CHARACTER OF MAHOMET THE SECOND—SIEGE, ASSAULT, AND FINAL CONQUEST, OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS—DEATH OF CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS—SERVITUDE OF THE GREEKS—EXTINCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST—CONSERVATION OF EUROPE—CONQUESTS AND DEATH OF MAHOMET THE SECOND

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer Mahomet the Second¹ was the son of the second Amurath, and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the harem of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Mussulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran: his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear, and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth must be aimed with superior contempt for absurdity and

¹ For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 33), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude, see likewise Spondanus (A. D. 1451, No. 11), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 12), the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 104-106), and the *Dictionnaire de Bayle* (tom. iii. p. 272-279).

² Cantemir (p. 115), and the mosques which he founded, attest his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely disputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A. D. 1483 No. 24).

error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge, and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages,² the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldean or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his education, and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praises in Latin poetry³ or prose⁴ might find a passage to the royal ear, but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew slaves? The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of

² Quinque linguas præter suam noverat Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Perdicam. The Latin translator of Phranza has dropped the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every Mussulman.

³ Philéppus by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philéppus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople, yet the orator often sounded the trumpet of holy war (see his Life by M. Lancelot, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 718, 724, &c.).

⁴ Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his twelve books de Re Militari, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigismond Malatesta, prince of Rimini it had been addressed with a Latin epistle to Mahomet II.

⁵ It appears in the original Greek text, p. 96, edit. Bonn.—M.

the East, perhaps of the West, excited his emulation his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science, and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy.² But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon, or of the beauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love † His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness.³ But it cannot be denied

that his passions were at once furious and inexorable, that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation, and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father, and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities a vain and fluttering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general, Constantinople has scaled his glory, but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timur. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies, yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic, and his arms were checked by Humides and Sranderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty, and ^{his reign} twice descended from the A.D. 1451-1461 throne. His tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir, and after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride, to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks, he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience: he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the distance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice. He ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death,

¹ According to Phranz, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere that *Mutarcha's Lives* were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his subjects. Yet these lives are a school of freedom as well as of valour.

² The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

³ These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I. Selim II. and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61). The sophis of Persia can produce a more regular succession: and in the last age, our European travellers were the witnesses and companions of their revels.

† This story, the subject of Johnson's *Irene*, is rejected by M. Von Hammer vol. ii. p. 205. The German historian's general estimate of Mahomet's character agrees in its more marked features with Gibbon's.—M.

* Von Hammer disdainfully rejects this tale of Mahomet's knowledge of languages. Knolles adds, that he delighted in reading the history of Alexander the Great and of Julius Cæsar. The former, no doubt, was the Persian legend, which, it is remarkable, came back to Europe, and was popular throughout the middle ages as the "Romance of Alexander." The founder of the Imperial dynasty of Rome, according to M. Von Hammer, is altogether unknown in the East. Mahomet was a great patron of Turkish literature: the romantic poems of Persia were translated, or imitated, under his patronage. Von Hammer, vol. ii. p. 205.—M.

of his infant brothers.¹ The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household: the expenses of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and a useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service, or enlisted in his troops.² In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.³

The Mohammedan, and more especially the Turkish, casuists, of Mahomet, A.D. 1451, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege, but

his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture.⁴ Instead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the increase, of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said Calil, "we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger: the scrupulous Amurath is no more, his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist; and if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of your

¹ Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople, I shall observe that except the short hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvi. p. 723-760). I must, therefore, depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are subdued by their distress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34-42), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7-20), Chalcondyles (l. viii. p. 201-214), and Leonardus Chionensis (*Historia C. P. a Turco expugnata* Norimbergæ, 1544, in 4to, 20 leaves). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the Isle of Chios the 16th of August, 1453, only seventy nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first confusion of ideas and passions. Some hints may be added from an epistle of Cardinal Isidore (in *Varragine Rerum Turcicarum*, ad eadem Chalcondyl. Classenii, Basil. 1550), to Pope Nicholas V., and a tract of Theodotus Zygomenis, which he addressed in the year 1551 to Martin Crusius (*Turco-Grecia*, l. i. p. 74-98. Basil, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Sponadanus (A.D. 1453, No. 1-27). The hearty relations of Monstretot and the distant Latins I shall take leave to disregard.*

² Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptised at Rome under the name of Callistus Othoman.

The Emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life, and Cuspinian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (*de Caesaribus*, p. 672, 673).

³ See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 83), Phranza (l. i. c. 33, l. iii. c. 2), Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 199), and Cantemir (p. 96).

* Ahmed, the son of a Greek princess, was the object of his especial jealousy. Von Hammer, p. 501.—M.

† The Janizaries obtained, for the first time, a gift on the accession of a new sovereign, p. 504.—M.

* M. Von Hammer has added little new information on the siege of Constantinople, and by his general agreement has borne an honourable testimony to the truth, and by his close imitation to the graphic spirit and boldness of Gibbon.—M.

sina. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indifferent menaces? Release the fugitive Orchan, crown him sultan of Roumania, call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube; arm against us the nations of the West; and be assured that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin." But if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interests, of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon. In this measure he betrayed a hostile mind. and the second order announced, and in some degree, commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic

his grandfather in the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle, and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis. Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations, to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious

sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced when you formed a league with the Hungarians, when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys?" Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus, and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Moslems trembled, and for a while the *Gabours*¹ insulted our disgrace. But when my father had triumphed in the field of Varna, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, and that now it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground? For this ground is my own as far as the shores of the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return and inform your king, that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors, that his resolutions surpass their wishes, and that he performs more than they could resolve. Return in safety—but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be slayed alive." After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank,² had determined to unsheath the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended a system less generous,

¹ The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the infidels is expressed *Kabour* by Ducas, and *Gabour* by Lantierius and moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (*Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 530*), from *kaßour*, in vulgar Greek a tortoise, and denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Ghebr*, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucifix (*D. Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 875*).

² Phranza does justice to his master's sense and courage. *Caliditatem hominis non ignore-*

¹ The situation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gyllius (*de Bosphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 13*), Leunclavius (*Pandect. p. 445*), and Tournefort (*Voyage dans le* *le* *p. 443-444*), but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French Minister of the Marine. The reader may turn back to vol. I. ch. xvii. of this history.

and stigmatizes the folly of the eunuch sacerdos profanus procerus, which he had heard. *Amantem me vana pasci* Ducas was not a privy counsellor.

and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long suffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety, and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wise, and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away, the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed, and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decide the assurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the

He builds a
fortress
on the
Bosphorus.

orders are seldom disobeyed. On the 26th of March, the appointed spot of Asomaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers, and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia. The lime had been burnt in Cataphygia, the timber was cut down in the woods of Hæcælea and Nicomedia, and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen, and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress was built in a triangular form, each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea shore. A thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers, and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour, his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers, the zeal of the

cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan, and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work, and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to assuage an un placable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to Saint Michael, the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects, the guard was fixed, but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn; the damage was felt; the insult was resented, and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint, and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village. The guilty had fled, but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce

The Turkish
war

and curiosity, on the first alarm, the gates were shut, but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives, and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue,"

¹ Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Antemur, p. 187) revived the foolish tale of the Greeks hiding and hiding stratagem in the foundation of Carthage. These annals (unless we are swayed by an anti-Christian prejudice), are far less valuable than the Greek historians.

² In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Thrasa does not exactly agree with Chalcondyles, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor, Leonaclavius.

³ Among these were some pages of Mahomet, so conscious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before sunset.

said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to mollify your happy heart, I shall rejoice in the change, if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive: his fortifications were completed, and before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries to levy a tribute on the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet.* The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte*: the chief was impaled, his companions were beheaded, and the historian, Ducis, beheld at Dumet their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring, but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Constantine.

A.D. 1453. At this era of calamity, one of these princes, the despot, Thomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a son. "The last heir," says the plaintive Phranza, "of the last spark of the Roman empire."

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes, both by the preparations of defence and attack, and the two empires, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national

Preparations for
the siege of
Constantinople
A.D. 1453.

* Ducis, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 9) who had sailed in his vessel commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

† *Auctum est Palæstorum genus, et Imperiosius et parvius Romanorum scintille hinc nata, Andreas c.* (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7). The strong expression was inspired by his feelings.

* This was from a model cannon cast by Urban the Hungarian. See p. 191. Von Hammer, p. 510.—M.

sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper. He amused his leisure with building at Adrianople, the lofty palace of Jehan Numâ (the watch tower of the world), but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Caesar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Cahil Basha, who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour, but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gahour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels, and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children, filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude.¹ "It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on thy head. In my turn I ask a pre-

¹ Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his conquest, or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom may sometimes be ruined by the imperial fortune of their sovereign.

² *Sourpâs*, by the president Cousin, is translated *pre* nourricier, most correctly in deed from the Latin version, but in his haste he has overlooked the note by which Denial Boillaud (ad Ducem, c. 35) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

³ The Oriental custom of rever appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of sacrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of such Persian gifts, *Ælian*, *Hist. Var.* l. i. c. 31-33.

bridges, and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philosopher derides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal, the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers, nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles, and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of eleven hundred pounds' weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder at the distance of six hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the strait, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.²

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were

Mahomet II.
forms the siege
of Constantinople

¹ See Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, c. xci. p. 204, 205). He was ambitious of universal monarchy, and the poet frequently aspires to the name and style of an astronomer, a chemist, &c. — the Baron de Tott (*tom. iii. p. 85* 89), who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, lived

his own prowess and the construction of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our confidence.

deaf to his supplications, and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derided at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote, by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable. The Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels, and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin, and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress, but his compassion was tardy, his efforts were faint and unavailing, and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality. The Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty, and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope, that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country, and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries. The indigent and soli-

² Non audivit, indignum ducens, says the honest Antoninus, but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and ashamed, we find the more courtly expression of Plinius, in animo fuisse pontifici juvare (Grecos, and the positive assertion of Aeneas Sylvius, structum classem, &c. (*Spoud. a. d. 1453*, No. 3).

³ Antonin in Froben — Epist. Cardinal Isidor and Spandannum, and Dr Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene has happily seized this characteristic circumstance.

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns, The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages, That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,

Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates

⁴ See the curious Christian and Mohammedan predictions of the fall of Constantinople, Vol. Hammer, v. 518. — M

tary prince prepared however to sustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople submission was spared and protected, whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloun, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons, Selybria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade, and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles, and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard, and on the sixth day of April formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent, the Ottoman line was covered by a deep entrenchment, and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philiphins, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, and he attributes the pusillanimity of the nations who had tamely yielded to a handful of barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the *Ottomans*, the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and

¹ The palatine troops are styled *capaghi*, the provincial *sevakchis*, and most of them are in the titles of the Turkish militia existed before the conquest of Soliman II., from which, and his own experience Count Maracci has composed his military state of the Ottoman empire.

were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia, many lands were held by a military tenure, many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil, and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men, but Phranza is less remote and more accurate judge, and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability. The navy of the monarchy was less formidable the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail, but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war, and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of store-ships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with

more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity, and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant, but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and

² The observation of Philiphins is approved by Casimius in the year 1508 (de usuribus, in *Epilog de Militia Turca*, p. 267). Maracci proves that the effective number of the Turks was much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople, Leontius Chelensis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to Piranga, and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romani*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister this comfortable secret was preserved, and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets, was distributed from the usual to the city hands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand *Lamari*, under the command of John Iustinian, a noble Genoese, a liberal donation was advanced to these auxiliaries, and a princely recompense, the Isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour. It was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise, and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from India and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by twenty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers, but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must have soon decayed, nor could they maintain the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

The Primitive Pagan, would have
down their swords in the
resolution of death or
conquest. The primitive
Christians might have
embraced each other, and awaited im-
punity and charity the stroke of
mutualism. Put the Greeks of Con-
stantinople, who numbered only by the
spirit of religion, and that spirit was

productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the Emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of union with the Latins, nor was the idea revived, till the dictates of his brother, the emperor, imposed a less kind of slavery and dissimulation. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to demand the assistance of spiritual obedience; his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent necessities of the state, and his orthodox writings collected the praises of a koraïan legate. The Vatican had been often debated, yet the pope repeated and not de-

The cause was more easily granted than an army, and about six months before the final destruction, the Cathedral of the Redeemer appeared in that church, for with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and brother, respectfully listened to his public and private sermons, and with the most cheerful of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, which had been read in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia joined in the communion of wine and power, and the name of the two peoples was solemnly pronounced. The heads of church, and of the people, the emperor, and of the people, the emperor, who had been declared emperor by a solemn assembly.

But the chief motive force of the Latin press was only observed with London, that he concealed a cold on water of cold and local and poured cold water into the cup of the summit. Around his form and bowled as with a ball, the none of his countenance, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this

It is often (sup) to be extracted non
absque dolore et molestia immatque spud
nos dicitur sine ullaque molestia (thru a l
nos. So With an anal. and a l
pudore et sine ulla molestia
with a l of public fact, out of j
non sine

In September, the narrative of the union
not only put it before the public eye,
but it was also the history of
the union, which was not yet full

occasional conformity.* Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revival, but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own poverty. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal, nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St Sophia the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gemma, to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible, attended, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture; but he had exposed on the door of his cell a speaking tablet, and they successively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth, and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I pray for thy people, that I am minister of the church. O miserable Romans, come to me, and repent. At the moment when you pronounce the profession of your faith, by our hand, implicitly you submit to a foreign servitude. According to the voice of Gemma, the religious vir-

* Thence one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledged that the measure was adopted out of proper spirit *anxia* he adheres with pleasure, that those who refused to perform their devotions in St Sophia, *extra culpam et in pace* exit (i. e.)

- His primitive and scientific name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gemma, either when he became a monk or a priest. His defence, at Florence, of the union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople has tempted Leo Allatius (*Diatribæ de Georgio*, in Fabric, *Bibliot. Græcæ* tom. x. p. 760-786), to divide him into two men, but Renaudot (p. 743-ss.), has restored the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.

gins, as pure as angels, and as proud as demons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins, and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope, emptied their glasses in honour of the image of the holy Virgin, and besought her to defend against Mehmet the city which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for suetour, or union, or Latins? far from us be the worship of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemic frenzy, and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinized and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those who had received the communion from a priest, who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and impenetrable spectators of the ceremony; they fortified, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the sacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or a heathen temple, by the clergy and people, and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels, and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople

times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst several workmen were destroyed, and the skill of an artist * was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger and accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were produced, of more so than effect, and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim at the two opposite sides of the silent moles of a bastion. If ever imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls, and the Turks pursuing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hogsheds, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other, and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged, and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines, but the soil was rocky, in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers, nor had he yet been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air. A circumstance that dis-

Nearly a hundred years after the siege of Constantinople the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 900 shot in an engagement of two hours (Mémoires de Martin du Bellay l. x. in the collection Générale, tom. xxi. p. 470).

* I have selected some curious facts without striving to imitate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the Abbé de Vertot in his prolix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to please the order, he had adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

† The first theory of mines with gunpowder

* The founder of the mine Von Hammer, p. 620.

tinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts, the bullet and the battering ram * were directed against the same walls, nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers, this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a three fold covering of bulls' hides, incessant volleys were steadily discharged from the loop holes, in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as now as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach, and interrupted by darkness, but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. On this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justinian, who pressed the fight on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes, the ditch was cleared and restored, and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design, and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-

appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Senna (Lithaeus tom. vi. l. 1. p. 321). They were first practised at Sarzaulla, in 1197, but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 63. 67).

* The battering ram, according to Von Hammer (p. 670) was not used. M.

seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian prince was cold and tardy, but in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the

isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of

April five great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the North. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag, the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis. But the city was already invested by sea and land, and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold invaders. The reader will have present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sail and oars, against a hostile fleet of three hundred vessels, and the ramparts the camp, the courts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At

the first view that event could not appear doubtful, the superiority of the Muslims was beyond all measure or account, and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels, and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon, and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was needed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them, and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and a closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate

¹ It is singular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels, the *five* of Ducas, the *four* of Pirinza and Leonarius, and the *two* of Chalcondyles, must be extended to the smaller, or confined to larger, size. Voltaire, in giving one of these ships to Frederic III. confounds the emperors of the East and West.

² In bold defiance, or rather in gross ignorance, of language and geography, the president Jousin detains them at Chios with a south, and waits them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

³ The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy may be observed in Ricaut (*State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 374-75) Thevenot (*Voyages*, l. i. p. 223-242), and Tott (*Memoires*, tom. iii.), the last of whom is always solicitous to amuse and amaze his reader.

⁴ I must confess, that I have before my

the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former, and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms, but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogh was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian prince; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice, and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt.* His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod: his death had been pronounced, and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia eyes the living picture which Thucydides (i. vii. c. 71) has drawn of the passions and gestures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracuse.

According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38) this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 600 libras, or pounds. Roulland's reading of 600 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet, and bruise the back of his admiral.

According to Ducas, one of the Afabi beat out his eye with stone. Compare Von Hammer—M.

and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends, and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople, the more distant powers were insensible of its danger, and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Hunades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan.

It is difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of Mahomet's trans-
the divan, yet the Greeks ^{ports his navy over land.} are persuaded, that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the pernicious advice of Cahil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land, but the harbour was inaccessible, an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops, and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and, military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten*

* Ducas, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, assigns a motive of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the term of the Turkish conquest. See Phranza (i. li. c. 20) and Spandanus.

* Six miles. Von Hammer—M.

mile the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets, and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured, and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks, and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Four score light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore, arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow of each vessel the sails were unfurled to the winds, and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients, the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be

¹ The unanimous testimony of the four Greek writers confirmed by (anteur (p. 86) from the Turkish annals, but I could wish to contract the distance of ten miles, and to prolong the term of one night.

² Phranza relates two examples of a similar transportation over the six miles of the isthmus of Corinth, the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Actium, the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the tenth century. To these he might have added a bold enterprise of Hannibal, to introduce his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749, edit Gronov).†

* Six miles. Von Hammer.—M.

† Von Hammer gives a longer list of such transportations, p. 533, Dion Cassius distinctly relates the occurrence treated as fabulous by Gibbon.—M.

considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle has perhaps, been equalled by the industry of our own times. As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty culbats in breadth, and one hundred in length. It was formed of casks and hogheads, joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the four score galleys, with troops and scaling ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works,* but then, by a super or fire, was contrived and silenced, nor were they waiting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach. Their foremost gallies were sunk or taken, forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command, nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Mussulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of ^{Distress of} Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St Romanus, four towers had been levelled.

¹ A Greek of Candia, who had served the Venetians in a similar undertaking (Spond. A.D. 1438, No. 37), might possibly be the adviser and agent of Mahomet.

² I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labour, so fruitless in the event.

* They were betrayed, according to some accounts, by the Genoese of Galata. Von Hammer, p. 535.—M.

with the ground for the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops. Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrifice offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service, and Justinian and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced, and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city.¹ The Greek emperor was humbled by necessity, and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers, still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures, and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Guebours*, the choir of circumcision, of tribute, or of devotion. The advance of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats, but his ambition grasped the capital of the Empire: the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe depuration; but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour and the fear of universal reproach, forbade the Palatines to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans, and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault, and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of

May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders, assembled in his presence the military chiefs, and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government, and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird,² should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents, but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption, and in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions, and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal

¹ These wines (*Chalcondyles*, l. viii. p. 203) are no more than an Oriental figure, but in the tragedy of Iphigenia, Mahomet's passion soars above sense and reason —

Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wing,
Bear him aloft above the warring clouds,
And seat him in the Phebus' golden chariot—
Thence should my fury drag him down to tortures.

Besides the extravagance of the rant, I must observe, 1. That the operation of the winds must be confined to the lower region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (*Schollast ad Homer. 2. 680. Phebus in Ionia, p. 890. Apollodorus l. iii. c. 10. Heyne p. 229. Not 682*), and had no affinity with the astronomy of the East (*Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul in Syntagma Descript. tom. i. p. 40, 42. Cognet, Origine des Arts, &c. tom. vi. p. 73. 78. Cabelin, Hist. du Calendrier, p. 73*), which Mahomet had studied. 3. The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction, but I much fear that Dr Johnson has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern constellation —

"*Ἀρσένος ὁ ἦν Σελήνην ἰστέλλουσα καὶ ἰουμένη.*" Il. 2. 487.

² *Chalcondyles* and *Ducas* differ in the time and circumstances of the negotiation, and as I am neither glorious nor salutary, the faithful *Pharasa* spares his prince even the thought of a surrender.

and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops. "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine, but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty, be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the finest and most wealthy, and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impitoyant for action: the camp resounded with the Moslem shouts of "God is God: there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God," and the standard, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.*

Far different was the state of the Christians, who with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment of their sins.

The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession, but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender, anticipated the horrors of their fate, and sighed for the repose and security of Turkey's citivide. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, the evening of the twenty eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Phaultraeus was the funeral oration of the Roman Empire.²

¹ Phaultraeus quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

² I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phaultraeus himself, and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus assigns him a

³ The picture is heightened by the addition of the wailing cries of Kerestion which were heard from the dark interior of the city. Von Hammer, p. 530. M

he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to impress on the which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy, and neither the Gospel nor the church had proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the consent of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair, and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phinza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced, regarded as of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives, and each commended, deputing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor and some faithful companions entered the dome of St Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque, and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations, solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured, and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsar.*

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed, but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of

speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

¹ This abasement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries: it is more easy to forgive 400 times, than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

² Compare the very curious Armen in clergy on the fall of Constantinople, translated by M. More, in the Journal Asiatique for March, 1800, and by M. Trosset, in the new edition of Le Beau (tom. xxi. p. 300). The author thus ends his poem—"I Abraham, loaded with sins, have composed this elegy with the most lively sorrow, for I have seen Constantinople in the days of its glory."—M

Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously employed the troops, the cannon, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach, and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with the prows and their scaling ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined, but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps, but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land, and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack.¹ The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command, of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall, the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated, and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain, they supported the footsteps of their companions, and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Roumania were successively led to the

charge: their progress was various and doubtful, but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained, and improved their advantage, and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of the valour he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions, and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish, and it danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs, and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides, and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable unuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion, nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John

¹ Besides the 10,000 guards and the sailors and marines, Lucas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks, both horse and foot.

Justiniani.* The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Paleologus, "is slight, the danger is pressing, your presence is necessary, and whither will you retire?"—"I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks," and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act he stained the honours of a military hero, and the few days which he survived in Calabria, or the isle of Cefalonia, were embittered by his own and the public reproach. His example was imitated by the greater part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps a hundred, times superior to that of the Christians: the double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded, and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The hero who deserved the sullen reward of Hes in the Emizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification of

* In the severe censure of the flight of Justinian, Piranza expresses his own feelings and those of the public: for some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducis, but the words of Leonardus Chiensis express his strong, and recent indignation, gloria statim sanguine oblitus. In the whole series of the Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.

* M. Brosset has given some extracts from the Georgian account of the siege of Constantinople in which Justinian's wound in the left foot is represented as more serious. With charitable indistinctness Champollion adds that his soldier carried him away with them in the vessel M.

the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit: the giant was precipitated from the rampart, he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks, and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was last seen and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honourable name of Paleologus and Cantuarum: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot then be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels.¹ The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city, and many were killed and

Death of the
Emperor
Constantine
Paleologus

in the narrow pass at the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall, and as

¹ Ducis kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers, Chalcondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the dust. The grief of Piranza, carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the precise limits of his death, but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden—

As to Sebastian, let them search the field
And where they find a mountain of the slain,
Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
There they will find him with a manly death,
With his face up to heaven, in that last monument

Which his good sword had digg'd

² Spondanus (A. D. 1453, No. 10), who has hopes of his salvation, wishes to absolve this demand from the guilt of suicide.

³ Leonardus Chiensis very properly observes, that the Turks had then known the emperor, would have thought to save and secure a live so useful to the Sultan.

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes, and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice, and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves, the prelates with the porters of the church, and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and then nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder, and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair, and we should proudly believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the Vatican to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whose stings were rudely driven through the streets, and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations, of the capital, nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of these devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and put exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their master, and dispersed in remote servitude throughout the province of the Ottoman empire. Among these were many

tors. The Hungarian Phraza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family, in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom, in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of the horse, but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been sold for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phraza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin, his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover. A deed this minute cannot surely be expected by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philadelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate, but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit. The church and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the fleets of ships of merchandise and war. They had sig-

See Phraza's letter to the Pope, in which he says, "I was a chamberlain and secretary to the Emperor, and was taken prisoner with my family." He also mentions that he was sold for a slave, but was redeemed by his friends.

See Travels of the same, p. 240 and Lancelotti (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 715). I have seen how he could praise the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

The Commendataries of Pius II. suppose that he cruelly placed his own daughter on the bed of a corpse, which was cut off and exposed in triumph while the rest himself washed it and decorated as a captive of no value. The Greek History (Chronicle) of this time is full of new adventures, which he suppressed (says Spelman, Ann. 1145). No 11 in his own letter, but he should have mentioned the murder of his own son, for this.

The same is a slave in the same account to the Emperor, p. 590. See the account of the same in the Greek History, p. 715. I have seen how he could praise the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

nalised their valour in the siege. they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd, but the means of transportation were scanty. The Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen, and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

In the fall and the sack of great cities,

Amount of the spoil an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity. The same effects must be produced by the same passions, and when these passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity) the lives of the vanquished were forfeited, and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom of his captives of both sexes.¹ The wealth of Constantinople had been estimated by the sultan in his victorious triumph. In the space of an hour is more productive in the industry of

But is no regular division was prompted of the spoil, the respective shares were determined by merit, and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction: the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats: and of this sum a small

¹ Barbarians expatiate with pleasure and applause on the rights of war, and the use of slavery, among the ancients and the Turks (de l'etat Turc, epist. iii. p. 161).

² This sum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (C. labor. dykes, l. viii. p. 117) but in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, 1,500,000, 200,000, and 150,000 ducats. I suspect that Leunclavius has been misquoted. Even with the restitutions in the form of gold, scarcely exceed 100,000.

part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God, was despoiled of the oblations of ages: and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine image had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople, and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, had sustained from the guilty Catholic might be inflicted by the zealous Mussulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe that in the decline of the arts the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared;² ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat, and the

¹ See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Pisanus (l. iii. c. 17).

² See Duclos (c. 43), and an epistle, July 15th, 1453, from Laurentius Quintinus to Pope Nicholas V. (Holt's ed. c. 10. p. 192, from a MS. in the Cotton library).

same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the soul and literature of ancient Greece.

We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy, and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

From the first hour of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day, when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange, though splendid, appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeulan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents, and as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters,¹ which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city.* At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome, and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on observing a zealous Mussulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scimitar, that if the spoil and

¹ The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducis seems to understand the natural hours from sunrise.

² See the Turkish Annals, p. 29, and the Pandects of Feunclavius, p. 115.

³ I have had occasion (Vol. I.) to mention this curious relic of Grecian antiquity.

* Von Hammer passes over this circumstance, which is treated by Dr. Clarke (Travels, vol. ii. p. 534) as a fiction of Thœvet. Rushburn states that the monument was broken by some attendants of the Turkish ambassador.

M

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captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosque; the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down, and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezzin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *call*, a public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached, and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars.¹ From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate, mansion of a humbled successor of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself

his mind, and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: "The spider has wove his web in the Imperial palace, and the owl hith hush her watch song on the towers of Afrasiab."

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine, whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes: the

¹ We are obliged to Constantine (p. 22) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so aptly deplored by Phranza and Ducis. It is amazing enough to observe, in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Mussulman and a Christian eye.

² This distich, which Constantine gives in the original, derives new beauty from the application. It was thus that Seneca repeated, in the rack of Caligula, the famous prophecy of Homer: "The same generous feeling stirred the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future."

3 P

Greeks acknowledged with tears, the head of their late emperor, and after exposing the bloody trophy, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke,² and first minister of the empire was the most important person. When he offered his person in his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And why," said the indignant sultan, "did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?"—"They were yours," answered the slave, "God had received them for your hands"—"If he received them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this jealous interview he was at length dismissed with the assistance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief, and his consolation for his misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expense, and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed, and before his departure, the hypodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is executed by the Christians: they adorn with the colours of honour in mockery the execution of the wretches and the two sons, and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the

tyrants lust.* Yet a Byzantine historian has dropped an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succour: such treason may be glorious, but the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited his life, nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious sultan returned to Adrianople, and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire. Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a

Here peoples
and adorns
Constantinople

the incomparable situation which makes her for the metropolis of a great empire, and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Boursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sank into provincial towns, and Mahomet the second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed, but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired, and before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the wall of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the Grand Signor

¹ I cannot believe with Ducas (see Ducasius A. D. 1118) that he fought about round Iconium, or the head of the Creek empire, or that he was killed there.

² Ducas was the personal enemy of the great duke, because he feared death, or his own retreat from many wars, exerted, forcing or compulsion of foreign war. Ducas is inclined to praise and pay the tribute, Chalkondyles is bitter but we are obliged to follow the lead of the

¹ For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundation, see Constantine (p. 102 103), Ducas (c. 12), with Thevenot Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a minute picture of the numbers, population, and of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (Vol. 1. c. 11) in our manuscript, we may learn, that in the year 1580 the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

* Von Hammer relates this undoubtedly,

(as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia, but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of a hostile navy. In the new character of mosque, the cathedral of St Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the *palais*, or royal mosques, and the first of these was built, by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the Holy apostles, and the tomb of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub, or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision, and it is by the relic of the martyr, that the new sultans are ended with the sword of empire. Constantinople no longer appears to the Roman historian, nor shall I own its civil and religious edifices that were profaned or wrecked by its Turkish masters: the population was peopled anew, and before the end of September, five thousand families of Austria and Roumania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was girded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects, but his rational policy required to collect the remnant of the Greeks, and they returned in crowds as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror they beheld the sultan on his throne, who delivered into the hands of a monk, the cross or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office, who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio,

¹ The *trône* or patriarchal monument of Abu Ayub is described and engraved in the *Travels* of a real de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1757, in large folio). Work of less use perhaps, than

presented him with a horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence.¹ The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked and, till it was intimated by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the sultan, who wished to elude the fination of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice, not a concession, but a compact, and that if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The sultan had consumed by fire but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction, and their verbal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Canteleu, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.²

¹ Pharras (l. 11. c. 10) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been observed in the Greek towns to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxas, who in vulgar Greek the history of the churches after the taking of Constantinople, inserted in the *Lettre Grecque* of Crusas (p. 10. l. 35). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholicism. Sancti Trinitate, dicitur in sum in patriarchatu novum habere debet.

² From the *Turco-Graecis* of Crusas &c. Spondanus (A. D. 1453, vol. 21. l. 13, No. 10) declares the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek church: the patriarch who succeeded to Constantine threw himself in despair into

³ Canteleu (p. 101. l. 10) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, as well as modern and recent, that it did not have violated the treaty to diminish their national glory, since it is ascribed more to the Arab than to the Christian by the sultan. But I doubt the consent, as I quote no other author than the *Annales* of Leanderus, and without doubt that Mahomet took Constantinople (p. 20). 2 The same argument may be turned in favor of the Greeks of the town who would not have forgotten this honourable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, prefers the Turks to the Christians.

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms, but the final extinction of the two last dynasties¹ which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the Emperor Constantine and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats, and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *heraudion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks; they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vigorous tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder: the two despots explored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw, and when he had quelled the revolt, his lesson indicated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged

in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword, the aims and succours of the West were consumed in civil hostility, and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked then supreme lord, and, in the season of maturity and revenging, *Loss of the Morea*. Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province, I will take your daughter to my bed, and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and obeyed: surrendered his daughter and his castles followed to Adrianople his sovereign and son, and received for his own maintenance and that of his followers, a city in Thracia, and the adjacent isles of Limnos, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion² of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea. In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond,³ and the negotiation

¹ For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange (Pam. l. i. tit. p. 19.), for the last Palæologus the same (Comptes rendus, p. 217, 218). The Palæologus of Constantinople is not extinct till the next century, but they had forgotten their Constantinian and Greek blood.

In the middle of the disputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phrizzi (l. iii. c. 21, 22) is too partial on the side of Thomas, Ducange (c. 44, 45) is too brief, and Chalcondyles (l. viii. ix. x.) too diffuse and disagreeable.

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¹ See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcondyles (l. ix. p. 203, 204), Ducange (c. 44), Phrizzi (l. iii. c. 27), and Comte (p. 107).

² Though Tournefort (tom. i. lettre n. p. 179) speaks of Trebizond as mal peuplée, Peyssonier, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (communication de Mr. Morel, tom. i. p. 72, and for the province p. 50, 51). His prosperity and trade are respectfully attested by the factious quarrels of two orders of Monks, in one of

³ Kalo-Johannes, the predecessor of David, a brother, the first emperor of Trebizond, had attempted to become a confederate with Mahomet, but was repulsed by the sultan of Georgia and Iberia, the Christian prince of Georgia and Iberia, the heir of Samuil, and the sultan of Armenia. The negotiations were interrupted by his sudden death, A.D. 1461. Falluieray v. 967, 968. — M.

was comprised in a short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom?" or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble

^{Loss of Trebizond.} Commenus was subdued by his own fears¹ and the example of a Mussulim neighbour, the prince of Sinope,² who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed³ and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Roumania, but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David and the whole Commenus race were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror⁴. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation; his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transported to Constantinople, and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Paleologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (*Mémoires de Tott*, tom. iii. p. 18, 17).

¹ Ismael Bey, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (*Chacondé* p. 258, 259). *Peyssonnel* (*Commerce de la Mer Noire*, tom. ii. p. 100) ascribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account seems enormous, yet it is by tradition, with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

² According to the Georgian account of these transactions (translated by M. Lrosset, additions to *Le Beau*, vol. xxi. p. 325) the emperor of Trebizond humbly entreated the sultan to have the goodness to marry one of his daughters. — M.

³ *Mosonado* has published, in the fifth volume of his *Anecdota Græcæ* (p. 387, 401), a very interesting letter from George Ambroutzes, protovestiarius of Trebizond to Messarion, describing the surrender of Trebizond and the fate of its chief inhabitants. — M.

⁴ See in *Von Hammer*, vol. ii. p. 60, the striking account of the mother, the Empress Helena the Cantacuzene, who, in defiance of the edict, like that of Creon in the Greek tragedy, dug the grave for her murdered children with her own hand and sank into it herself. — M.

the exile of his brother Thomas,⁵ be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea, the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents, his name, his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy, but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance, and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Aragon.⁶ During his transient prosperity, Charles the Eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus*; the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry.⁷ Manuel Paleologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte; he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease, and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an

¹ Spondanus (from Gobelien *Comment. Hist. 1 v*) relates the arrival and reception of the despot Thomas at Rome (A. D. 1461. No. 3).

² By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6, and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Paleologus, reserving the Morea and stipulating some private advantages, conveyed to Charles VIII., king of France, the empire of Constantinople and Trebizond (*Spondanus*, A. D. 1495, No. 2). M. de Fontenayne (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvii. p. 539-578) has bestowed a dissertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

³ See *Philippe de Comines* (l. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, 60 miles of an easy navigation; eighteen days' journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.

mother had he accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females, and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in ^{Grief and terror of Europe A.D. 1453} its loss the pontifical of Nicholas the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire, and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles, and the pompous pretence of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings. In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a castle on his back a mission in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle, she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his list a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and good prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly; they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the pheasant, and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency, and during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour, had the union of the Christians corresponded with their

bravery, had every country, from Sweden to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting. *Aeneas Sylvius*, a statesman and orator, describes from his own experience the repugnant state and spirit of Christendom. "It is a body," says he, "without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images, but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey. Every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained? What military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels, if many, by their own weight and confusion." Yet the same *Aeneas*, when he was raised to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the Second, devoted his life to the prosecution of the Turkish war. In the council of Mantua he excited some sparks of a false or feeble enthusiasm, but when

¹ It was found by an actual enumeration that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 1,500,000 fighting men, and consequently were far more populous than at present.

² In the year 1454, *Spondanus* has given, from *Aeneas Sylvius*, a view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.

¹ See the original feast in *Olivier de la Marche* (Mémoires, P. I. c. 29, 30), with the abstract and observations of *M. de St. Palaye* (Mémoires sur la Chevalerie, tom. I. P. III. p. 182, 185). The pheasant and the pheasant were distinguished as royal birds.

the pontiff appeared at Ancona, to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excuses, a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term, and his effective army consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband with indulgences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition, and the distance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common

enemy, and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation, and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the Second, in the fifty-first year of his age.¹ His lofty genius inspired the conquest of Italy; he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the New and Ancient Rome.²

Death of
Mahomet II.
A.D. 1451

CHAPTER LXIX.

STATE OF ROME FROM THE TWIFTH CENTURY—TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPE—CONDITIONS OF THE CITY—POLITICAL HISTORY OF AFRICOLD OF BRESCIA—REFORMATION OF THE REPUBLIC—THE SENATORS—RUDE OF THE ROMANS—THEIR WARS—THEY ARE DEPRIVED OF THE ELECTION AND PRESENCE OF THE POPE—WHO BETTER TO AVOID—THE JUBILEE—NOBLE FAMILIES OF ROME—FEUD OF THE COLONNA AND ORSINI

In the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention, and when that attention is diverted from the capital to the provinces, they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome, on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine, and our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquest of Justinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tiber, to the deliverance

of the ancient metropolis, but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an

¹ Besides the two annals, the reader may consult Giannone (*Storia Civile*, tom. iii. p. 44) and the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II. I have occasionally used the *Memorie storiche de Monarchi Ottomanni* di Giovanni Sagredo (Venezia, 1677, in 4to). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her dispatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in sense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels: he is ignorant of their language and manners, and his narrative, which allows only seventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69, 140), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1449 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo.

As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively reported in this work. The Greek press of Aldus and the Italians were confined to the classics of a better age, and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. were published by the learned du

State and
revolutions of
Rome
A.D. 1100 1500

customary, donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St Peter, the coronation was performed by his successor the voice of God was confounded with that of the people, and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of "Long life and victory to our lord the pope! long life and victory to our lord the emperor! long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!"¹ The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors their title and image was engrained on the papal coins,² and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice, which they delivered to the prefect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a barbarian lord. The Cæsars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation, but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader. his departure was always speedy, and often shameful, and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted, and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

¹ *Exercitum Romano et Teutonico*. The latter was both seen and felt, but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

² Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (*Antiquitat. tom. ii. diss. xxvii. p. 548-564*). He finds only two more early than the year 800. fifty are still extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with the addition of the reigning emperor, none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II., but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest, but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and educated the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election, and the ecclesiastical power that was enjoyed in Sweden and Britain had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome, and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries, and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Domnus* or Lord was inscribed on the coin of the bishops. their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and with the free, or reluctant, consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties, of Rome, and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power, the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other, and that the keys of Paradise would be

Authority of the
popes from
affection,
right,
virtues,
benefits.

the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the person and vices of the mag. But the scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the Seventh and his successors, and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution, and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom must engage the favour and sympathy of every Catholic heart. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged and deposed the kings of the world, nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest, whose feet were kissed, and whose stirrup was held, by the successors of Chaulmagne.¹ Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes, from whence a vain and lively people derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired, many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands, nor could the loss be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Popin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and supplicants, the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals² and

from the North and West the bishops and abbots were invited or summoned to solicit, to complain, to accuse or to justify, before the threshold of the apostles. A rare prodigy is recorded, that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and silver³; but it was soon understood, that the success, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of the strangers were ostentatiously displayed, and their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who tells the tree, that he may gather the fruit, and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and secure possession of the most important blessings. And it was thus, that the shrine of St Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans, who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without

¹ See Ducange, *Gloss. medice et infime Lat.* initiat tom vi p. 384, 385, STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom iii p. 202), and it was the wisest policy of Rome, to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

² The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff are deplored by the zeal of St.

Jean du (de) con. alterations, l. iii tom ii p. 431 432, edit. Mabilon, Venet. 1744) and the judgment of Henry (Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclesiastique, iv. 2. 11.) But the story, who believed in the false decretals, condemns only the abuse of these appeals, the more enlightened historian investigates the origin and rejects the principles, of this new jurisprudence.

³ Germanicus. *summarum non levatis sacculis onusti milionesque repatriant inviti Nova res! Quando hactenus curam Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum concilio id usuratum non credimus* (Bernard de Consideratione, l. iii c. 3, p. 437). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

⁴ Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane venient avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique (Rapport des Foix, l. v c. 13), and passion and ignorance are always despotic.

computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious, and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood most powerfully acts on the mind of a barbarian; yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief, till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to satisfy the double debt of pity and remorse. I have already observed, that the modern times of religious indifference are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son: their persons were adored or violated, and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar, or trampled in the dust. In the

feudal system of Europe, the arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance, and amidst their tumult, the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke, and insulted the impotence, of their bishop; nor would his educa-

*Seditio of
Rome against
the popes.*

arms were the title of distinction and the measure

¹ In a free conversation with this countryman Adrian IV, John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy. *Provinciarum diripiunt spolia, ac si thesauros Christi student repare.* *Ecce vocis cum eis ait, Altissimus, quoniam et ipse alius et sepe villis suis hominibus dedit in diripiendum (de Nugis Curialium, l. 1 c. 21, p. 357).* In the next page, he blames the rashness and indolence of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly strove to conciliate by gifts, instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not

tion or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian. "The name and authority of the count of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little reviled at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled his government in that city, and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet."¹

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown increased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embroiled with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties, and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St Peter and the German

*Successors of
Gregory VII
A.D. 1006-1303*

given us less morality and credit, and more pretence of himself and the times.

¹ *History of England, vol. I p. 419.* The same writer has given us from Stephen, a singular set of cruelties perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. "When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Beze presented, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop, upon which he ordered all of them with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their blood to be brought him in a picher. Of two pain and danger they might justly complain, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure."

eagle. Gregory the Seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six and thirty of his successors,¹ till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated, and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition² of such capricious brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the

Paschal II. altar, he was interrupted
A.D. 1099 M.A. by the clamorous of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground. Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter, and his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of

Gelasius II. civil war. The scenes
A.D. 1118, 1119 that followed the election of his successor, Gelasius the Second,

¹ From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandolphus Pisanus, Bernard Guido, &c., is inserted in the Italian Histories of Muratori (tom. III. F. I. p. 277 885), and has been always before my eyes.

The dates of years in the margin may throughout this chapter be understood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a master, his great Collection of the Italian Histories, in twenty-eight volumes: and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to correct the originals.

were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani,¹ a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly, furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot: and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain, in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani, and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed, and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the apostle withdrew from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered, and the vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty.² These examples might suffice, but I cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the second and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he ascended

¹ I cannot refrain from transcribing the high coloured words of Pandolphus Pisanus (p. 364). Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Cencius Frangipani, more draconis inhumanissimi s' illius, et ab iniis peccatoribus trahis longe supras, acq'netus retro gladio sine more cuderit, valvas ac fores confregit. L'Aleam furibundus introit, iniecit custode remoto papam per gulam accepti, distransit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen ecclesie acriter calcibus cruentavit. et latro tantum domini per capillos et brachia, Jesti bono interim dormiente, detrahit, ad domum usque deduxit, inibi catenavit et inclusit.

² Ego coram Deo et Ecclesiâ dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallem unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelas. II. p. 396).

in battle-array, to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days. The latter was severely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion, several of his priests had been made prisoners, and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses with their face to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear, lassitude or remorse, the characters of the men, and the circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience, and the pope was restored with joyful acclamations to the Latian or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial, and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by such tempests as had almost sunk the bark of St Peter. Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord: the churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and families, and, after giving poise to Europe,

Calistus II. A.D. 1119 1124. Innocent II. A.D. 1130 1143. Calistus the Second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation, and, in a letter to his disciple, Eugenius the Third, St Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatised the vices of the rebellious people: "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation buried in sedition, cruel, untractable, and scornful to obey, unless they are too feeble to re-

fract. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign, if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt, yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours, if your doors, or your councils, are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learned the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved, and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit, they know not how to govern, faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution, adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar acts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity, yet the features, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century.

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character, and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the crusades, some sparks of animosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully transplanted into the soil of Italy and France, the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the Gospel, and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their

Political heresy of Arnold of Brescia, A.D. 1130. As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes issue to observe that I know, though a saint was a man that he might be provoked by resentment and possibly repent of his infraction, &c. (He notes sur la Vie de l'etranger, tome 1, p. 111).

— Baronius, in his index to the twelfth volume of his *Annales*, has found a fair and easy case. He makes two kinds of Roman Catholicism, and *heresies*: to the former he applies all the good to the latter all the evil that is told of the city.

Quid tam rectum secus quam profectus et opusculis Romanorum? (Cant. Instructa p. 1, tum ultio assueti, quia inimitia et intractabili vultu a se, p. 111.) The saint takes breath, and then begins again III, invicta et cetera utrique iniecerat manus, &c. (p. 443).

precursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause. a brave and simple people imbibed, and long retained, the colour of his opinion. and his wit, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St Bernard,¹ and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold not ^{as the} devoid of discretion he ^{was to} was protected, and had ^{of the} perhaps been invited, by ^{public} the nobles and people and in the service of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Lacy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of Gospel and of classic enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians, to restore the laws and magistracies of the republic, to respect the name of the emperor, but to confine their obedience to the spiritual government of his flock.² Nor could his spiritual government the censure and control of the reformer and the inferior clergy were two his lessons to resist the cardinals who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome. The revolution not ac-

¹ Bernard, Epistolæ, c. 12. tom. i. p. 197. Arnold's invectives laid up a precious acknowledgment of his own errors and exact doctrine upon destruction. He owns that Arnold will be a valuable acquisition for the church.

² He advised the Romans,

Come let us armisque et animis summa
Arbitraria et quæ sita in hac
Loubet summa in hac
Summa populo sita in hac
Maje tate, cum gunt et erat aule.

Nor is the melody of Gunther different from the prose of Otto.

³ See p. 11.

1148, No. 1, from
loudly undemus Ar

complished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the second and Anastasius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exile in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the fourth, the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St Peter, and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, the provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdiction on the guilty people, and from Christmas to Easter Rome was deprived of the usual ornaments of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal princes they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the suppression of the coronation of Frederick Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo the pope represented to the emperor the furious un governable spirit of the Romans the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed, and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination. Frederick was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the imperial crown in the balance of ambition the gold (A. D. 1141 No. 3), as the father of the political heresy, whose influence then was him in France.

The English reader may consult the biographers Balaam, Adrian IV, but our own writers have added nothing to the true merits of the countryman.

innocence or life of an individual is of small account, and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Caesar: the prefect of the city pronounced his sentence, the martyr of

His execution,
A.D. 1156 freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a cruel and ungrateful people, and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master.¹ The clergy triumphed in his death: with his ashes, his sect was dispersed, his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more especially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome: that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons.² But this venerable

¹ Besides the historians and poet already quoted, the first adventures of Arnold are related by the biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. II. l. 1. p. 111, 112, 113, 114.)

² Duongo (a loss Latinist) made it in fine statuta DECAVONIA: tom. II. p. 26 gives me a quotation from Blondus (De re. II. l. 11.)

II. Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis electi, quod virtutum exemplum exemplum virtutum rebus representant. And in Sigonius (de Regno Ital. l. vi. Opp. tom. II. p. 400) instead of the consuls and tribunes of the tenth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius,

structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered.³ They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours,⁴ and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent. But they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government,⁵ and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty four that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious era, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm, nor could Rome in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and acceity acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the

too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

³ In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. II. l. 1. p. 404) a Roman is mentioned as consul natus in the beginning of the tenth century. Muratori (Dis. crit. v.) discovers in the years 952 and 956, Christianus in Dei nomine consul et dux, Germanus consul et dux, and in 1015 Romanus brother of Gregory VIII. proudly, but vaguely, styles himself consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator.

⁴ As late as the tenth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalfi, &c. the title of *severe*, or consuls (see Chion Sagornini, prasinus), and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general the names of *consul* and *senator*, which may be found among the Franks and Germans, signify no more than the military and civil offices (see l. vi. c. 1. p. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁵ The new constitutional form is a diploma of Otto III. (A.D. 961) consilium senatus in populo Romano, but the act is probably put out. At the coronation of Henry I. (A.D. 919), the historian Duchene (apud Muratori, Dis. crit. axil.), describes him, quoniam sacralibus et proxima mystice faciebant cum baculis the senatus is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 408).

wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of votes and ballots, could not easily be adapted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order, but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction? The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times; those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue, and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown, the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls; had they not disclaimed a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose or must produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state, nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate.

¹ In ancient Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the consulship of Cicero, who assumed the merit of the establishment (Plin Hist. Natur. xxiii. 3, Beauport République Romaine, tom. I p. 141-145).

² The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther —

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos,
Nomine plebeio socerare nomen equestre,
Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum,

VOL. II.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and era to Rome, we may observe the cal and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitol.

Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences, is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of a hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war. After the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls, and the sanctuary of the empire was occupied, assaulted, and burned, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian. The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust, their place was supplied by monasteries and houses, and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol, to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Caesars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver, to the senate they

Et senio fossas mutas, ne reponere leges
Ipsa ruinosis, et adhuc pande nitia muris
Rudere primævo Capitolis prima niton.
But of these reformations, some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

¹ After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is strictly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx, and that on the other summit the church and convent of Arcelli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, Romæ Antica, l. v. c. 11. 16).

² Tacit. Hist. III. 69, 70.

³ The authority of Nardini is now vigorously impugned, and the question of the Arx and the Temple of Jupiter revived, with new arguments, by Niebuhr and his accomplished follower M. Büchsen. Roms Beschreibung, vol. III. p. 12 seq. — M.

abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper; the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery, and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: then royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint, and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abridgement of eight hundred years, the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege, which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the Second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps. Some of these republics in coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted holding in his left hand a book with this inscription: "THE VIEW OF THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD," on the reverse, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield. III With the empire,

the prefect of the city had declined to a municipal officer, yet he still exercised in the capital the civil and criminal jurisdiction, and a drawn sword, which he

received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope, but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the prefect in the conflict of adverse duties. A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Roman senate in his place they elected a patrician, but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject, and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the prefect. About fifty years after this event, AD 1192, Innocent the Third, the

most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and laid claim to this half-sovereign dominion: he invested the prefect with a banner instead of a sword, and dissolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors. In his place an ecclesiastic, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome, but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass, and in the day of freedom, the right of exercise was de-

livered to the people. The German emperor, Conrad of Paderborn, in 1137, appointed a prefect of the city, but this office was soon abolished. The emperor Frederick II, in 1237, appointed a prefect of the city, but this office was soon abolished. The emperor Frederick II, in 1237, appointed a prefect of the city, but this office was soon abolished.

The word of a contemporary writer (Gualdus) in 1137, describes the prefect of the city as a person of noble birth, who was appointed by the pope and confirmed by the emperor. He was responsible for the civil and criminal justice of the city, and was also responsible for the public order and the safety of the city.

The prefect of the city was also responsible for the public order and the safety of the city. He was responsible for the civil and criminal justice of the city, and was also responsible for the public order and the safety of the city.

* Dr Carwell's *Lecture on Ancient Rome*, p. 70 (1894) assigns convincing reasons in support of this opinion. - M

rived from the senate and people. IV
 Number and choice of the
 senate. After the revival of the
 senate, the conscript
 fathers (if I may use the
 expression) were invested with the
 legislative and executive power, but
 their views seldom reach beyond the
 present day; and that day was most
 frequently disturbed by violence and
 tumult. In its utmost plenitude the
 order or assembly consisted of fifty
 six senators, the most eminent of
 whom were distinguished by the title
 of counsellors they were nominated,
 perhaps annually, by the people, and
 a previous choice of their electors, ten
 persons in each region, or parish,
 might afford a basis for a free and per-
 manent constitution. The popes, who
 in this tempest submitted rather to
 bend than to break, confirmed by
 treaty the establishment of a private
 of the senate, and expected from time
 peace and reason, the restoration of
 the government. The motives of
 public and private interest might some-
 times arise from the Romans in oc-
 casional and temporary sacrifices of
 their claims, and they renewed their
 oath of allegiance to the successor of
 St Peter and Constantine the lawful
 head of the church and their public

The union and vigour of a public
The "Council" was dissolved in
the "of" a lawless city, and the
Romans soon adopted a more strong
and simple mode of administration

1. So. Ohio Edison Chron. vii 31 de Oct
Fr. 1891 11 C 2;
- our countryman, Roger Hoxden speaks
of the four sons of the " - family
3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 165th, 166th, 167th, 168th, 169th, 170th, 171st, 172nd, 173rd, 174th, 175th, 176th, 177th, 178th, 179th, 180th, 181st, 182nd, 183rd, 184th, 185th, 186th, 187th, 188th, 189th, 190th, 191st, 192nd, 193rd, 194th, 195th, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 200th, 201st, 202nd, 203rd, 204th, 205th, 206th, 207th, 208th, 209th, 210th, 211st, 212nd, 213th, 214th, 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th, 219th, 220th, 221st, 222nd, 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, 230th, 231st, 232nd, 233rd, 234th, 235th, 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st, 242nd, 243rd, 244th, 245th, 246th, 247th, 248th, 249th, 250th, 251st, 252nd, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th, 261st, 262nd, 263rd, 264th, 265th, 266th, 267th, 268th, 269th, 270th, 271st, 272nd, 273rd, 274th, 275th, 276th, 277th, 278th, 279th, 280th, 281st, 282nd, 283rd, 284th, 285th, 286th, 287th, 288th, 289th, 290th, 291st, 292nd, 293rd, 294th, 295th, 296th, 297th, 298th, 299th, 300th, 301st, 302nd, 303rd, 304th, 305th, 306th, 307th, 308th, 309th, 310th, 311st, 312nd, 313th, 314th, 315th, 316th, 317th, 318th, 319th, 320th, 321st, 322nd, 323rd, 324th, 325th, 326th, 327th, 328th, 329th, 330th, 331st, 332nd, 333rd, 334th, 335th, 336th, 337th, 338th, 339th, 340th, 341st, 342nd, 343rd, 344th, 345th, 346th, 347th, 348th, 349th, 350th, 351st, 352nd, 353rd, 354th, 355th, 356th, 357th, 358th, 359th, 360th, 361st, 362nd, 363rd, 364th, 365th, 366th, 367th, 368th, 369th, 370th, 371st, 372nd, 373rd, 374th, 375th, 376th, 377th, 378th, 379th, 380th, 381st, 382nd, 383rd, 384th, 385th, 386th, 387th, 388th, 389th, 390th, 391st, 392nd, 393rd, 394th, 395th, 396th, 397th, 398th, 399th, 400th, 401st, 402nd, 403rd, 404th, 405th, 406th, 407th, 408th, 409th, 410th, 411st, 412nd, 413th, 414th, 415th, 416th, 417th, 418th, 419th, 420th, 421st, 422nd, 423rd, 424th, 425th, 426th, 427th, 428th, 429th, 430th, 431st, 432nd, 433rd, 434th, 435th, 436th, 437th, 438th, 439th, 440th, 441st, 442nd, 443rd, 444th, 445th, 446th, 447th, 448th, 449th, 450th, 451st, 452nd, 453rd, 454th, 455th, 456th, 457th, 458th, 459th, 460th, 461st, 462nd, 463rd, 464th, 465th, 466th, 467th, 468th, 469th, 470th, 471st, 472nd, 473rd, 474th, 475th, 476th, 477th, 478th, 479th, 480th, 481st, 482nd, 483rd, 484th, 485th, 486th, 487th, 488th, 489th, 490th, 491st, 492nd, 493rd, 494th, 495th, 496th, 497th, 498th, 499th, 500th, 501st, 502nd, 503rd, 504th, 505th, 506th, 507th, 508th, 509th, 510th, 511st, 512nd, 513th, 514th, 515th, 516th, 517th, 518th, 519th, 520th, 521st, 522nd, 523rd, 524th, 525th, 526th, 527th, 528th, 529th, 530th, 531st, 532nd, 533rd, 534th, 535th, 536th, 537th, 538th, 539th, 540th, 541st, 542nd, 543rd, 544th, 545th, 546th, 547th, 548th, 549th, 550th, 551st, 552nd, 553rd, 554th, 555th, 556th, 557th, 558th, 559th, 560th, 561st, 562nd, 563rd, 564th, 565th, 566th, 567th, 568th, 569th, 570th, 571st, 572nd, 573rd, 574th, 575th, 576th, 577th, 578th, 579th, 580th, 581st, 582nd, 583rd, 584th, 585th, 586th, 587th, 588th, 589th, 590th, 591st, 592nd, 593rd, 594th, 595th, 596th, 597th, 598th, 599th, 600th, 601st, 602nd, 603rd, 604th, 605th, 606th, 607th, 608th, 609th, 610th, 611st, 612nd, 613th, 614th, 615th, 616th, 617th, 618th, 619th, 620th, 621st, 622nd, 623rd, 624th, 625th, 626th, 627th, 628th, 629th, 630th, 631st, 632nd, 633rd, 634th, 635th, 636th, 637th, 638th, 639th, 640th, 641st, 642nd, 643rd, 644th, 645th, 646th, 647th, 648th, 649th, 650th, 651st, 652nd, 653rd, 654th, 655th, 656th, 657th, 658th, 659th, 660th, 661st, 662nd, 663rd, 664th, 665th, 666th, 667th, 668th, 669th, 670th, 671st, 672nd, 673rd, 674th, 675th, 676th, 677th, 678th, 679th, 680th, 681st, 682nd, 683rd, 684th, 685th, 686th, 687th, 688th, 689th, 690th, 691st, 692nd, 69

[illegible]

They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate, or two colleagues, and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition; their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction; and as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bi-shops, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves; and they sought abroad those bishops which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age, and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a monarch, which, however strange as may seem, was admitted to their constitution, and productive of the most salutary effects. They chose, in two foreign but friendly cities, an impartial magistrate of noble but unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time, the supreme administration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and subscriptions; and the derivation of his power, the nature of his station, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with his repulsiuon. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior; he pledged his faith to maintain the independence of a state, with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or six knights and civilians, his assessors in arms and justice, attended the *Proth* who maintained at his

In 1614 when, at least, the silver
75, the title of Indians was transferred from
the office to the magistrate.

Hujus qui tractatur i re textu: uere max 2
An Fidei nam Gab. u neque: 40 Potest 2
(Juvenal Satir x 99)

own expense a decent retinue of servants and horses his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen, nor could he honourably depart till he had satisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Brancalione,^{AD 1252 1253.} whose fame and merit have been rescued from oblivion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear foresight of the difficulties of the task, had engaged him to refuse the honour of their choice: the statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel, by the clergy he was suspected as partial, but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet, and he inevitably demolished in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese, and the etymology of Brancalione was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public officers whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor, nor would his life have been

spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome, on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded, and Bologna, in the cause of honour, sustained the thunder of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past, and Brancalione was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate, and as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble.

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a Charles of Anjou, more effectual choice. AD 1268 7. In stead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and cautious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of senator from the Roman people. As he passed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a host visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet

Matthew Paris thus ends his account: *caput vero ipsius Brancalonis in vase pretioso super marmoream columnam collectum in signum ut valeret et prohibere quicquidque superstitiosum munus et impio sustulissent. Hec enim supercilium potentium et malefactorum velle male et explorator et populorum protector et defensor veritatis et justitie imitator et amator* (p. 840). A biographer of Innocent IV. (Muratori, Script. tom. vi. p. 501, 502) draws a less favourable portrait of this Gibeline senator.

The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome is mentioned by the historians in the eighth volume of the Collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamblis (p. 502), the monk of Padua (p. 724), Sabas Malaspina (i. ii. c. 9, p. 808), and Riccardano Malaspina (c. 177, p. 909).

See the life and death of Brancalione, in the Historia Major of Matthew Paris p. 741, 747, 752, 757, 759, 810, 824, 831, 836, 840. The multitude of pilgrims and authors connected Rome and St Albans, and the resentment of the English clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppressed.

even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin, and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the Third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the impetuous pontiff asserts the truth, validity and use, if the donation of Constantine, not essential to the peace of the city, then to the independence of the church, establishes the annual election of the senator, and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the Fourth.

Pope Martin IV who humbly solicited the
A.D. 1281

sullage of the Romans in the presence, and by the authority of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator, and the supreme administration of the republic,¹ to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty

years afterwards, the
The Emperor
Lewis of Sicily
A.D. 1325

same title was granted to the Emperor Lewis of Sicily, and the liberty of R. acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recom-

Addresses of
Rome to the
emperors.

¹ The high sounding bull of Nicholas III. which found in his temporal sovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant, and as it has been inserted by Boniface VIII. in the Sixtus of the decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a sacred and perpetual law.

² I am indebted to Henry (Hist. Eccl. tom. xviii. p. 306) for an extract of this Roman act, which has been taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A.D. 1281, No. 14, 15.

mond their merit and services in the cause of Caesar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the Third and Frederic

Conrad III.
A.D. 1144.

the first is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history. After some complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown.

"We beseech your majesty, not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies, who calumniate the senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord, that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the Sicilian are united in an impious league to oppose our liberty and your coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factious adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have taken by assault the houses and turrets, some of these are occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the Castle of St Angelo. All that we have done, and all that we design, is for your honour and service, in the loyal hope, that you will speedily appear in person, to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital of the world, give laws to Italy, and the Lentine kingdom, and imitate the example of Constantine and Justinian."

¹ These letters and speeches are preserved by the bishop of Basingen (Fabre Bibliot. I. med. æmum tom. i. p. 180, 187), perhaps the noblest of historians. He was son of Leopold marquis of Austria, his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the Emperor Henry IV., and he was half brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the times, in two, the gesta Frederici I., the last of which is inserted in the sixth volume of Muratori's historians.

² We desire (said the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire. In cum statum quo fuit

who, by the vigour of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth." But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and successor, Frederic Barbarossa, was more ambitious of the Imperial crown, nor had any of the successors of Otho acquired such absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and secular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the queen of cities, approach with a peaceful and friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under your auspicious influence, may the primitive times be restored. Assert the prerogatives of the eternal city, and reduce under her monarchy the insolence of the world. You are not ignorant, that, in former ages, by the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and discipline of the equestrian order, she extended her victorious arms to the East and West, beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the ocean. By our sins, in the absence of our princes, the noble institution of the senate has sunk in oblivion, and with our prudence, our strength has likewise decreased. We have revived the senate, and the equestrian order, the councils of the one, the arms of the other, will be devoted to your person and the service of the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman matron? You were a guest, I have adopted you as a citizen, a Transalpine stranger, I have elected you for my sovereign," and given you myself, and all that is mine

Your first and most sacred duty is to swear and subscribe, that you will shed your blood for the republic, that you will maintain in peace and justice the laws of the city and the charters of your predecessors, and that you will reward with five thousand pounds of silver the faithful senators who shall proclaim your titles in the Capitol. With the name, assume the character, of Augustus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted, but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conquest: "Famous indeed have been the fortitude and wisdom of the ancient Romans, but your speech is not seasoned with wisdom, and I could wish that fortitude were conspicuous in your actions. Like all sublimary things, Rome has felt the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Your noblest families were translated to the East to the royal city of Constantinople, and the remains of your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the valour of the legions? you will find them in the German republic. It is not emperors, naked and alone, the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people; they will be employed in your defence, but they claim your obedience. You pretend that myself or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans: you mistake the word, they were not invited, they were implored. From its foreign and domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by Charlemagne and Otho, who cherish repose in our country, and their dominion was the price of your deliverance. Under that dominion your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession,

tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem in virore servatus et populi Romani suis tenuere manibus.

¹ Otho Frising de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 20. p. 662-663.

² *Hesperas eras civem feci. Advena fuisse ex Transalpinis partibus, principem constitui.*

³ *Non erant nobis nudum Imperium, virtute sua amictum venit, ornamenta sua secum traxit. Penes nos sunt consules tui, &c.* (Otho or Livy would not have rejected these images, the eloquence of a barbarian born and educated in the Hercynian forest.

and who shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks? Am I a German enfeebled by age? Am I a youth? Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impose conditions on your master, you require oaths if the conditions are just, an oath superfluous, if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my subjects. Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that sword the northern kingdom of Denmark has been restored to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. All will be given to patient merit, all will be denied to audacious importunity. Neither the emperor nor the senate could maintain the lofty pretensions of dominion undisturbed. United with the pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederick commenced his march to the Vatican. His coronation was disturbed by a silly quarrel about the Capitol, and if the numbers and valor of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp in the presence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he besieged Rome, to seat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter, and twelve Pisan galleys were introduced into the Tiber, but the senate and people were saved by the arts of negotiation and the progress of disease, nor did Frederick or his successors tolerate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the crusades, and the independence of Lombards and Germans. They courted the alliance of the Romans, and Frederick the Second offered in the Capitol the great standard, the *Caraculo* of Milan. After

¹ Otto of Frisingen, who surely understood the language of the court and did not err in any particulars of the facts in the twelfth century as the *Chronica* of Otto of Frisingen (Liber 1. c. 1. c. 2. p. 720, 723). These original and authentic facts I have translated and abridged with freedom yet with fidelity.

² Otto of Frisingen, de Gestis Frederici I. l. 1. c. 2. p. 720, 723. These original and authentic facts I have translated and abridged with freedom yet with fidelity.

³ Otto of Frisingen, de Gestis Frederici I. l. 1. c. 2. p. 720, 723.

the extinction of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Italian empire.

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Tiber to the ocean, from Mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian amused the Romans with the picture of their infant war. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Praeneste, our summer retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the Capitol, when we decided the shades of the Atrium groves, when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines and Latins, and even Coriolanus could afford a title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was humbled by the prospect of futurity, by the prediction, that after a few years, Rome, despoiled of empire and

the empire, would be a city of the dead. This prediction was fulfilled by the conquest of the present, they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity, by the prediction, that after a few years, Rome, despoiled of empire and

Ave decus orbis, ave victus tibi terrore ave
curru ab Augusto Iudicio Iudicio
V. Mediolani. Ave tibi terrore ave
Fr. triumphum urbs potes non esse
I. orum
h. tibi militum reges qui bella creabant

No al deo facere. (I now see
reactions, tom 1 p 444) che nell'anno 1757,
una copia de' suoi Caraculo in mano di
otto di copiare, nel tempio di Vesta
città di quel luogo, dove si trova l'ave
nol uder. Stava esso per sé, sopra quattro
colonne di marmo fino col' sequente in
scrizione, &c. to the same purpose is the old
inscription.

The decline of the Imperial arms and
authority in Italy is related with a impartial
learned in the Annals of Muratori (tom 1. c. 1. c. 2. p. 720, 723) and the reader may compare his views with the history of the German empire in the
by Schmidt who has deserved the esteem of his
countrymen.

Tibur nunc suburbium et sine Iri
ste de re nuncupatis in Capitolio votis
petebantur. The whole passage of Florus (l. 1. c. 11) may be read with pleasure, and has
deserved the praise of a man of genius (Œuvres
de Montesquieu tom 1. p. 64. l. 4. quarto
edition).

contracted to her primeval limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tiber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St Peter, but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate, and if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol, sallied from the gates, plundered or burned the harvests of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their success was tedious and unskilful, in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge, and instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon. The fortifications, and even the buildings, of the rival cities, were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Ostia, Albano, Tusculum, Praeneste, and Tibur or Tivoli, were successively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans. Of these, Porto and Ostia,

the two keys of the Tiber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills, which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace, Frascati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum, Tibur or Tivoli has resumed the honours of a city, and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies. In the first sack of Tibur, they were driven from their camp, and the battles of

Battle of
Tusculum
A.D. 1167

Tusculum and Viterbo might be compared in their relative state to the memorable fields of Trasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederick Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum, and if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterwards they

Battle of
Viterbo
A.D. 1234

marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state with the whole force of the city, by a rare coalition the Teutonic eagle was blended in the adverse banners, with the keys of St Peter, and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Thoulouse and

In octavo) has added to the topographical map of the island.

¹ Tibur (tom. iii. p. 273) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has severely mortified the pride and poverty of Tibur. In divide Tiburina non vivitur civiliter.

² I depart from my usual method of quoting only by the date the Annals of Muratori in consideration of the critical balance in which he has exhibited nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. p. 424).

³ Matthew Paris p. 245. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus who died the second thirty-two years (A.D. 1166-1228), and is described, by the English historian, as a soldier and a statesman (p. 178, 389).

¹ No a feritate Romanorum, sicut fuerat Hostienses, Portuenses, Tusculanenses. Al. Tiburina. Labienus et super Tiburtini destruxerunt (Matthew Paris, p. 757). These events are marked in the Annals and Index the eighteenth volume of Muratori.

² For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tiber, &c. see the lively picture of the P. Labat (Voyage en France et en Italie, who had long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the more accurate description of which P. F. Bernard (Rome, 1750,

a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter, but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty thousand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not above, and in arts, they were far below, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was there a like spirit of any long continuance. After some irregular sulcs, they subsided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and

The election of the pope.

the first Christian princes, the claim of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the authority, the violence, of a popular election. The sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood, and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, those mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour, nor could the unsuccessful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established, that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was overruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the can-

didates, might balance each other: the most respectable of the clergy were divided, and the distant prince, who bowed before the spiritual throne, could not distinguish the spurious from the legitimate idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly to a hostile pontiff, and each of the competitors was reduced

suffer the insults of his enemies, who were not tied by conscience, and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander the Third,² who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the

right of the cardinals established by Alexander III. AD 1179.

The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons were assimilated to each other by this important privilege: the sacerdotal clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy: they were indifferently chosen among the nation of Christendom, and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the counsellors and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple: the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings, and their dignity was increased by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth seldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wise regulation, all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of

¹ See Moshelm Institut. Histor. Ecclesias. p. 40. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election, and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning, which St. Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings).

² The origin, titles, importance, dress, precedence, &c. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably discussed by Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. I. p. 1262-1287) but their purple is now much faded. The sacred college was reduced to the definite number of seventy-two, to which, under his vicar, the disciples of

schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college. But as the concurrence of two thirds of the voters had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passion of the cardinals, and while they prolonged then in ineffectual reign, the Christian world was left des

Installation of the canon law by Gregory X. A. J. 1274.

times, a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessities, but the door is locked on both sides and closed by the magistrato of the city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the world. If the diet is not consummated in three days, the luxury of their table is restricted to a single dish at dinner and supper, and at the eighth day, they are reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacation of the Holy See, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or assuming unless in some rare emergency, the government of the church; all agreements and promises among the electors are formally annulled, and their integrity is fortified by their solemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvincible or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of continence is vigorous and entire: they are still urged, by the personal motives of health and frugality, to accelerate the moment of their

deliverance, and the improvement of
ballot or secret votes has wrapped the
struggles of the conclave in the silky
veil of charity and politeness. By
these institutions, the Romans were
excluded from the election of their
prince and bishop, and in the fever of
wild and precious liberty, they
seemed insensible of the loss of this
estimable privilege. The Emperor,
Lewis of Bavaria, received
the example of the great

A D 1328

Otho. After some negotiation with the magistrates, the Roman people were assembled in the square before St. Peter's. The Pope of Avignon, John the Twenty second, was deposed, the choice of his successor was ratified by their consent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year, and two days' journey from the city, and that if he neglected to return on the third anniversary, the public revenue should be degraded and dismissed. But Lewis

2 The genius of Verdi did not give him the right to print a false view of life in which he was a spectator and an actor (Memoria, tom I, p. 157), but I am not at all to appreciate the knowledge, or sensitivity of an anonymous Italian whose biography (conclusi di Pontalba, Roma, in 1847) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The actual form of the work turns out to be a collection of his articles, to be added from a later date of his work, and we are to the advantage of this collection, but he never saw

« Il est certain que Caroll et de Letz ont
été en contact. Mais, si Caroll n'avait tenu
cette lettre secrète, il n'aurait pu se faire
cacher dans le cabinet de Caroll. A la même po-
litesse, qui nous avait dans le cœur de Henry III, avec la même faim que
le ton du des les coller, avec la même
colère, qui se remarque dans les nouvelles,
et avec la même charité, du moins en appa-
rence, qu'il pourrait être entre des frères parla-
ment, n'ont

Richiedi per bando (says John Villani)
 Capitoli di Roma (consoli) e popolo, et exp. m.
 di 25, e consoli (consoli), et 13 buone uo-
 mini, uo per rione. Our knowledge is too
 in p^{re} et to pronounce, how much of this con-
 tention was temporary, and how much ordi-
 nary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illus-
 trated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

4 Vilani (l. v. c. 6571, in *Musurri Scripta* tom. xiii p. 611 (45), relates this now and the whole translation, with much less obscurity than the prudent Musurri. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed

¹ See the bull of Gregory X, approbante suo concilio, in the 2nd of the Canon Law (11 tit 6 c 3) a supplement to the Decretals, which Innocent VIII promulgated at Rome in 1498, and addressed to all the universities of Europe.

forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected, the Romans despised their own workmanship, the anti-pope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign, and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans fled, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the Seventh, who did not keep up a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church, nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed, and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors and the wars of Italy, they retired beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France, from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Avignon, and the adjacent cities. When a flock was misled or imperilled by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern summons: that St. Peter had fixed his seat not in another city.

In the capital of the world, by a tyrannical menace that the Romans would punish in arms to destroy the place and people that could dare to offend them in their retreat. They returned with timorous obedience, and were saluted with the shout of a heavy host, of all the houses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expenses of servants and strangers who attended the court. After a short interval of

how much the same (I mean in the sense) of superstition is pictured, and inconsistent.

In the first volume of the *Lives of the Popes* of Avignon, see the second original *Life of John XXII* p. 142-145 the confession of the anti-pope p. 145-152 and the laborious notes of Palsgrave p. 714, 715.

Pontifex autem non volentes nec volentes

peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long, or far distant from the metropolis, but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhône, and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the furious contest between Boniface the Eighth and the king of France.

The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three estates and the privileges of the Gallican church, but the pope was not prepared against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled, the inhabitants of Anagni were seduced from their allegiance and gratitude, but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his chair, and awaited, like the conqueror of old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, intent to execute the orders of his

master by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was insulted with words *ultra sum celare cupiditatem gravissimam, contra ipsam movere ceperunt, questionem, excoentes ab eo urgentissime omnia que sublevarunt per ipsos absentiam carnis et iacturam, videlicet in hospitibus levandis in mercurionis, in usuris, in redditibus in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumereabilibus. Quod cum audisset papa, praeordinaliter ingemuit, et sic compunctus in susceptionem, &c.* Matt Paris p. 757.

For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annals, *Epistolarum et Plurium*.

In the general historians of the church of Italy and of France we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Illustrious, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (*Historie particuliere du grand Differend entre Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel*, par Pierre de Pons, tom. vii p. 31 p. 61 &c.).

and blows and during a confinement of three days, his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence, but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is stained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride, nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honours of a saint or a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the Eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition.

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A specious offer

was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list, but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview, and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the Fifth. The

cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of France; and after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devoting, by his expense, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon,¹ which flourished above seventy years,² the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by sea, by the Rhone, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible, the southern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself in walled palaces alone for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals, and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin county,³ a populous and fertile spot, and the sovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of most anecdotes, is embarrassed with some difficulties.

¹ The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V, John XXII, Benedict XII, Clement VI, Innocent VI, Urban V, Gregory XI, and Clement VII, are published by Stephen Baluze (*Vita Episcoporum Avinionensium*, Paris 1693, 2 vols. in 4to) with various and laborious notes and a second edition of the documents. With the true character and spirit of the pontificate of each of these popes the character of the city of Avignon is also given.

The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon and the Babylonish captivity. Such figures are more suitable to the ardour of French than to the judgment of Muratori, who gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The Abbé Sade is distracted between the love of French and of his country. Yet the modesty of the fact that many of the local inconveniences of Avignon are now removed, and many of the vices against which the poet declaims had been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 135).

² The count of Venaissin was called to the popes in 1274 by Philip III, king of France after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Provence. Forty years before the death of count Raymond had given them a pretence of seizure, and they derived some obscure claim from the eleventh century to some lands extra Rhodanum (*Valeall Notitia Galliarum*, p. 495-610. Longuerue, *Description de la France*, tom. i. p. 376-381).

¹ It is difficult to know whether Latat (tom. iv. p. 55-57) is in jest or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the corn fields, or vine yards, or olive trees, are annually blasted by nature the obsequious handmaid of the pope.

² See the *Chronicle of Giovanni Villani* (vol. i. c. 64, 65) in Muratori, tom. xiii. the imprisonment of Boniface VIII and the death of Clement V, the last of which, like

four-score thousand florins.' Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers, but Italy deplored their absence and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals, who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the era of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce, and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful: the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride, and they totally conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This pre-

the institution of the holy year, A.D. 1200

If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such objections might annul the bargain; but the purchase must be returned, for indeed it was. Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (Vita Clementis p. 63, et Baluz p. 175 &c.). In 1363, the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, quod xx. (Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Francie originem traxerant, non sunt in memorato collegio existant (Thomasassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. 1 p. 1281).

YEAR,' was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object, and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the Eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice, and the pope had sufficient learning to collect and revive the secular games which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced, and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the customary indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St Peter and St Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom, and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote gloms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly and laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport, and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate, and they have probably

Our primitive account is from cardinal James Ometan (Maxima Bibliot. Patrum tom. xxv.) and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

been magnified by a dexterous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers, and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure, and two pilgrims stood night and day with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St Paul. It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty, and if foreign war was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or trust, all civil riches will speedily evaporate but the advance and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the Sixth² to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes, afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss, and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosiac Jubilee. His

The second summons was issued, A.D. 1350, and the number, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy,

¹ See, in the *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, and the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
² Pape, *Historia* (p. 100) mentions the *Index* of the *Index*, and the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
³ The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inserted in the *Corpus* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.

⁴ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁵ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁶ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁷ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁸ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁹ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
¹⁰ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.

and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans; no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop. To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty three, and twenty-five, years, although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition have much diminished the value of the jubilee, yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans, and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.

In the beginning of the eleventh century Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny, like oppressive

The nobles
or barons
of Rome

to the sovereign and the people. The rights of him in nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The sword of the nobles was broken, their slaves were emancipated, their castles were demolished, they resumed the habits of society and obedience, their imitations were confined to municipal honours, and in the proudest province of Venice or Genoa, no prince was subject to the laws. But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to the task of containing her rebellious sons, who soon lost the authority of the magistrate within and without the wall. It was no longer a civil contention between nobles and plebeians for the government of the state, the barons asserted

¹ See the *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
² The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
³ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.

⁴ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁵ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁶ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁷ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁸ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
⁹ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
¹⁰ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.

¹¹ Muratori (*Disert.* lib. 1, c. 10) mentions the *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
¹² The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
¹³ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
¹⁴ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.
¹⁵ The *Index* of the *Index* of the *Index*, in the *Index* of the *Index*, p. 10, 192, of Muratori's *Collection*.

In arms their personal independence, their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege, and then private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were due to their country, and a genuine Roman, could such have been produced, might have renounced these haughty strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly styled themselves the princes of Rome. After a dark series of revolutions, all records of pedigree were lost, the distinction of surnames was abolished, the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels, and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty, or the prerogative of valour. These examples might be readily presumed, but the elevation of a Hebrew race to the rank of senators and consuls is an event without a parallel in the long annals of these miserable existents. In the time of Leo the Ninth, two young and learned Jews were converted to Christianity, and honoured at his baptism with the names of his god-father, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the son of Leo and Eusebius were signified in the new names of Gregory the Seventh, who entrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's uncle, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St.

Faintly visible in the background are the ruins of the castle of Gregory the Seventh, who entrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrianople, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St.

Petr tyrants of Rome in a decoration of
full of goldsmiths and Richard pol
which he replaces the nuns, and even
valued of the old capital to the state of the
fourth century (Memorial, in p. c.)

advise of this fact at 11:40 a.m. (Article 4, item IV, 1, Art. 114 No. 4) who draws his information from the Chronograph Murli, magazine and Arnulpho Sanchez de Solimite in Maratori, Script Ital tom III P 4 p 423, 424. The fact must in some degree be true, yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach against the antinous.

Anglo- both the fat and the lean were the parents of a numerous progeny—the riches, the fruits of luxury, were mixed with the robes of families of the city, and so extensive was the alliance, that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted by the virtue of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause—he reigned several years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the Second that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous, and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families which have lasted at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendor to the present time.

The old consular line of the *Franklin* discover their mine in the previous act of *breaking* or *diving* bread in a mine of fortune—and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have credited, with their allies the *Coast*, a spacious quarter of the cit in the drums of their fortifications. The *South*, as it should seem, still may have named them a *little* to try to absolutely surmount a *little* to be is incribed on the *Coast* as the first sound in the *Contingency* to be honest without the estate of the counts of *Samy*, and the *André* must have a very big count.

if they had not deposed him from the
Cathedral in here."

Marston has a new discovery, and what to the times, such as the name of I. I. I. Some notes with papers in their hands, the father, may be made with his own and temperate critic in the story, but the notes of pure and more valuable to the world of business.

the cardinal of S. Corone in his portrait of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII (Monistori Scripta Italica III P. 1064 &c.), describes the state and families at home at the coronation of Boniface VIII (A.D. 1295).

**Inter ex titulis redimti sanguine et armis
Illustrisq; viri Romanæ a stirpe trahentes
Nomen in cunctos tanta virtutis honores**

But *Langue*, perhaps above, the peers
 and princes of the city, I
 distinguish the rival
 houses of Colonna and Ursini, whose
 private story is an essential part of the
 annals of modern Rome. The name
 and arms of Colonna have been the
 theme of much doubtful etymology,
 nor have the orators and antiquarians
 overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or
 the columns of Hercules, or the pillar
 of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous
 column that guided the Israelites in
 the desert. Their first historical ap-
 pearance in the year eleven hundred
 and four attests the power and an-
 tiquity, while it explains the simple
 meaning, of the name. By the usur-
 pation of Cava, the Colonna provoked
 the arms of Paschal the Second but
 they lawfully held in the Campaign of
 Rome the hereditary fiefs of Zagnola
 and Colonna, and the latter of these
 towns was probably adorned with some
 lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or
 temple. They likewise possessed one
 moiety of the neighbouring city of
 Tusculum, a strong presumption of
 their descent from the counts of Tus-
 culum who in the tenth century were
 the tyrants of the apostolic see. Ac-
 cording to their own and the public
 opinion, the primitive and remote
 source was derived from the banks of

*Intulerant esse medios festumque colebant
 Aurata fabre tota sociante caterva
 Exposita locis praeclaris oblecta
 Per amplexus et oscula cunctis
 Nec aliter se totum saeculum habuit
 Spectabilem senem, comites, ambacti pueri,
 Infelixque uxor, in agnatum sine viribus
 Cognatum*

(*Id. l. c.* 100, p. 647, 648)

The ancient statutes of Rome (*l. l. c.* 9, p. 17, 17^a) distinguish eleven families of Rome, who are obliged to swear in consilio communi, before the curia or that they would not harbour or protect any murderers, outlaws, &c. as a feeble security.

It is a pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I refer to Muratori (*Disser. xlii. tom. iii. p. 647*).

Ferdolph Pisan in Vit. Paschal II. Muratori, script. Ital. tom. iii. p. 32. The family has still great possessions in the Campaign of Rome, but they have alienated the I. o. p. g. h. d. this original fief of Colonna (Eschlinard p. 25, 59).

the Rhine,¹ and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit and always by fortune. About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Caesar, while John and Stephen were declared marquises of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the Fourth, a patron so partial to their family, that he has been delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar.² After his decease, this haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, deposed the election of Boniface the Eighth, and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms.³ He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies,

¹ *Te longinquus dedit tellus et pascua Rheno, says L. O. in 1117, a duke of Carinthia and Julius acknowledges (Confut. Hist. du Concile de Constance tom. ii. p. 63) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otto Colonna) but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the human origin of the column, it was maliciously supposed (Diaro di Moni deschi, in the Secret Hist. tom. xii. p. 55) that a cousin of the Emperor Nero, escaped from the city, and founded Mentz in Germany.*

² I cannot overlook the hom in triumph, ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's allies at the naval victory of Lepanto (Diaro Hist. l. 7, tom. ii. p. 57, 60) Murat. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 181, 189.

³ Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216, 221.

⁴ Petrarca's attachment to the Colonna has authorised the Abbe de Sade to expatriate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the persecution of Boniface VIII, the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with the Ursini, &c. (Memoirs sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 291, 145, 174, 176, 222, 30, 276, 280). His criticism often rectifies the hearsay stories of Villani, and the errors of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

their estates were all on their
fortresses on either side of the Tiber
were besieged by the troops of St.
Peter and those of the rival nobles,
and after the ruin of Palestrina and
Piacenza, their principal seat, the
ground was marked with a plough-
share, the emblem of perpetual desolation.
Degraded, banished, proscribed,
the six brothers, in disguise and dan-
ger, wandered over Europe without
renouncing the hope of deliverance
and revenge. In this double hope, the
French court was their surest asylum,
they prompted and directed the enter-
prise of Philip, and I should prize
their magnanimity, had they repaired
the misfortune and courage of the op-
pressive tyrant. His civil acts were an-
nulled, by the Roman people, who re-
stored the honours and possessions of
the Colonna, and some estimate may
be formed of their wealth by their
losses, or then losses by the damages
of one hundred thousand gold florins
which were granted them against the
accomplices and heirs of the deceased
pope. All the spiritual censures and
disqualifications were abolished by his
prudent successors, and the fortune of
the house was more firmly established
by this transient misfortune. The bold-
ness of Sforza Colonna was signalled
in the captivity of Boniface, and long
afterwards in the coronation of Lewis
of Navarre, and by the gratitude of
the pope, in the pillage of their arms
was enriched with his sword and crown. But
the merit of the family in true and
merit was the elder Stephen, whom
Petrarch loved and esteemed
superior to his own times, and
not unworthy of ancient Rome. Per-
secution and exile displayed to the
nations his abilities in peace and war.
In his distress he was an object, not of
pity, but of reverence, the aspect of
danger provoked him to avow his name
and country, and when he was asked,

1 Alexander III had declared the Colonna
ad to the Emperor Frederic I in
capable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice
(Villani, l v c 1) and the last status of an
and excommunication were justified by Sixtus V
(Vitali-Sisto V tom II p 416). Treason,
murder, and proscription are often the best
titles of ancient nobility

"Where is now your fortress?" he
 laid his hand on his heart, and an-
 swered, "H— He supported with
 the same virtue the ruin of pros-
 perity, and, till the ruin of his de-
 clining age, the ancestors, the char-
 and the child of Stephen
 Colonna exalted his dignity in the
 Roman republic, and at the court of
 Avignon. If 'The Ursini migrated
 from Spoleto,' the sons of Ursus, as
 they are styled in the twelfth century, from
 The Ursini.

some eminent person, who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, the honours of the senate and sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celestine the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage.² Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celestine,³ and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to solicit the alliance of monarchs, to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuscany, and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna will likewise

1. — Vall's to proximalist
 Apparent, nequity proximately
 Spoken, Vincent armament a prologue protervi
 Monthlies, (to) xli right ital p 50) gives
 the name a French ripin which may be re
 mally true

In the rhetorical life (Celestino V., by the
 1 of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii p.
 1 p. 613, &c) we find a luminous, and not in-
 elegant, passage (l. i. c. o p. 203, &c.)

Progeni & homini domus veteris ique magni
Fascibus in choro, pompisque exposita senatus,
B. illorumque manu grandi stipata parentum
Cardines ipse necnon fastigia dudum
L'apatus thurata tenens

Muratori (Dissert. xlii tom iii) observes, that the first Latin pontificate of Constantine III was unknown he is inclined to read *Urs. pro. enies* *Ursini* *Ursini* *quodam* *colatini* *usque* *in* *potes*, *de* *bonis* *ecclesiae* *Romanae* *ditati* (N^o Innocent iii in Muratori, Script. tom iii P^o i) The partial prodigality of Nicholas III is more conspicuous in Villani and Muratori Yet the Latin would disdain the nephews of a modern pope

redound to the glory of the Ursini, then constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud, which distracted above two hundred and fifty

Their hereditary feud the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel, but as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibellines and the party of the empire; the Ursini, espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners, and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon they disputed in arms the vacant papacy, and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities the city

and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate success. But none of either family had fallen by the sword, till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna. His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was wisely avenged by the assassination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory, that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and *beasts*, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble columns.*

CHAPTER LXX.

CHARACTER AND CORONATION OF PETRARCH - RESTORATION OF THE LIBERTY AND GOVERNMENT OF FLORENCE BY THE TRIFUNE PRINCE HIS VIRTUES AND VICES - HIS EXILE AND DEATH - RETURN OF THE POPES FROM AVIGNON - GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST - REUNION OF THE LATIN CHURCH - LAST STRUGGLES OF ROMAN LIBERTY - FALL OF FLORENCE - FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE ITALIAN ASIANAT STATE

IN the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch is the Italian son of Love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather

admires, the father of her lyric poetry, and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or adulation, of amorous sensibility. What ever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial

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*Ordi, lupi, leoni, aquile e serpi
Ad una gran marmorea colonna
Fanno noja sovente e a st danno.*

general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhone and the Danube, but if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence, Petrarch, Italy, and Europe were astonished by a revolution which realised for a moment his most splendid visions. The rise and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages,¹ the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot heart will sometimes vivify the copious, but simple, narrative of the Florentine² and more especially of the Roman,³ historian.

In a quarter of the city which was

¹ To find the proofs of his enthusiasm for Rome I need only request that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first visit to Rome (tom. i. p. 32-33). But in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have unused the present and future use with an original account of the city and his coronation.

² It has been translated by the pen of a Jesuit, the P. de Cerceau, whose posthumous work (*Œuvres de Nicolas de Cerceau de la Renaissance*, tom. i. p. 17) was published at Paris, 1718, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hoesmer's edition of Petrarch's letters, in the *Œuvres de Pierre de la Fontaine*, tom. i. p. 273 tom. iv. p. 381.

³ The Abbé de Sade, who offers a copious and a history of the forty-three years which the life of Petrarch was so deeply engaged (*Œuvres de Pierre de la Fontaine*, tom. i. p. 201-202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁴ *Œuvres de Pierre de la Fontaine*, tom. i. p. 273 tom. iv. p. 381.

⁵ In his third volume of *Œuvres de Pierre de la Fontaine*, Muratori has inserted the fragments of Annali di Roma, in the text of the original Latin, in the fourteenth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic history of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi, which had been printed at Brescia, in 1710, under the name of Tomaso Fortibucco, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery. Human nature is scarcely capable of such sublime or stupid impartiality, but whoever is the author of these fragments, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without design or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washer-woman produced the future deliverer of Rome.⁶ From such parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune, and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Caesar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian, he perused with insatiable diligence the manuscript, and monks of antiquity, loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language, and was often provoked to exclaim, 'Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?'⁷ When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the distinguished persons of the commons. The oratorical talent of his young Poet (comment to p. 281), and the attraction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind, but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty, and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the male of favour and the

⁶ The first and splendid period of Peter's life, the tribune's government, is contained in the sixth and seventh chapters of the fragments, 40 which I have divided into thirteen smaller books or sections.

⁷ The reader may be pleased with a specimen of the original Latin. 'Eo da se juvenutine nutrito di lute de eloquentia, bene grammati-

ca, quanto era veloce lettore: molto uava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Valerio Massimo in dicitava le memorie di Giulio Cesare raccontare. Tutta la die sprecava i negli intagli di marmo liqua i sacro intorno Poma. Non era altri che esso che sapeva leggere l'antichi patavini. Tutte scritture antiche vulgarizzava: quesso fiore di marmo giustamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, "Dove sono quelli buoni Romani? dove ene loro somma justitia? poteranno trovare in tempo che questi furiano!"

employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins, nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters: they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates, and the abuse of arms of law was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions from the dogs and serpents of the Capitol. The ideological emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets: in churches, and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the truth, rebuked their passions, and animated a despairing hope of reform and deliverance. The privileges of the emperor, his sovereignty over his provinces, and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse, and a more noble servitude became in his hands a claim and incentive of liberty. He evoked the senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the *Imperator Vespasianus*, had been inscribed on a copper plate still extant in the choir of the church of St John Lateran.¹ A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture: and a covenant that it was created for their reception. The notary

It is worth comparing the jealousy of the Germans with the envy of the husband of Avron (*Venezia* tom i p. 20).

The fragments of the *Lex Regia* may be found in the *Inscriptiones* of Gruter, tom i p. 24, and at the end of the *Tacitus* of Ernesti, with some learned notes of the editor, tom ii.

appeared in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary,² and decanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer, but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions, and the modern Brutus was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching event, and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, then promised deliverance.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St George was the first public evidence of his designs: a nocturnal assembly of a hundred citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise: that the nobles without numerous resources, were strong only in the fear of their magnanimity; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distresses, and that the people himself would

¹ I cannot overlook a stuporous and laughable blunder of Huzar. The *Lex Regia* commands Vespasian to enlarge the *Pontifical*, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune: he confounds it with *pontifex*, an old word, and dates his law by the *Lex aeterna*, and is obliged by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 400), and the French historian (p. 400). Even the learning of Muratori has been misled over the passage.

² *Priori (Provo) tamen simul, juvenis uterque, longo ingenio quam cuius simulationem induerat, ut sub hoc obtentu liberator ille P. J. aperiretur temporibus. Ille rigibus, hic tyrannis contemptus* (Opp. p. 636).

He assumes the government of Rome A.D. 1347

approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost, and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Ostia, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand, and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other. St Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of *justice*, and in the third, St Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an immense crowd, who understood little and hoped much, and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some secret emotions which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic, harangued the people from the balcony, and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution, and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna was absent from the city. On the first rumour, he returned to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messenger of Rienzi, that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent

was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Laurence from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career till he reached in safety his castle of Palestrina, lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed, and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal, and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by laying on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune, the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office, and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, he gave laws, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. By the same he nullified the wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil suit should be prosecuted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false witness the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the orders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the state: that no private

garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms, or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways, and the free passage of provisions, and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce, a standing militia of three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, clothed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convicts Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of land money, the salt duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins,¹ and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt duty could be tribled by his judicious economy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence, required their personal appearance in the Capitol,

¹ In one MS. I read (l. c. 4, p. 409) *per fumante quattro soliti*, in another, *quattro fiorini* an important variety, since the florin was worth ten Roman *solidi* (Muratori, dissert. xxviii). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000, families: and I much fear, that the former is more consistent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

and imposed an oath of allegiance to the new government, and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had so often derided, and their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked by the measure of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was actually united by the nominal association of the bishop of Ostia, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy, and Clement the Sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his trusty servant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith: he insinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost, enforced by a heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people.

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind ^{Freedom and been more remarkably prosperity of the Roman republic} felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish,

² Hocsemius, p. 498, apud du Cerceau, Hist. de Rienzi, p. 191. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman Institution (whom for brevity I shall name (l. orthocia l. c. 4).

his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger, nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished, and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica, and the lord of the Ursini family was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highway. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses, and, either from accident or design, the same impartial rigor was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter August Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt, and justice was appealed by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber. His name, the purple of two cardinals, his uncles, recent marriage, and a mortal disease were disregarded by the unobscured tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed; his trial was short and satisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened

the people: stripped of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death, and after a brief confession, Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers, the oxen began to plough, the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries, the roads and inns were replenished with travellers, trade, plenty, and good faith, were restored in the markets, and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive. Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world, and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The deliverance of his country inspired Lorenzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic of which Rome should be the incant and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue, and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains, enjoyed, in the most hospitable states, the sacred security of ambassadors, and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the success of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason, could private interest have yielded to the public welfare, the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine discord, and closed the Alps against the barbarians.

1 Fortifications. 2 In 11. From the account of the shipwreck, we learn that a rich instance of the trade and navigation of the sea. 3 The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marseilles and Alicant. The sailors were of Naples and the island of Sicily, a skillful than those of Sicily and Alicant. 4 The navigation from Marseilles was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tiber where they took shelter in a storm but, instead of finding the current, as fortunately ran on a shoal, the vessel was stranded the mariners escaped. 5 The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins a rich prize.

The tribune is respected Italy, &c.

visited the city on foot, a king's tutor, or herald, attended the exercise of their office. The Græchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the honourable titles and epithets of their successor, "NICHOLAS, SEVERE AND MERCIFUL, DELIVERER OF ROME, DEFENDER OF ITALY, FRIEND OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE." THIBAUD AUGUST¹ his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution, but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of a handsome person,² till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance, and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistracy by the affection of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and enclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace, fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person, a troop of horse preceded his march, and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

His ambition of the honours of

reading a Greek philosopher, but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

¹ I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous title of *Paterfamilias*, which Rienzi assumed.

² *Præbelli homo* (l. ii. c. 1, p. 399). It is remarkable, that the rich sarcastic of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his second reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi *travex una ventresca tonna trionfale, a mælo de uno Abbate Anano, or Asulino* (l. iii. c. 18, p. 523).

chivalry¹ betrayed the maturity of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office, and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he dejected, than to the plebeians, whom he exalted.

All that yet remained of frugality, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on this solemn day: he led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran, the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games, the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders, and their various banners, the Roman ladies attended his wife, and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or secretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost, the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony, but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and censure as by the profane use of the porphyry vase, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester.² With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the fulure his state bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship, he showed himself to the returning

¹ Strange as it may seem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna and an Orsini, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of rose water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were served at St. Maria of Anagni in the Capitol by the twenty-eight *boni homines*. Thence it was received from Robert, king of Naples, the sword of Chivalry (Hist. Rom. l. c. 2, p. 250).

² All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, Epist. fam. 2), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that vase which had been used by a Pagan could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 189, 190).

June 24 of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office, and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he dejected, than to the plebeians, whom he exalted.

crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs, but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice "We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement, and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome we also summon the sacred college of cardinals." We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire." Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly, but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music, and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Caesars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts of the Lateran were spiced with innumerable tables for citizen sex, and every condition, a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Concanth's brazen horse, no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard, and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed

for the coronation. Rienzi, seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people, and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence, and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar mirths and princely expense, and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices of a king.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "But headed, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast looks in the presence of the tribune, and they trembled, good God, how they trembled!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man whom pride and interest provoked them to hate. His extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt, and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs, an assassin was seized and tortured, he accused the nobles, and as soon as Rienzi deserved the title, he adopted the suspicious and maxims of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal

tribune, and they trembled, good God, how they trembled!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man whom pride and interest provoked them to hate. His extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt, and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs, an assassin was seized and tortured, he accused the nobles, and as soon as Rienzi deserved the title, he adopted the suspicious and maxims of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal

tribune, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Huicanius, and even of Rienzi (Cicero, p. 167 170, 2^o).

¹ *Può se far va stare denante a se, mentre sedeva il baron tutti in piedi ritto col braccio piegate, e co il capucci tratti. Ugh come stavano paura!* (Hist. Rom. l. ii c. 20 p. 44.) He saw them, and we see them

¹ This verbal summons of Pope Clement VI which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii not p. 797), with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not choose to agitate this delicate question.

² The summons of the two rival emperors a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Huicanius (Cicero, p. 166 167).

³ It is singular that the Roman historian should have overlooked this sevenfold corona-

enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice, and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled, they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life, and though some might sympathize in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair, they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night, and the venerable hero, Stefano Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a speedy death from such inhuman servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bells. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings: the countenance of the tribune was dark and severe, the swords of the executioners were in sheath, and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the sound of trumpets. But in this decisive moment Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he divided the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world, and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant, and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his future authority. "If you are spared," said the tribune, "by the mercy of the Romans, will you not promise to support the good estate with your lives and fortunes?" Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed

their heads, and while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution: they received the communion with the tribune, assisted at the banquet, followed the procession, and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.

During some weeks they were checked by the memory of ^{Tuo oppro} their danger, rather than ^{Rienzi in acia} of their deliverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were instantly restored, the vessels attracted them to the outlets, a malignant the magistrate, the ill-kept roads, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed, and the people encouraged Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to less advantage than in the rostrum, and he neglected the progress of the rebellions till their numbers were swelling, and their enterprises unimpeded. From the prison of Fivis he had not emboldened the city, or even the country, a general army of executioners and Romans remained without honour or effect from the attack on Marino, and his vengeance was amused by punting his enemies, then heads downwards, and drowning two dogs at least they should have been beasts as the representatives of Ursini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents, and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city

¹ The original letter, in which Rienzi describes his treatment of the Colonna (Hocsemus apud du Cerceau, p. 222^{mo}), displays in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

was prepared for their reception the alarm bell rung all night, the gates were strictly guarded, or insolently open, and after some hesitation they sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a fierce encounter tempted the headstrong valor of the nobles in the rear, and after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen

Defeat and
death of the
Colonna

Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the restoration of Italy was preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the ease and honors of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race, and the number of seven, the seven crowns, as Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was completed by the agent of the deplorable event, and the veteran chief, who had survived the high and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and Pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops; he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of a hero, but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol, deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar, and boasted with some truth, that he had cut off in ear, which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate. His base and

¹ Rienzi, in the above mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune, Pontifex VIII the crown of Colonna himself, and the Roman people the glory of the day, which Villani (lib. vi. c. 109) describes as a regular battle, and in which the defeat of the Pontifex, and the cowardice of P. Colonna, are related in the simple and unimpeachable narrative of Fortificati, or the anonymous citizen (lib. ii. c. 31).

² In describing the fall of the Colonna I speak only of the family of Stephen, the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. *Cum uniusque (says Petrarch) familiae tuæ statum, Columnicinium domus. solito pauciores habet columnas.*

implacable revenge denied the honors of burial, and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family. The people sympathized in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where the illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot, that he conferred on his son the honour of knighthood, and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood.

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forgot what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city, and when the tribune proposed in the public council³ to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty nine members voted against his measures,

Fall and flight
of the tribune
Rienzi
A.D. 1347

*Quid ad rem? mole fundamentum stabile
solidumque permittit.*

¹ The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals for the daughters of the family who entered a monastic life, and who, in the year 1345 were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinsmen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the noble families of Rome. (*Mem. dres sur l'Etat de Rome* tom. i. p. 110 tom. ii. p. 401).

² Petrarch wrote a stiff and pedantic letter of consolation (Jam I. vii. epist. 1, p. 184). The friend was lost to the party. *Nulla toto orbe principum familia (says Petrarch) tamem respublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.*

*Je rends grâces aux Dieux de notre pays
Romain.*

³ This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Polistora, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some curious and original facts (*Rer. Italicarum*, tom. xiv. c. 31, p. 798 804).

repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption, and urged him to prove, by their forcible exclusion, that, if the populace adhered to his cause, it was already disclaimed by the most respectable citizens. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions, they were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct, a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, and after some fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy. The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church, but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution, the

Pejorant of Minorbino the wisdom of Naples had been ordered for his crimes, or his crimes, to perpetual imprisonment, and Petrarch by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty soldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome, harried the quarters of the Colonna, and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled, but, instead of repairing to the well known sound, the people were silent and inactive, and the pusillanimous Richini, deploring their ingatitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

The last bulls of Clement VI against Pienia, brother of the Duke of Cerignone, 1323, from the *Recherches* *Annals of Florence* 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 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a patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants, his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten, and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate.¹

After an exile of seven years, the
Adventures of
Rienzi first deliverer was again
restored to his country.

In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the castle of St Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible; his name was yet formidable, and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposed, and even magnified, his personal merit. The Emperor Charles the Fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic, and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost.² Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive, but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence of his friend, and he boldly complains of the times in which the saviour of Rome was de-

livered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi was transported slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to Avignon. His entrance

A prisoner at
Avignon
A.D. 1361.

into the city was that of a malefactor. In his prison he was chained by the leg, and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes, the duty of residence, the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement*: the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name of a sacred character of a poet.³ Rienzi was indulged with easy confinement and the use of books, and in the assiduous study of *Livy* and the Bible, he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the Sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration, as in the court of Avignon was persuaded

Rienzi senator
of Rome
A.D. 1364.

that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy with the title of senator, but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission, and the legate, Cardinal Albornoz,⁴ a consummate statesman, al-

¹ The astonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The Abbé de Vauz (Mémoires, tom. III. p. 212) quotes the sixth epistle of the thirteenth book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he consulted, and not of the ordinary Basil edition (p. 930).

² Egidius or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A.D. 1363-1368), restored by his arms and counsels the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Scipione, but Dryden could not reasonably suppose that his name or that of Wolsey, had reached the ears of the Mussi in Don Sebastian.

³ The traits of Clement, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (lib. c. 47, lib. c. 48, 57, 75), and Thomas Lortzsch (lib. III. c. 14). I have slightly passed over these secondary characters, who misnamed the original tribune.

⁴ These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are nicely magnified by the zeal of Pollutoni, a Dominican inquisitor (Iter Ital. tom. xxv. c. 9, p. 119). Had the tribune taught, that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of heresy and treason, without offending the Roman people.

lowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wishes—the day of his entrance was a public festival, and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good state. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people. In the Capitol he might often meet the person of Anagnin, and for a second administration of four months, Rector Anagnin seemed in fact a tyrant. Had he been called to a more salutary influence in the society of the Germans and Italians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and crime; and adversity had clouded his intellects, without destroying his reason or virtue, and that youthful hope, so lively as a lance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. He had been married with a noble daughter by the choice, and in the heart of the Romans the severity of the severe minister of a foreign court and the law was suspected by the people. He was attacked by the prince, and he, too, Anagnin, who had shed the blood of his own subjects, was called upon to suffer. Anagnin was called upon to choose between the same or to leave the Kingdom of Naples. He chose the latter, and the ruler of that new government, a man and soldier, even his justice was loaded with the guilt of a private such cruelty to his own subjects. Anagnin was admitted to his nobility, and in the execution of a public order, from which he had been excluded, the man is a too much forgetful or too much remembered the obligations of the debt. Anagnin's soldiers to kill a man who had been a citizen of the Corona mounted the hostile station. Anagnin's soldiers

[illegible][illegible]

I have been very much interested by the many
movements which are now being made in the
North American continent, and I am glad to hear
that the movement was in fact a success.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic, but after the exile and death of his pickering hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, or the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the Fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repudiated the flattery, of the poet laureate, accepted a medal of Augustus and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch, yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters: the immensurable distance between the first Cæsar and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he was bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot hard.

After the loss of liberty and empire, his husband and more humble shepherd with his flock, to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the favour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch did not hesitate to exhort the pope to his duty, and his eloquence was always rewarded by the enthusiasm of his hearers and the freedom of language. The son of a

citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education, and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness, but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt, but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church, yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne. And while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay, and Rome was often painted under the guise of a desolate nation, as if the wandering husband could be recovered by the homely portrait of the wife and intimacies of his weeping spouse. But the cloud which hung over the seven hills would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: when the prosperity of Rome, and the glory of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope, who should dare to embrace this grand resolution. Of the exhortation Petrarch exhorted, the thirteenth, John the Twenty-second, Boniface the Twelfth,

Petrarch's the
youthful prince
to the recovery
of Rome

¹ The hopes and the disappointments of Petrarch are agreeably described in his own words in the French biography of Charles IV. p. 113, but the description is not so full as the French original. The poet laureate, in his letter to the pope, after the application of Petrarch to the pope, in the year 1361, compares him to a p. 212, and to the pope at 11. 194. In the year 1367, and to Urban V. in 1368, in the year 1371, and to the pope in 1372 of the 14th of these poems.

controversy on the recovery of France and Italy may be found in p. 101, 102.

² Squallida et quædam fœta, neglectaque curia
Cæsaris, multaque mœta. Cæsaribus
crispatis solam affluam vestibus opulentiam,
Lana vocor. (Carm. l. 2, p. 17.)

In the most allusive beyond all measure of eloquence the 14th of Urban V. in prose is a most ample and persuasive (Sententia, l. vii. p. 211. 7. l. ix. epist. l. p. 244. 354.)

and Clement the Sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator, but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the Fifth was finally accomplished by Gregory the Eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France, who has destroyed a part of ours, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate of Avignon, to themselves by their ties, above all, to the wine of Languedoc. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile, and they

Return of Urban V. AD 1370. reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or bidden into the land of the Saracens. Urban's health declined three years in the Vatican with safety and honour. His security was protected by a guard of two thousand horse, and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperor of the East, devoutly devoted to a common father in the chair of St. Peter, but the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private nomina, his own impediment, the prayers of the cardinals, seemed known to Francis, and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans.

The words of his men were interested
 in the cause. Bridget of Sweden, a
 saint and pilgrim, disapproved their
 union, and foretold the death of
 both the Luthi. The migration of
 the people of Gregory the Eleventh
 was then ordered by St.
 Calixtus of Senna, the
 Pope of Christ and an assiduous of
 the times, and the pope them-
 selves, the great masters of human
 society, appear to have listened to
 these visionary females. Yet these

I have not leisure to expatiate on the
beauty of this letter, but I am, the last
of which I feel full of the same strong
affection for the land of the free. It is
written by the first go forward of a brave
man, who admits in his assistants the
present and coming of every free man
the subject of his heart. 1890

celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The reluctance of Aignon had been ir-
raved by hostile violence, at the head
of thirty thousand robbers, a hero
had extorted ransom and absolution
from the vicar of Christ and the sacred
college, and the maxim of the French
monarch, to spare the people and
plunder the church, was a new heresy
of the moderns, of no import. While
the pope was driven from Aignon, he
was strenuously invited to leave the
senate and people acknowledged him
as their law, sovereign, and laid at
his feet the keys of the gates, the
bridge, and the roads, or the
quarter at last he left the Tib-
But this loyalty was accompanied
by a declaration, that they could no
longer submit to his law and authority
or his absence, and that his obstinacy
would finally give them to retire
and assert their primitive right of elec-
tion. The abbot of Mont-Cassien had
been consulted, whether he would
accept the triple crown on the clergy
and people. "I am certainly not home,"
replied that venerable ecclesiastic.

sui capiti, qui per tales nase scilicet us, &c
 (Hoc est N. d. v. Pip Avellane - u. l. u.
 l. p. l. 34)

This laboratory expedition is related by
Trossard (Chronique tome I, p. 250) and in
the life of Du Roi the description in the
des Memoires Historiques is a p. p.
107-113. As early as the year 1311 the
of Asti had been the only military
troops, who afterwards the Alps
(Montagne de la Roche, p. 113).

- He try me e frontl de of oder a
n would I com make e s e ned
- e ste p e bar t e c e e
X am't'he lo neg' l e on x j

[illegible]

4. The defendant's failure to provide a copy of the report to the plaintiff's attorney is a breach of the contract. The defendant's failure to provide a copy of the report to the plaintiff's attorney is a breach of the contract. The defendant's failure to provide a copy of the report to the plaintiff's attorney is a breach of the contract.

"and my first law is the voice of my country."¹

If superstition will interpret an untimely death,² if the merit of counsels be judged from the event, the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the Eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican, and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon, eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italian, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet

limited to the purple, and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the Sixth. The epistle of the sacred college informs his grace, and regular election, which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost, he was adorned with investiture, and crowned, with the customary rites, his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attach-

ment and loyalty; till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fondi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election.

^{Election of Clement VII.} Robert of Geneva, Clement VII. Clement the Seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans, and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two thirds of the votes, were members of the election, and whatever might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconsistent, narrative the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured, but the licentiousness of the seditions Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels, the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rung in alarm. "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry, the same threat was repeated by the twelve hummers or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice, some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals, and when they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity

¹ The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (*Vit. Paparum Avenionensium*, tom. i. p. 303-350) and Muratori (*Script. Hist. Italicarum*, tom. III. p. 610-712). In the disputes of the schism, every circumstance was severely, though partially, scrutinized, more especially in the great

² It is which decided the obduracy of Castiglione, to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so judiciously appeals from a MS. volume in the Harv. library (p. 1291, &c.)

³ Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They let by the instability of our faith. Yet, as a moral philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, *ὅτι οὐδὲν ὁλοφύρον ἐστὶν τὸ θάνατον* (Bentley, *Philos. Graecae*, p. 251). See in Herodotus (II. 117) the moral and pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

⁴ In the first book of the *Histoire du Concile de Pie II. L'abbé L'abbé L'abbé* (L'abbé L'abbé) compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and vigorous, and every fact and word in the original lives of Urban XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world, the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger, and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly censured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome, and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to a helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church, and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools.¹ The vanity, rather than the interest, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France. The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the Seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the Thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England,² the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the Sixth, who was succeeded by Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Gregory the Twelfth.

¹ The ordinal numbers of the popes seem to decide the question against Clement VII and Benedict XIII, who are boldly stigmatised as Antipopes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Hales in Prefat). It is singular, or rather it is not singular, that saints, visions, and miracles, should be common to both parties.

² Malin's statement by Labours (Not p. 1271) is used to justify the pious and pious motives of Charles V. king of France. He refused to hear the argument of Urban, but were not the Frenchists equally deaf to the reasons of Clement X.

³ An epistle, or declaration, in the name of Edward III. (1327) At Pip. Avignon torn. i. p. 56) displays the zeal of the English nation against the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the bishop of Norwich led a crusade of 60,000 monks beyond sea (Hume's History, vol. iii. p. 57, 60).

From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhone, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed, and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors.⁴ They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations, but the separation of France and Spain calamities of Rome diverted the stream of lucrative devotion, nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the accusations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the Sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But in the disorders of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people by the former he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thence entered the gates as a barbarian conqueror: profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a

⁴ For the general historians, the Discors of Fulvius Gentilis Liber Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, is the great collection of Muratori, *Recessus*, &c. see state and misfortunes of Rome.

garrison in the castle of St Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a day of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome.¹

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism, but I must, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested

in the disputed succession of his reigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate masters of theological science.² Prudently waving all invidious inquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as a healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after consulting the cardinals or two adverse factions to join in a legitimate election, and that the nations should "leave" their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At such vacancies, the physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of a hasty choice, but

the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties, and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival parties, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions, that ruled the insanity of Charles the Sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the Thirteenth, and of Angelo Corraro, who assumed the name of Gregory the Twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the success of their commission, the ambassadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St Peter. In the name of the Senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike evasive, and alike deceitful, and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could only be determined by mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a historian of Gregory, "the other retreats," the appearance an annual festival of the land, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus, for a short remnant of life and power, will these aged

¹ It is supposed by Giesbrecht (tom. iii. p. 292) that he styled himself Rex Romæ, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of Tarquin. But a more inspection has justified the reading of Rex Pannæ, of Rama, an obscure king, the most distant crown of Hungary.

² The original of this report which France has in the secret is a letter by Peter du Puy in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the seventh volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (l. vi. p. 150, 151).

³ Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author as the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were chiefly prompted by his advice and the cooperation of his physicians his theological writings, of which he has a valuable collection. He is also an author of an important part in the ecclesiastical history of France.

priests, endanger the peace and salvation of the Christian world."

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues, and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon, the concave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the Fifth, and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the Twenty third, the most prodigal of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the richness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St Peter. Such new claims of the synod and concave were disputed, three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the Twelfth, and Benedict the Thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation.

The rash proceedings of the council of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance, the Emperor Sigismund acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church, and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the Twenty third was the first victim he fled, and was brought back a prisoner the most scandalous charges were suppressed, the vicar of Christ was openly accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest, and after suborning his own condemnation, he expiated in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the Twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of

Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambassador convened the session, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the Thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Pagnan. The kings of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council, but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to communicate twice a day the royal kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After the eradication the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded with slow and cautious steps to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies, of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations or Christendom—the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and English—the emperor

I cannot overlook this great assembly, which was convened by the English ambassador against those of France. The latter contended, that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, and that the lesser kingdoms, such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c. were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted, that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and coordinate nation, with an equal vote and an argument of truth or false was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland and the Orkneys, the British islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island from north to south measures 500 miles or 40 days journey and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches (a bold account), besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legitimate powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholomew de Glanville (a. d. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms: 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their argu-

¹ Leonarius Brunus Arretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after serving many years as secretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. Biblioth. eccl. lib. tom. 1. p. 200). Lentant has given the version of this curious epistle (Gouille de Pise, tom. 1. p. 192 196).

one of Hungary was softened by the generous preference of an Italian and a Roman, and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otto Colonna recommenced him to the conclave. Rome accepted him with joy and obedience.

Election of Martin the noblest of her sons,
the ecclesiastical state
was derided by his powerful family,
and the elevation of Martin the Fifth
is the era of the restoration and estab-
lishment of the power in the Vatican.

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hun-

and by the senate was first re-
named by Martin the Fifth, and his
name and superscription introduce the
series of the papal bulls. Of his two

Eugenius IV immediate successor
A.D. 1431. Eugenius the fourth was
the last pope expelled by the tumults
of the Roman people, and Nicholas
Fifth, the last who was
Nikolaus V. Fifth, the last who was
A.D. 1447. important by the pres-
ence of a Roman emperor. I. The

ments. The adverse plants were found at
distance by Sir John W. Gold and his wor-
thiness Henry VIII to the Emperor Maximilian
and by him in 1517 at 1517 at 1517 at 1517
in a leafy M. they are more cor-
published in the collection of Von der Harst,
tom v., but I have not seen infant's ab-
sistent of these arcs (Compte des Constant, tou
u p. 417, 453, &c.)

The histories of the successive com-
munications, Constant, and I all have been
written with a tolerable degree of order in
dustry, and elegantly written, but I am
M. Lafont, with the difference of 100
They form six volumes, and are as follows
is the worst, so the best is the best, part of
the collection

Antiquities of Jurators, and the first instruction of the Science des Mœurs, of the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. The History of Morals in France, and the History of Morals in Italy, have been composed by two French, Moutin and Frenchman, and Giovanni in Italian, but I understand that the first part of the series is translated from the French.

³ Besides the lives of Innocentius IV (*Ram.* n. 18) and John XXII (*Ibid.* p. 2), the letters of Paul Petrus and Bepin Inferrari are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Languedocians against Innocentius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks of the nature of a crisis as equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

* The coronation of Frederic III is described by Lepoint (*Cronicle de Br'.*, t. II, p. 276).

conflict of Eugenius with the fathers of
Basil, and the weight of
apprehension of a new
excuse, emboldened and
Last revolt of
Rome
A.D. 1434.

provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a consistory of the Capitol, imprisoned the pope's nephew, besieged his person in the palace, and shot volleys of arrows into his bulwark as he escaped down the fiber in the habit of a monk. But he still persevered in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery then batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dexterously pointed broke down the barrier of the bridge, and sent

slain with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their consistency was exhibited by a rebellion of five months under the tyranny of the Ghibelline nobles, the wise & patriots regretted the dominion of the church, and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol, the magistrates departed to their homes, the most guilty were executed or exiled, and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the saviour of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the

of grief and resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence. He was received by a Roman people, but the pontifical veto stood firm to the exclamations of his triumphal entry, that to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abbatism of the odious exile. If Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the Fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederick the Third of Austria: though his fears could not be

justified by the character
or the power of the im-
perial candidate. After
drawn in this military force

Last coronation
of a German
Emperor
Frederick III
A D 1492

to the metropolises, and imposing the

from *Artemis Sylvanus*, a spruce and lush
in that wild and scene

best security of oaths and treaties, Nicholas received with a smiling countenance the faithful advocates and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony: but the superfluous honour was so disagreeable to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, and lost their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome, and in this last farewell, the pigmies of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace. According to the laws of Rome, the first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city, with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the departing senator, nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his

expense and reward, and his public appearance represented the piety of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimson velvet, or in the summer season of a lighter silk: he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre, the sound of trumpets announced his approach, and his solemn steps were preceded at last by four lectors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaimed his right and duty, to observe and assert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers: the two *advocatus*, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are attested by the laws, and the weakness of these laws confirms at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed associations for mutual defence. But the senator was confined to the administration of justice: the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrusted to the three *conservatores*, who were changed four times in each year: the militia of the thirteen regions assembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or *capitani*: and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legislature consisted of the

senate and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of fourteen, twenty-six, and forty counsellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote: and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from assuming the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question;

¹ The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope is recorded and sanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.), and Papias Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not forget, that in a few years he should ascend the throne, and imbibe the maxims of Boniface VIII.

² I senatori di Roma, vestito di broccato con quella berretta, e con quella maniche, et ornato di quella colla, e con quella fascia di Petrus e Sagoni, might see the eye of Papias Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Muratori di Stefano Historicus, p. 115).

³ See in the statutes of Rome, the *lector* or *three judges* (l. i. c. 314), the *conservatores* (l. i. c. 10, 16, 17, l. ii. c. 4), the *capitani* (l. i. c. 18, l. ii. c. 85), the *senatus* (l. i. c. 2), the *common council* (l. ii. c. 3). The title of *judex*, *defensor*, *act*, of *violence*, &c., is spread through many a chapter (e.g. 14. 40) of the second book.

none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal, all disorderly acclamations were suppressed; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot, and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodised in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation of Gregory the Thirteenth; this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city, and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol.² The policy of the Church has been repeated by the pope, and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal as well as a spiritual monarch.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Rome, well or retro, might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Cicero had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his successor to the gallows. The birth of Staphan Porcero was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was

¹ Statuta aliorum Urbis Romae auctoritate Sixti Pape Gregorij XIII Pontificis Max a Senatu Populo Romano reformata. Romæ 1584 in folio. The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity were confounded in five books, and Lucas Wetus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribune. Yet I regret the old constitution, with the rugged crust of freedom and arbitrariness.

² In my time (1774) and in M. Gressley's (*Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. ii. p. 361), the senator of Rome was M. Piccini, a noble Swede, and a convert to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the senator and the conservator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the statutes.

enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalise his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit; every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcero revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the Fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms, and they listened with apparent pleasure till Porcero was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, at tempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the people of the place Savona, tried to imitate the casual disputes of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life, and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcero had been freed from the younger Brutus; that tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed; the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a conspiracy were gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers, and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold; his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his

life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise; the name and liberties of Rome, the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants, the active or passive consent of their fellow citizens, three hundred soldiers, and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs, the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of gladiators to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said) on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals, before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's, to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo, to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle, to ascend the vacant Capitol, to ring the alarm bell, and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The emperor, with a strong guard, invested the castle. The nephew of Pico della Mirandola, through the crowd, but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, and finding that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Pico and nine of his accomplices were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments, and, amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country. But their applause was mute, their pity inefficual, their liberty for ever extinct, and, as they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental troubles may be

1 Pichas the curious then, he comise, narra-
tive of Machiavel (Istoria Florentina lib. vi.
Opera tom. I. p. 210. 2d edit. Londra 1747, in
4to, the Princeps compitatus inculat in di-
tary of Stephen Infessura (Ist. Ital. tom. III.
lib. II. p. 114, 115) and in a separate tract by
Leo Baptista Alberti (Ist. Ital. tom. xxi. p.
600, 614). It is amusing to compare the style
and sentiments of the courtier and statesman
Ficino profecto qui more jureculo
fortissimus, et qui auctoritate talium, inque
crudelestis fittus a quoquam perditissimo
unquam excogitavit a. Per te tu viva
quod ille homo da bene, e amatore di illo bene e
lib. vi di Roma.

found in the bosom of the most abject
servitude.

But the independence of the nobles,
which was fountained by the disorders of
discord, survived the freedom of the commons,
which must be founded in union. A
privilege of rapine and oppression was
long maintained by the barons of
Rome, their houses were a fortress
and a sanctuary and the furious
train of banditti and criminals whom
they protected from the law, repaid
the hospitality with the service of their
swords and daggers. The private in-
terest of the pontiffs, or their nephews,
sometimes involved them in these
domestic feuds. Under the reign of
Sixtus the Fourth, Rome was dis-
tracted by the battles and sieges of the
rival houses after the configuration of
his palace, the protonotary Colonna
was tortured and benighted, and
finally, his captive friend, was im-
prisoned on the spot, for refusing to join
the acclamations of the victorious
Ursini. But the popes no longer
trembled in the Vatican, they had
strength to command, if they had re-
solution to claim, the obedience of their
subjects, and the states, who ob-
served these partial and admitted
the easy taxes and the stratagem
of the ecclesiastical state.

The spiritual dominions of the Vatican
depend on the voice of the pope
opinion and if that opinion be supplied by
reason or passion, the sound may idly waste itself in the air,
and the helpless priest is exposed to

The popes
acquire the
absolute domina-
tion at Rome
A.D. 1500 &c.

1 The disorders of Rome which were much
inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV.
are exposed in the Drama of two spectators,
Stephen Infessura, and an anonymous Italian
see the troubles of the year 1581 and the
death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. III.
lib. II. p. 114, 115.

1 Et tout le la terre de l'Eglise trouble pour
cette portance des colonnes et des lions
comme nous dirons l'eq. et l'armement ou en
Hollande Rome et Caballan, et quand ce re-
seroit ce differend la terre de l'Eglise seroit la
plus heureuse habitation pour les saints qui
dans toute le monde (car ils ne peuvent ni tailler
ni quercer autres choses), et seroient toujours bi-
conduits (car toujours les papes sont sages et
bien conseilles), mais tres souvent en advient
de grands et cruels meurtres et piller

the brutal violence of a nobil or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions; a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope; his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects. Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po, and as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and faithful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the Sixth, the martial operations of Julius the Second, and the liberal policy of Leo the Tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times. In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the Eighth, the popes might success-

fully wield with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength, and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views, and the immortal hope of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the Fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the Seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals. After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in a hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish Sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples. The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle; Milan, Naples, Sicily, Saragossa, and the sea coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards, and it became their interest to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious

¹ By the economy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the ecclesiastical state was raised to two millions and a-half of Roman crowns (Vol. II. tom. II. p. 291 *2^{na}*), and so regular was the military establishment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. III. p. 61). Since that time (A.D. 1597), the papal arms are happily silent, but the revenue must have gained some nominal increase.

² See especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel, in the general history, of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince; and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra Paolo and Livius, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose, to dispute the prize with Italy herself.

³ On the financial measures of Sixtus V. see Ranke, *Die Romischen Päpste*, t. p. 450—M.

⁴ In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (Vol. I.), an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

⁵ The ambitious and feeble hostilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV., may be seen in Thurinus (l. xvi. xvii.) and Clannone (tom. IV. p. 119 123). These Catholic bigots Philip II. and the duke of Alva, presumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ, yet the holy character, which would have sanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.

⁶ If it compare Ranke, *Die Domstiche Papste*, 18p. 250—M.

policy of the Catholic king his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people, and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum, which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the prodigal of their estates was consumed in the private expenses, which multiply the pleasures, and diminish the power, of the lord.¹ The Colonna and Orsini lived with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels, and their mutual splendour was rivaled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord died in the blood, and a torrent, like richlets the image of fulness and serenity.

A Christian, a philosopher, and a patriot, will be equally scandalised by the temporal kingdom of the clergy, and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, may seem to embitter the sense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery.² If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state, as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the allies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of

¹ This gradual change of manners and complexion is ably explained by Dr Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations* vol. i. p. 495-501) who proves by too many facts that the most salutary changes have flowed from the mixture and most selfish causes.

² Mr Hume (*Hist. of Engl.* vol. i. p. 699) too hastily concludes, that if the civil and ecclesiastical powers be united in the same person it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or priest, since the temporal character will always predominate.

war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country: the reign of a young statesman of three-score, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent: from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the tunnels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being, to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues, to place the events of the calendar above the heroes of Rome and the sages of Athens, and to consider the misal, the crucifix, as more useful instruments than the plough or the bar. In the tract of his life, or struck off criminal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his education: from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession, but the sacerdotal artist will imbrue some portion of the bigotry which he imbibes. The garments of Sixtus the Fifth burst from the gloom of a prison, and expired in chains. In a reign of AD 1585-1590 five years, he exterminated the outlaws

¹ A Protestant may perhaps show a worthy preference of St Francis or St Dominic; but he will not so far condemn the other judgment of Sixtus, who placed the statues of the apostles St Peter and St Paul on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

² A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, lived in the Villa di Sisto Quinto (Amstel. Travels in 1706) and was amusing with him, which did not concern our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man and the personal facts are supported by the notes of Sixtus and his biographers, who add that he was an enemy of the papal system.

³ The industry of Mr Haake has discovered the document of a kind of scan. It is a record of the time, in which Leti wrote his amusing romance. See also Mr Panko's observations on the life of Sixtus, by Tempesti, b. ii. p. 317, 324—M.

neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave, and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her ruine was

- [illegible]

state such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy,' has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Carpathian rock was then a sea age and solitary thicket in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple, the temple is overthrown, the gilt has been plucked, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and bumble. In hall of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the east, the terror of kings, illustrated by the footstool of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the pride of victory is obliterated by vices, and the benches of the senators are covered by a dally hill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the columns, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Neros palace—where the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by vine and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where the assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot herbs, or thrown open for the recreation of swine and children. The palace and private edifices, that were destined for society, the prostrate naked, and broken like the limbs of a man, lying on the rain is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune.

A F. & M. W. M. picture, so fully introduced, and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome and our early studies allow us to sympathize in the feelings of a man.

Cum enim sicut constat in
vitis in sanctorum subsellia ad essent,
et eorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum
fuit in "S. S. P.", namque
viti rudera etiam per se
mutata sunt etiam ex his, inter alia
species de sacris de vacat.

ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears; he could observe the visible remains; he could listen to the tradition of the people; and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many stately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period,¹ and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2 The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the Septizonium of Severus,² which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquaries of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts, but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

After a diligent inquiry, I can discern four principal causes of destruction, of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The art of man is able to construct
1. The injuries of monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence, yet these monuments, like himself, are perish-

ab illo evo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus seel, quia monumenta, quæ his temporibus Romæ supererant pro modulo recenset, non parum inde lucri mutabatur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navavit (p. 233).

¹ The Père Mabillon (Analecta, tom. iv. p. 502), has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ninth century, who, in his visit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on several buildings, especially porticoes, which had disappeared before the thirteenth century.

- On the Septizonium, see the Mémoires sur Pétrarque (tom. i. p. 323), Donatus (p. 336), and Narinini (p. 117 & 14).

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able and frail; and in the countless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice, it is not easy however to circumscribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids¹ attracted the curiosity of the ancients; a hundred generations, the leaves of autumn,² have dropped into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæsars and caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay, and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken, and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations, but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe, nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death, the rapid mis-

chief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind, and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either six or nine days.³ Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied

¹ The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. c. 44. p. 72), is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000, or 3400, years before the sixteenth Olympiad. Sir John Marsham's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (Canon. Chronicus, p. 47).

² See the speech of Cæcilius in the Illiad (Z. 146). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

³ The learning and criticism of M. des Vignes (Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres, tom. viii. p. 74 118, ix. p. 172-187) dates the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 18th, and the subsequent persecution of the Christians from November 15th of the same year.

3 T

perpetual fuel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire, three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices.¹ In the fall moridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government, or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city.² The most combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed, but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls, and many arches, that have been despoiled of their ornaments.³ It is among the common and plebeian habitations that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration, but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger

Inundations

Without excepting the Tiber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course; a shallow stream in the summer heats, an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled in the spring or winter, by the fall of rain

and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war the Tiber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation, surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situated below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance of the flood.⁴ Under the reign of Augustus, the same calamity was renewed; the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks,⁵ and, after the labours of the emperor in cleaning and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins,⁶ the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tiber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and

¹ A. U. C. 607, *repentina subverbo ipsius Romae precepit triumphum Romanorum diversae ignium aquarumque classes pene absumere urbem. Nam Tiberis insolitis autus imbribus et ultra opinione, vel diuturnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romae ad scia in plano posita deleuit. Diversas qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem quoniam et quae signior inundatio tenuit, madefacta dissolvit, et quae curius tormentis invenit impulsu deiecit* (Orosius, Hist. l. iv. c. 11 p. 244, edit. Havercampi). Yet we may observe, that it is the plan and study of the Christian apologist to magnify the calamities of the Pagan world.

² *Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis Littore strusco vel denter undis, Ire dejectum monumenta Regis Templaque Vestis*

(Horat. Carm. 1, 2)

If the palace of Numa, and temple of Vesta, were thrown down in Horace's time, what was consumed of those buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deserve the epithets of *vetustissima* or *incorrupta*.

³ *Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et edificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum* (Suetonius in Augusto, c. 30).

⁴ *Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur quarum quatuor integre manebant, tria solo tenuis dejecta septem reliquis sacra tectorum vestigia supererant lacera et semiusta. Among the old relics that were irreparably lost, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius, the fane and altar consecrated by Evander praesenti Herculi, the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus, the palace of Numa, the temple of Vesta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victorias quae sitis at Græcorum artium decora multa quae seniores meminerant, quae reparari nequibant* (Annal. xv. 40-41).

impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric, and that the momentary resentment of Totila was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses, of the demons, were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East affords to them an example of conduct, and to us an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.¹

¹ Eodem tempore petiit a Phœnice principe templum, quod appellatur Pantheon, in quo fuit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum, in qua ecclesiæ princeps multa bona obtulit (Aristarchus vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori Script. I. cum Italicum, tom. III. p. 135). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV., on the calends of November, to the Virgin, *quæ est mater omnium sanctorum* (p. 237, 238).

* The pope, under the dominion of the emperor and of the exarch, according to Fréa's just observation, did not possess the power of disposing of the buildings and monuments of the city according to their own will. *Burman and Pintor*, vol. I. p. 211. M.

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used, on the extent of the market; and consequently on the ease or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages, but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals. Gold and silver were the first objects of their avarice, as in every country, and in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some barbarian chief, but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted rigots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper, whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants, and the Emperor Constantine, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon.² The edifices of Rome

¹ Flaminio Viceri (apud Montfaucon, p. 135, 136). His Memoirs is likewise printed, p. 21, at the end of the *Roma Antica* of Nardini, and several Romans in trifling graves, were persuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the secret marks this in potibque. He relates some anecdotes to prove that, in his own time, these places were visited and rifled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

² Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis disposita, sed et ecclesiam S. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de templis suis cooperitis discooperuit (Arist. in V. Italicum p. 135). The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretences of plundering a heathen.

might be considered as a vast and various mine, the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast, the marbles were hewn and polished, and after foreign and domestic ripine had been satiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæsars, but policy directed the French monarch to the forests of Germany, his taste could be gratified only by destruction, and the new palace of Aix-la-Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna¹ and Rome. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the fiber and the sea, and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should return from her own bowels the sordid luxury of Naples².

temple the Pantheon was already a Catholic church

¹ For the spoils of Ravenna (musiva atque marmora) see the original grant of Pope Adrian I to Charlemagne (Index Carolini epist. lxxvi in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223).

² I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 857-899) de lebus gentis Caroli magni l. v. 437-441, in the Historians of France (tom. v. p. 10).

Ad quæ marmorea præstatat itoxa columnas,
Quæ ut in præcipuis pulchra Ravenna dedit
De ton longinquæ præterit regione vetustas
Illius ornatum, Francia, ferre tibi

And I shall add, from the Chronicle of Siebert (Historians of France tom. v. p. 478), extruxit etiam Aquilgrani basilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cuius structuram a longæ et Ravennæ columnas et marmora devoti fecit.

³ I cannot refuse to transcribe a long passage of Petrarch (Opp. p. 536, 537) in Epistola hortatoria ad Nicolaum Laurentium, it is so strong, and full to the point. *Ne pudor aut præcis continet quominus impit spoliate Dei*

But these examples of plunder or purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius, and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time, were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors: the use of bath and porticoes was forgotten, in the sixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatric, and circus, had been interrupted: some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship, but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross, and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloister. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied, and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and

templa, accuratas arces, opes publicas, regiones urbis, atque honores magistratuum inter se divisione (habent?) quam uni in re turbulenti ac seditionis homines et totius huius vices consilii et rationibus disordines inhumani federis stupendi societate conveniunt, in pontes et in cuncta atque innumeros lapides deriverunt. Denique post vi vel senio collapsas palatas, quæ quondam ingentes tenebantur viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forentia corruerunt), de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impletatis fragminibus viem questum turpi incrementis captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu scelus indignum! de vestris marmoratis columnis, de luminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concursus devotissimus flebit), de imaginibus sepulchrorum sub quibus patrum vestrorum venerabilis civis (civis?) erat, ut reliquæ alicam, desoliosa Neapolim adornatur. Sic paulatim ruina ipsa deficiunt. Yet king Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

⁴ Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix la Chapelle with a hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22, p. 108, 109), and Muratori describes, as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Muratori, tom. vi. p. 410).

sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests,¹ who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition, till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havoc which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia may afford a melancholy example, and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the Fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St Peter's.² A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mingled or promiscuous, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and promotion, it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement.³ Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord,⁴ and many capital structures, had vanished from his eyes, and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity.⁵

¹ See the Annals of Italy A.D. 984. For this and the preceding fact, Mr. Gualtieri has attributed to the Benedictine history of Piero Mabillon.

² Vita di Sisto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. III. p. 50.

³ Porticus ædis Concordiæ quæ nunc primam ad urbem accessi vidi fere integram operæ marmoreæ admodum speciosæ. Romani post modum ad calcem ædem totam et porticibus partem disiectis columnis sunt demoliti (p. 12). The temple of Concord was therefore not destroyed by a sedition in the thirteenth century, as I have read in a MS. treatise dell' governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and ascribed (I believe falsely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewise affirms, that the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella was burnt for lime (p. 19, 20).

⁴ Composed by Andreas Sylvius, afterwards

⁵ From the quotations in Bunsen's Dissertation, it may be supposed that this slow but continual process of destruction was the most fatal. Ancient Rome was considered a quarry from which the church, the castle of the baron, or the hut of the peasant, might be regarded.—M.

The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people,¹ and I hesitate to believe, that, even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible list of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the Tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty five thousand,² the increase of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV I have reserved for the last, the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the quarrels of the domestic hostility of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental, though frequent, seditions. It is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel, without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign, or the presence and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Gibellines, the Colonna and Ursini, and if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters the causes and effects of the public dissensions.

Pope Pius II, and published by Mabillon, from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (Museum Italicum, tom. I. p. 97).

Oblectat me, Roma, tuæ spectari ruinas
Ex cujus lapidum gloria præcipua patet
Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vi tustis
Calce in æsequium marmora dura coqui
Imple trecentum si de gens erit annis
Nullum hinc indicium novissimus erit

¹ Vagat uxor pariter in illa urbe tuam uagant;
quæ, cum propter spatium vicina videretur,
populum habet immensum (Opp. p. 605, I post Familiæres, li. 14).

² These statements of the population of Rome at different periods are derived from an ingenious treatise of the physician Landi & de Romani Cui Qualitatibus (p. 122).

orders. At such a time, when every quarrel was decided by the sword, and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law, the powerful citizens were armed for safety, or offence, against the domestic enemies whom they feared or hated. Except Venus alone, the same dangers and designs were common to all the free republics of Italy, and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers, that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices, and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers, her law, which confined their height to the measure of sixteen feet, may be extended with suitable latitude to the more opulent ¹ states. The first step of the senator Brancaceone in the establishment of peace and justice, was to demolish (as we have already seen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome, and, in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin the Fifth, forty four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose, the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern towers that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines.² With some slight alterations a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has assumed the title

and form of the castle of St Angelo;³ the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army;⁴ the sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks,⁵ the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Ursini families,⁶ and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked, and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St Angelo, they had resolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege, and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the Fourth, Rome, without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned six months to the fury of civil war. "The houses," says a cardinal and poet of the times,⁷ "were crushed by the

¹ Hadriani molera magna ex parte Romanorum. Inturia disturbavit, quod certe funditus eventissent, si eorum munita pervia, abruptis gradibus saxa, reliqua moles extitisset (Poggius de Varietate Fortium, p. 12).

² Against the Emperor Henry IV (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom ix p. 147).

³ I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon *Turris in rotunda Cæsaris Metellæ*. "Illum erat, cujus in iram solidi, ut spatium perquam minimum intus vacuum superaret, et turris diu dicitur a boum capitibus muro inscriptis. Hunc sequenti ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, cum urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum videntur, ita ut sepulchrum Metellæ quasi arx oppidum fuerit. Ferentibus, in urbe partibus, cum Ursini atque Columnenses mutus cladibus pernicitem inferrent civitati, in utriusque partis ditacionem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 14.)."

⁴ See the testimony of Doratus, Cardinal, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are still great and conspicuous.

⁵ James, cardinal of St George, ad velum aureum, in his maternal life of Pope Celestine

⁶ This is inaccurately expressed. The sepulchre is still standing. See Hobhouse, p. 206.

—M

¹ All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii ævi* dissertat. xvi (viii ff. 498-498, of the Latin tom i p. 444, of the Italian work).

As for instance, *Templum Jani nunc dicitur turris cæni frangenda, et sanc Jano impendit turris lateralis conspicua hodieque vestigia superant*. Montfaucon *Diarium Italicum*, p. 180. The anonymous writer (p. 255) enumerates, *arena Titii, turris cartularia, arcus Julii Cæsaris et de natorum, turres de Bradiis, arcus Antonini, turris de Cæcilia, &c.*

weight and velocity of enormous stones; the walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram; the towers were involved in fire and smoke; and the assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge." The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they razed to the ground.¹ In comparing the days of foreign, with the ages of domestic hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," says the Laureate, "the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! neither time nor the barbarian can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons, and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword."² The in-

fluence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity."

These general observations may be separately applied to the ^{The Coliseum or amphitheatre of Titus, amphitheatre of Titus.} which has obtained the

name of the *Coliseum*,³ either from its magnitude, or from Nero's colossal statue. An edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum, many holes are discerned, and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine

¹ Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. I. p. iii. p. 621, l. i. c. 1, v. r. 122, &c.

*Hoc dixisse aut est, Romam caruisse Senatū
Mensibus exactis heu sex, belloque vocatū
(v. cuto)*

*In scelus, in socios fraternaque vulnera patres,
Tormenta jecisse viros immanis saxa,
Perfodisse domus trabibus, fecisse ruinas
Incubus, incensas turres, obcuraque fumo
Lumina vicino, quo sit spoliata supplex*

² Muratori (*Dissertatione sopra le Antiquità Italiane*, tom. I. p. 427-431) finds, that stone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon, and they are sometimes computed at twelve or eighteen *cantari* of weight, each *cantaro* weighing 1.0 pounds.

³ The sixth law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice, and strictly enjoins, that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communal utilitate (*Costituzioni della Piamenta*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xii. p. 1041).

⁴ Petrarch thus addresses his friend, who, with shame and tears, had shown him the remains, scarce specimens miserable Rome, and declared his own intention of restoring them (*Carmina Latina*, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibaldiensi, xii. p. 97, 98).

*Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ
Reliquis testantur adhuc, quæ longior ætas
Frangere non valuit non vis aut ira cruenti*

Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu!

Quod ille nequivit (Hænnital)
Perficit his aris.

¹ The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Colosseum* or *Coliseum*, since the same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a colossal statue, since that of Nero was erected in the court (as *atrio*) of his palace, and not in the Coliseum (*P. iv. p. 15-16, l. i. c. 4*).

² Bunsen has shown, that the hostile attacks of the Emperor Henry the Fourth, but more particularly that of Robert Guiscard, who burned down whole districts, inflicted the worst damage on the ancient City. Vol. I. p. 247.

overlooked the value of the baser metals: the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades.² Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall."³ In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault, a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure, and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.⁴

¹ Joseph Maria Suarez, a learned bishop, and the author of a history of France has composed a separate dissertation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes which has been since reprinted in the *Roman Treasures of Gallus, de Montfaucon* (Paris, 1754) pronounces the ravine of the barbarians to be the *unam germanicam causam forum*.

² Donatus, *Roma Vetus et Nova*, p. 285 f.

³ *Quandiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma, quando cadet Colyseus, cadet Roma, quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus* (Beda in *Excerptis seu Collectaneis apud Duncing* Glossar. *mon. et infimae Latinitatis*, tom. II p. 407, edit. Basil). This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 735, the era of Bede's death for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

⁴ I cannot recover, in Muratori's original lives of the Popes (*Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. III p. 1), the passage that attests this hostile partition, which must be applied to the

* The improbability of this theory is shown by Bunsen, vol. I p. 230—M.

[†] Gibbon has followed Donatus who supposes that a silk manufactory was established in the twelfth century in the Coliseum. The *Bandonaril*, or *Bandereril* were the officers who carried the standards of their school before the pope. Hobhouse, p. 269—M.

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports, of the Testacean mount and the *Circus Agonalis*,¹ were regulated by the law² or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *palium*,³ as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense;⁴ and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself, and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times.⁵ A convenient

times of Rome.

A bull feast in the Coliseum. A.D. 1332.

end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.

¹ Although the structure of the *Circus Agonalis* be destroyed, it still retains its form and name (*Agona, Navona, Navona*) and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the *Monte Testaceo*, that straggling pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some waggish loads of live hogs for the diversion of the populace (*Statuta Urbis Romae*, p. 1-6).

² See the *Statuta Urbis Romae*, l. III c. 87, 88, 89, p. 135, 136. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of *Agona* and *Monte Testaceo* are likewise mentioned in the *Diary of Peter Antonius* from 1404 to 1417 (*Muratorii, Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xxiv p. 1123).

³ The *Palium* which Menage so foolishly derives from *Pulmarium*, is an easy extension of the idea and the word, from the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (*Muratorii, dissert. xxxiii*).

⁴ For these expenses, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 *denarii*, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver for which Julius had betrayed his Master to their ancestors. There was a foot race of Jewish as well as of Christian youths (*Statuta Urbis, ibidem*).

⁵ This extraordinary bull feast in the Coliseum is described, from tradition rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman

* "The division is mentioned in Vit. Innocent. Pap. II. ex Cardinale Aragosto (*Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. III. p. 1 p. 43.) and Gibbon might have found frequent other records of it at other dates." Hobhouse's Illustrations of Childe Harold, p. 130.—M.

order of benches was restored, and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tiber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands; the chima of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise, and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen, and they descended into the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state: Mulatesta, Polenta, Della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capocci, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi: the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone, like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger. "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower. "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover. "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion. "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white liver. "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide. "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death," the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them

annals (Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xli. p. 525, 536), and however fanciful they may seem they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name. "Though sad, I am strong," strong as I am great. "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me"—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull, and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed, yet, in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry, and the noble volunteers, who display their incontinence, and risk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival: the demand for ^{Injuries and conservation of the Coliseum} the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum; and Poggius laments, that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime.

¹ Muratori has given a separate dissertation (the twenty-ninth) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

In a concise but instructive memoir, the Abbe Barthelemy (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 586) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the fourteenth century de Tiburtino faciundo in the Coliseum, from an original set in the archives of Rome.

by the folly of the Romans.¹ To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth surrounded it with a wall and by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent.² After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people, and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an era of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate, a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents, and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the avarice and luxury of these upstart princes.³ A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini, and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the Fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.⁴

¹ Columella ob stultitiam Romanorum majores ex parte ad calcem delictum, says the indignant Foggius (p. 17) but his expression, too strong for the present age, must be very kindly applied to the fifteenth century.

² Of the Olivetan monks Montfaucon (p. 142) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacca (lvo. 72). They still hoped, some future occasion, to live and vindicate their grant.

³ After measuring the priæus amphitheatrum Montfaucon (p. 142) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III., tacendo clamat. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, top. xiv. p. 371) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese ruse, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barberini," which was perhaps suggested by the resemblance of the words.

⁴ As an antiquarian and a priest, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliseum quod si non suapte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuisset quod improbas afferret manus,

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of these monuments, whose scattered fragments so far, surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the supine indifference of the Romans themselves;⁵ he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Ricci and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhone was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis.⁶ The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol⁷ may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city

Indigna res atque in locum tot martyrum cruore sacrum tantopere sevitum esse

⁵ Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81, p. 132) impose a fine of 600 auri on whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo representent.

⁶ In his first visit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 322, &c.) Petrarch is struck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et stupora mole obrutus. Irena sentia vero, mirum dicta, nihil imminuit, vere major fuit Roma majoresque sunt reliquias quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hæc urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 105. Familiaris ii. 14. Joanni Columella).

⁷ He excepts and praises the rare knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? In istud dico, nequam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Roma.

⁸ After the description of the Capitol, he adds, statue erant quot sunt mundi, provincie, et habebat quolibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem dispositæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romani Imperio rebellis erat, statim imago illius provincie vertebat se contra illam, unde tintinnabulum resonabat quod pendebat ad collum tuncque vates Capitolii qui erant custodes senatus, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Sueri, who, after they had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled, tintinnabulum sonuit, sacerdos qui erat in speculo in hebdomada senatoribus nuntiavit Agrippa marched back and reduced the—Parthians (Anonym. in Montfaucon, p. 207, 208).

and the globe.¹ The strong and lofty walls were covered with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving. Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose value might be esteemed at one third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of art magic,² that if the province rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, and the senate was admonished of the impending danger." A second example of less importunee, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have since been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Liberius: they should not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the symbol of truth or knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most secret actions, and after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves.³ Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Paganus, and of the multitudes which chance or design had

buried under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately delayed till a safer and more enlightened age.⁴ The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by some labourers, in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave.⁵ The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law suit. It had been found under a partition wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be separated from the body to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners, and the sentence would have been executed, if the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not rescued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen.⁶

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled, and the peaceful authority of ^{Restoration and} Martin the Tenth and his ^{erectum} successors restored the ^{city} ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of

¹ William of Malmesbury (l. ii. p. 80, 87) relates a marvellous discovery (a. d. 1046), of Pallas the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus, the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epigraph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (pectus perforat ingens), &c. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

² Prope porticum Minervæ, natum est recubantibus, cujus caput integrum colligit tantam magnitudinem, ut signa omnia excedat. Quiliani ad plantandas arbores seribens faciens detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, strepitum silentium fastidiumque pertensus, horti patris sui congesta humo texit (Foggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12).

³ See the Memorials of Flaminius Vaca, No. 67, p. 11, j., at the end of the Roma Antiqua of Nardini (1704, in 4to).

¹ The same writer affirms, that Virgil captus a Romanis invariabiliter existit, (vixitque Neapolim). A Roman magician, in the eleventh century, is introduced by William of Malmesbury (de Gestis Regum Anglorum, l. ii. p. 80), and in the time of Flaminius Vaca (No. 61, 104) it was the vulgar belief that the stranger (the Goth) invoked the demons for the discovery of hidden treasures.

² Anonym. p. 259. Montfaucon (p. 191) justly observes, that if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxviii) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ), who lived before that conqueror (l'Inq. Hist. Nat. xxiv. 19).

the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis is the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. These provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire; and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brazil have been attracted by the Vatican, the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains, however, the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants,¹ and within the spacious enclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childish pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and artifice: the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture have been prostituted in their service, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in

the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places, of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old, or of new, arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student,² and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of

¹ The Père Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days: he should have divided them weeks or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (*Thésaurus Italicus*, c. 8. 20. p. 104. 301.) That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome, the first efforts of Blondius, Fulvius, Marrianus, and Faustus, the superior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours, the writings of Onuphrius Panvinus, qui omnes observavit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still sighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods.

1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, such as Montfaucon desired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence: but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. p. 1745) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

¹ In the year 1710, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,568 souls (*Libat. Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. iii. p. 211., 212.) In 1740, they had increased to 146,080, and in 1760, I left them, without the Jews, 161,000. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.

empire, also devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the North

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by a History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene, in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorders of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the barbarians of Germany and Scythia;

the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East, the conquests of the Saracens and Turks, the ruin of the Greek empire, the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle ages. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject, but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

LAI LAMNE, JUN. 27, 1787.

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